MIGRATION THROUGH TIME: A RESIDENCE HISTORY ANALYSIS OF A RURAL POPULATION

Thesis for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Mary Glasser BSc (Edinburgh)
Department of Geography
University of Leicester

April 2002

UMI Number: U158882

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI U158882
Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ABSTRACT

Previous studies of human migration have tended to use information drawn either from cross-sectional snapshots at a particular time, or from data that focuses only on a small sub-section of the community. A longitudinal approach to understanding migration decision-making through time, such as a residence history analysis, permits an account of how those same individuals may behave throughout their lives with respect to more than one move. Few previous studies have examined migration variability throughout a lifetime with regard to the geographical context in which they were made or examined the same individual's migratory patterns through their lives and during historical times. The aim of this thesis is to examine lifetime migrations using residence history analysis in a rural context.

The sample of residence histories was drawn from two rural areas: Tynedale in Northumberland and Rutland in Leicestershire. Following a questionnaire survey of 250 households to establish broad patterns of lifetime migrations, in-depth interviews of 40 of those households were used to examine the decision-making behind those moves in more detail. The lifetime residence histories were subdivided into three different age cohorts, those under 40 (Cohort A), those aged between 40 and 59 (Cohort B) and those aged over 60 (Cohort C) at the time of interview. The moves made by individuals in these cohorts were analyzed in three broad categories; younger years (moves in teens and twenties), middle years (moves in thirties and forties) and later years (moves in fifties, sixties and seventies).

Individuals in all three age cohorts behaved in a remarkably similar fashion, irrespective of the temporal or spatial context in which decisions were made, Notably, however, the youngest age cohort made more moves during their twenties than their older counterparts. The first independent moves of Cohort A were also made over greater distances. Moves in the younger years not only generated the greatest volume of migration but in the course of subsequent moves it was these moves that tended to be particularly important in creating ties to areas and yielding information about possible alternative residences. Therefore, although changes in migration patterns through a lifetime seem to be small, the processes that lie behind these changes are arguably extremely important with respect to subsequent migration patterns. It is therefore concluded that a residence history analysis permits an insight into the migration process throughout a lifetime that could not be generated using other approaches.

Acknowledgements

In the writing of this thesis I am indebted to the assistance of a number of people. I would like to begin by expressing gratitude for the continued patience and support of my supervisor, Gareth Lewis who remained seemingly unperturbed by the many hurdles in the way of completion (getting married, moving house, stolen computers, new jobs, new children!). My heartfelt thanks must also go to Clare Madge for her help, particularly in those early days where she inspired, enthused, meticulously read early drafts and most importantly kept me relatively sane. Thanks too must go to Martin Philips in his ability to invoke a sense of perspective in the ups and downs of postgraduate life! Appreciation also goes to Ruth Pollington for her assistance with the preparation of some of the figures and to Vanessa Greaseley for her insistent interest! My gratitude also to the many in Rutland District Local Council and Tynedale District Council who provided early assistance with secondary data. Without the extremely generous co-operation of residents of Catton, Allenheads, Lyddington and Preston this research would not have been possible.

Thanks to Karen, Marylyn and Janette amongst others for their help in looking after the children and allowing me to finish. Other friends, too numerous to mention by name, have been a constant support. I am extremely grateful for their listening ears towards my schizophrenic relationship with this piece of work.

What started as a relatively self-contained project blossomed into one, which soon affected everybody else's life, most notably that of my family's. For this, I can only extend my deepest regret for not finishing it earlier and heartfelt thanks for continuing to support me (and my children) through this long and at times painful process. Most notably, an award of long and distinguished service should be given to my mother who has encouraged and supported us (in a very practical way by looking after our children). I owe the completion of this thesis to the considerable and unrelenting faith she placed in me. Last but by no means least, my deep appreciation and love to Neil, for living with this process which has dominated our lives much of the time. His grounded opinions and advice have not always been easily received but there still remains a sea of gratitude that he has unerringly continued to support me despite my frustrations with the task.

Finally this thesis is in loving memory of my father who remains a constant source of inspiration. Tenacious and ambitious in work but deeply committed to his family, his presence is still missed.

M.E.Glasser
Aberystwyth, April 2002

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements i
Contents ii
List of Figures vi
List of Tables viii

Chapter 1: **Introduction**

1.1 Significance of migration changes through time 1
1.2 Aims and specific objectives 3
1.3 Structure of thesis 3

Chapter 2: **Residence History Analysis: A conceptual framework**

2.1 Introduction 6
2.2 The significance of migration, change and time 6
2.3 Temporal approaches to understanding the migration process 7
2.4 Cross-sectional approaches to migration through time 8
2.5 Longitudinal approaches to migration through time 14
2.6 A life course approach 15
2.7 Alternative longitudinal approaches to migration 22
2.8 Residence history analysis 25
2.9 Conclusions 28

Chapter 3: **The Geographical and Socio-economic Context**

3.1 Introduction 30
3.2 Socio-economic context 30
3.3 Migration flows into and out of rural areas 32
3.4 Case study areas 35
3.5 Tynedale District and demographic background 35
  3.5.1 Allendale Parish 39
  3.5.2 Tynedale District: Planning context 41
3.6 Rutland County and demographic background 43
  3.6.1 Lyddington and Preston Parishes 45
  3.6.2 Rutland County: Planning context 47
3.7 Conclusions 48

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction 50
4.2 Selection of field areas 50
4.3 Selection of households 54
4.4 Approach 56
4.5 The Surveys 56
  4.5.1 The Questionnaire 58
  4.5.2 Focused interviews 60
4.5 Form of data analysis 65
4.6 Practical and methodological considerations 66
  4.6.1 Piloting 67
  4.6.2 The nature of residence history data 67
  4.6.3 Positionality 69

Chapter 5: The Younger Years

5.1 Introduction 71
5.2 Origin of Cohorts 71
5.3 First Independent Moves 77
5.4 Migration in teens and twenties 87
5.5 Summary of findings 96
5.6 Issues in the decision-making process 99
  5.6.1 The Role of marriage and cohabitation 99
  5.6.2 The Role of education 102
  5.6.3 The Role of Employment 110
5.7 The Similarities in the role of marriage, education and employment 113
5.8 Conclusions 115

Chapter 6: The Middle Years

6.1 Introduction 117
6.2 Migration during the thirties and forties 117
6.3 Summary of Findings 130
6.4 Issues in the decision-making process 131
  6.4.1 The Role of Employment 131
  6.4.2 The role of household transitions 135
  6.4.3 Locational ties and lifestyle preferences 138
6.5 Processes in common 140
6.6 Conclusions 141

Chapter 7: **The Later Years**

7.1 Introduction 143

7.2 Migration during the fifties, sixties and beyond 143

7.3 Reasons for moving 151

7.4 Summary of findings 154

7.5 Issues in the decision-making process 154

  7.5.1 The Role of Employment 155

  7.5.2 The Role of locational ties 156

  7.5.3 The role of household transitions 159

7.6 Processes in common 160

7.7 Conclusions 161

Chapter 8: **Migration Through Time: Patterns**

8.1 Introduction 162

8.2 The frequency of movement 162

8.3 Selectivity of migrants 163

8.4 Variation in frequency of movement 167

8.5 Distances migrated 172

8.6 Length of residence 177

8.7 Type of household 179

8.8 Reasons for moving 182

8.9 Type of migration 187

8.10 Conclusions 190

Chapter 9: **Migration Through Time: Processes**

9.1 Introduction 192

9.2 Migration Process through a lifetime 192

  9.2.1 Multiple reasons and Lifetime strategies 192

  9.2.2 Timing of moves 198

  9.2.3 Previous migratory experience 199

  9.2.3 The Contextualising of decision-making 200

9.3 Migration process and place 201

  9.3.1 Case studies from Cohort A 201

  9.3.2 Case studies from Cohort B 205

  9.3.3 Case studies from Cohort C 208

9.4 Summary 212

Chapter 10: **Conclusions**

10.1 Introduction 214

10.2 Residence History Analysis as a tool for understanding migration 214

10.3 Main findings and Implications 216

10.4 The importance of the rural context 218

10.5 Implications of findings and further work 220

Bibliography 221

Appendices:

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Appendix 2: Coding categories used for questionnaires

Appendix 3: Interview check-list

Appendix 4: Supplementary data tables

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1 The significance of migration 1

1.2 Timeline: structure of thesis 4

2.1 Migration through time 8

2.2 Selected Age-related migration schedules 10

2.3 Historical age-related migration schedule 11

2.4 Life course and migration 20

3.1 Location map of study areas 36

4.1 Summary of methods 51

5.1 Origin of respondents 73

5.2 Tenure of parent's first property 75

5.3 Age at which first independent move was first made 79

5.4a Motives for moves in teens and twenties 80

5.4b Motives for first independent move by social class 81

5.5a Proportion of short distance moves upon first independent move 83

5.5b Proportion of long distance moves upon first independent move 83

5.6 Length of residence of first independent move 87

5.7a Proportion of long distance moves 89

5.7b Proportion of short distance moves 89

5.8a Moves along the settlement hierarchy in teens 91

5.8b Moves along the settlement hierarchy in twenties 92

5.9a Reasons given for moving in teens 93

5.9b Reasons given for moving in twenties 93

5.10 Importance of three dominant factors in all moves made in teens and twenties 94

6.1 Tenure of accommodation of moves in thirties and forties 124

6.2 Movement along the settlement hierarchy during thirties 126

6.3 Moves along the settlement hierarchy during forties 127

6.4 Reasons for moving 128

7.1 Movement along the settlement hierarchy during the fifties 149

7.2 Movement along the settlement hierarchy during the sixties and seventies 150

7.3 Reasons for moving during their sixties and seventies 151

8.1 Proportion of migrants that moved within each time period 164

8.2 Proportion of migrants compared to the original sample by social class 165

8.3 Proportion of multiple movers within each age cohort and age-time 167

8.4 Mobility index of cohorts 168

8.5 Percentage of 'long distance moves' as a proportion of total moves within each age-time 172

8.6 Percentage of 'short distance' moves as a proportion of total moves within each age-time 173

8.7 Percentage of 'medium distance moves' as a proportion of total moves within each age cohort 173

8.8 Proportion of long distance moves by social class 175

8.9 Length of stay (years) 178

8.10 Household size at time of moving through time 180

8.11 Household structure upon moving through time 181

8.12 Reasons for moving by age cohort 186

8.13 Cascade model of counterurbanization proposed by Champion (2001) 189

9.1 Case studies – Cohort A 203

9.2 Case studies –Cohort B 206

9.3 Case Studies – Cohort C 209

LIST OF TABLES

2.1 Lifecycle and migration potential 11
2.2 Origins of the Family Lifecycle as identified by Murphy (1987: 30-34) 12
2.3 Summary table of related terms used in the study of lifetime migrations 23
2.4 Advantages and disadvantages of using a residence history analysis 28
3.1 Broad socio-economic context 31
3.2 Population change by district 1971-1991 (Northumberland) 37
3.3 Population Change by District 1971-1991 (Leicestershire) 45
3.4 Summary of main features of two study areas 49
4.1 Population growth in selected Counties: Population present 1851-1991 50
4.2 Distribution of parish size (in households) for Tynedale and Rutland 53
4.3 Village and sample sizes of selected case studies 54
4.4 Description of villages from electoral registers (1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995) 55
4.5 Description of interviewees in survey selected from electoral registers 55
4.6 Characteristics of the sample survey population and 1991 Census 56
4.7 Distribution of age cohorts within sample 62
4.8 Distribution of respondents within each age cohort 63
4.9 Summary characteristics of interviewees 64
5.1 Origin of respondents by age cohort 72
5.2 Childhood place type by age cohort 75
5.3 Mean and modal values for household size in first residence by age cohorts 76
5.4 Household type of origin households by age cohort 76
5.5 Length of time respondents spent in first residence 77
5.6 Profile of non-movers 78
5.7 First independent moves by class and distance 83
5.8 Flows between urban and rural areas for first independent move 84
5.9 Transitions in tenure for first independent move 85
5.10 Household transition upon first independent move 86
5.11 Changes in household composition upon first independent move 86
5.12a Number of moves made in teen years 88
5.12b Number of moves made in twenties 88
5.13 Move sequence 88
5.14a Distance moved in teens 88
5.14b Distance moved in twenties 89
5.15a Moves along the settlement hierarchy in teens 90
5.15b Moves along the settlement hierarchy in twenties 90

5.16a Tenure for moves made in teens 95
5.16b Tenure for moves made in twenties 95
5.17a Household type for moves made in teens 96
5.17b Household type for moves made in twenties 96
6.1 Original sample 117
6.2 Migrants by age and origin 117
6.3 Migration of respondents in their thirties and forties 117
6.4 Move sequence in thirties and forties 119
6.5a Distance of moves in thirties 120
6.5b Distance of moves in forties 120
6.6 Length of stays for moves in thirties and forties 121
6.7 Household size for moves made in thirties and forties 121
6.8 Household type for moves made in thirties and forties 123
6.9 Moves along the settlement hierarchy during thirties and forties 125
6.10 Individual reasons for moving in thirties and forties 129
7.1 Original sample 144
7.2 Migrants by social class and origin 144
7.3 Migration of respondents in their fifties, sixties and seventies 144
7.4 Move sequence in fifties and sixties 145
7.5 Distance of moves in fifties 145
7.6 Distance of moves in sixties and seventies 146
7.7 Household size of migrants in fifties, sixties and seventies 146
7.8 Household type of migrants in fifties, sixties and seventies 147
7.9 Tenure of moves in fifties and sixties 147
7.10 Movement along the settlement hierarchy in fifties and sixties 148
7.11 Individual responses for moves made in fifties, sixties and seventies 152
7.12 Potential future moves 153
8.1 Mean number of moves by age cohort 162
8.2 Mean number of moves and mean length of residence by gender and birth cohort 163
8.3 Origin of mobility index: number of moves/number of migrants 169
8.4 Number of moves from which proportions were derived for Figure 8.5 172
8.5 Total number of moves undertaken throughout entire residence histories 176
8.6 Historical study –distance moved by migration 176
8.7 Reasons for moving by age cohort through time 182
8.8 Historical study of reasons for moving by year (%) 183
8.9 Proportion of total responses given as 'marriage' for moving 185
8.10 Number of responses given by age cohort though time 187

8.11 Movement along the settlement hierarchy by age cohort through time 190
8.12 Total number of moves though time along the settlement hierarchy 190

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The significance of migration through time

Almost everyone moves home at some time in their life. Migration not only affects individuals but also has implications for wider society, changing population distributions and placing demands on housing, labour markets and services. Pooley and Turnbull (1998: 4) suggested that all residential mobility has significance at three distinct levels: impacts on the individual and his/her family, impacts upon the places which lost and gained migrants and impacts upon wider social, economic and political structures. Figure 1.1 summarises some of the connections between these different layers and suggests that migration is central to the process of social, economic and cultural change both today and in the past.

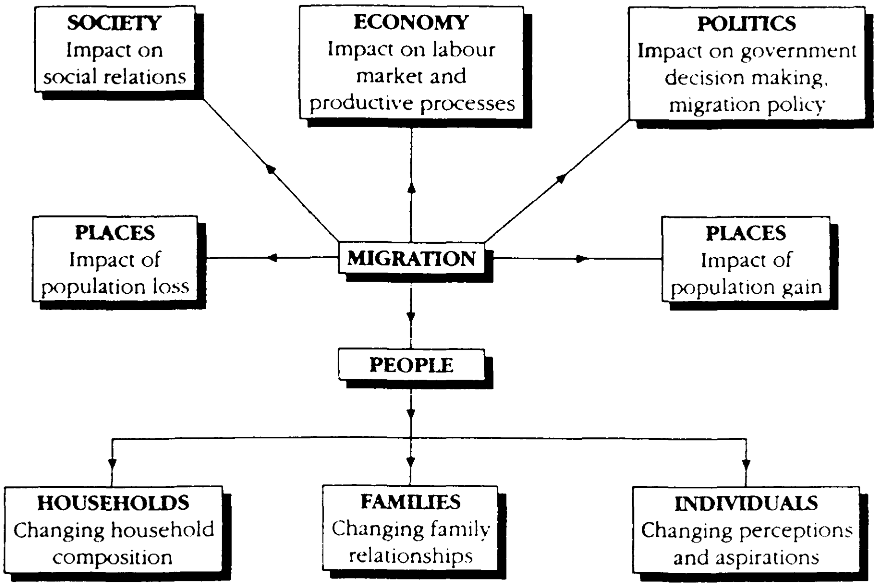

SOCIETY
Impact on social relations
ECONOMY
Impact on labour market and productive processes
POLITICS
Impact on government decision making, migration policy
PLACES
Impact of population loss
MIGRATION
PLACES
Impact of population gain
PEOPLE
HOUSEHOLDS
Changing household composition
FAMILIES
Changing family relationships
INDIVIDUALS
Changing perceptions and aspirations

Figure 1.1 The significance of migration (source: Pooley and Turnbull, 1998 p. 5)

Although it is a common occurrence, migration is not well understood. In fact this thesis argues that because moving is an everyday event, experienced by most people at some time in their lives, most people feel they know what it is and how it is changing. However, most individuals use their own experience and that of their immediate family and peers to form an opinion of how migration is changing (Warnes 1986). There is broad agreement that migration as a whole is increasing in volume and length (Lewis 1982; Clarke 1989; Champion 1992). Whilst the general volume of migration might be increasing, it is less certain how the volume of migration relates to the population at large and migrants in particular. Specific subgroups such as army personnel and students are clearly more migratory than other subgroups but most information on migration is drawn from cross-sectional snapshots at a particular point in time, or from data that focuses only on a small sub-section of the community. These studies do not tend to take into account how those same individuals may behave with respect to more than one move. How, for example, does previous migratory behaviour impact upon subsequent moves? Clearly this is important as it has implications for future migration patterns.

The notion that an individual's migratory behaviour changes through his or her life has been recognised and well documented, but without regard for the fact that migratory behaviour is likely to be affected by external circumstances. For example, differences in specific age-related migrations have been researched but few attempts have examined leaving ages with regard to the geographical context in which they were made. Equally there have been few attempts to examine the same individuals migratory patterns through their lives and through different historical times. Clearly, the general perception that changes in migratory behaviour through their lifetime are well understood and well documented is misplaced. It is important to understand not only changing patterns in age-related migrations but also to examine the processes underlying those changes in relation to where those decisions were made.

Why people move is a research area which has generated a great deal of interest but, like the resultant migration patterns, this research tends to have concentrated upon decision-making at one point in time with reference to one specific move. An important facet of this is that studies of migration and decision-making have tended to either be so firmly embedded in one place and one time that these circumstances are viewed as unique, or that decision-making is not anchored in the wider context of current and historical times. Since moving is commonplace, so too is the notion that the reasons for moving through a lifetime are also relatively well understood.

Secondary data sources evaluating lifetime migrations are limited and the underlying decision-making of migrants is difficult to ascertain. This study therefore adopts a residence history analysis to record and interpret migration patterns and related decisions through an individual's lifetime. Previously, the use of residence history analysis has been largely confined to historical studies of migrants in the southern hemisphere (e.g. Price 1963; Hugo 1979, Pryor 1979). In the UK contemporary studies using residence history analysis in migration are limited to the study of one group of migrants, usually tracing their migration paths to a specific destination. This study uses the residence histories of different age cohorts to compare their migration experiences within different temporal and spatial contexts.

It is therefore argued that it is important to understand changing migration behaviour though a lifetime, relating this to the specific economic and historical conditions of the time and in the personal lives of those involved. The context of this study of lifetime migration is the contemporary countryside, as this has been an area that is believed to be undergoing huge social change. In recent years much has been written about the nature of the rural migrant and how decision-making has led to a restructuring of the countryside in Britain.

Like most other studies of migration, most rural migrants have also been classified and analysed in terms of their last single move and little attention has been given either to their previous moves in and around the area or indeed how their most recent move related to previous migrant experience. The analysis of lifetime migrations of a sample of rural inhabitants offers the opportunity to investigate the role of the decision-making of the wide variety of migrants within a rural area.

1.2 Aims and Specific Objectives

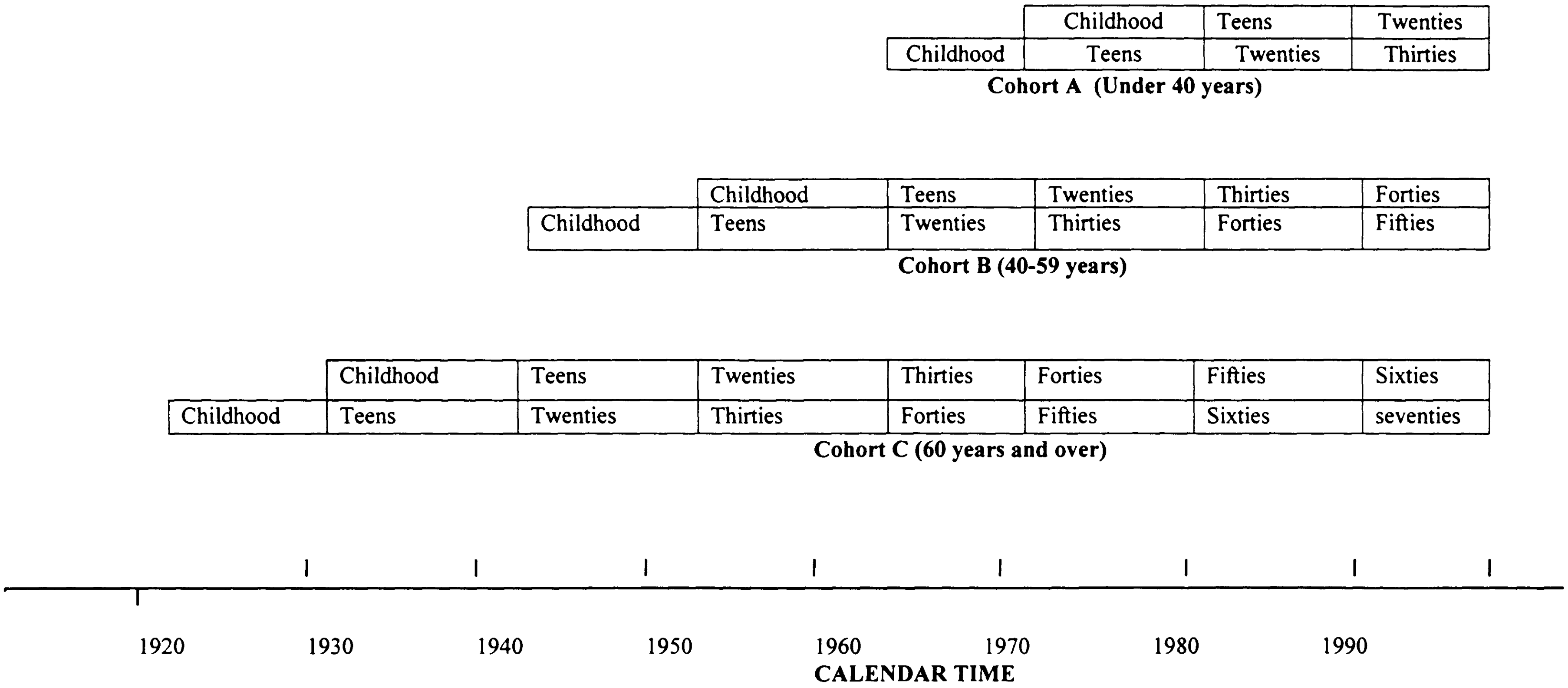
The broad aim of this thesis is to assess the changing nature of migration behaviour of a sample of rural residents throughout their lifetimes. By grouping similarly aged respondents, the historical contexts in which individual decisions were made at similar points in their lives can be compared. The specific objectives of the research are;

1. To collate and analyse complete residence histories of a varied age-range of rural inhabitants and subdivide migration histories into broad age groups so those different age cohorts can be constructed.
2. To describe the migration patterns of individuals as part of an age cohort in similar age-time periods (younger years, middle years and latter years)
3. To assess differences and similarities of moves made by each cohort within the sample in terms of migrants, frequency of moves and distance moved.
4. To analyse decision-making of individuals within their households in the three different age cohorts and assess the relative importance of motives given by each age cohort in similar time period.
5. To evaluate the importance of previous migratory experience within the respondent's migration histories.
6. To determine the contribution of lifetime strategies in decision-making
7. To evaluate the contribution that a residence history analysis of rural inhabitants can make towards understanding the migration process within and into rural areas.

1.3 Structure of thesis

Chapter 2 begins with a broad overview of the importance of understanding migration through time. Alternative approaches to the study of migration decision-making though lifetimes are evaluated and a life course approach is advocated. This is followed by a brief appraisal of previous research using a residence history analysis as a way of exploring migration decisions through a lifetime. The chapter finishes by providing a rationale for the study of lifetime migrations of rural residents. Chapter 3 aims to provide a context to the study in terms of a description of the areas in which the rural residents were living in; Tynedale in Northumberland and Rutland in Leicestershire. This is followed by a consideration of the planning issues that may have been important in moderating some of the most recent moves in and around the study areas. (An overview of the migration trends into rural areas within Britain over the last fifty years is provided). Chapter 4 details the methodology employed. This begins with a discussion of the two-part method approach adopted; a survey of 247 households and follow-up in-depth interviews with 40 of those from the survey. Selection of field areas by county, district and village follow with a brief discussion of the selection of households interviewed. The next section outlines the methods used with a discussion of the

Figure 1.2 Timeline: age-time and calendar time for three cohorts


Childhood
Teens
Twenties
Childhood
Teens
Twenties
Thirties
Cohort A (Under 40 years)
Childhood
Teens
Twenties
Thirties
Forties
Childhood
Teens
Twenties
Thirties
Forties
Fifties
Cohort B (40-59 years)
Childhood
Teens
Twenties
Thirties
Forties
Fifties
Sixties
Childhood
Teens
Twenties
Thirties
Forties
Fifties
Sixties
seventies
Cohort C (60 years and over)
1920
1930
1940
1950
1960
1970
1980
1990
CALENDAR TIME

Teens Twenties	Chapter Five –younger years
Thirties Forties	Chapter Six– middle years
Fifties Sixties Seventies	Chapter Seven– later years

questionnaire and interview schedule and associated limitations and advantages. The final section outlines the rationale for the decision to group the residence histories into the three age cohorts.

The structure of chapters 5 to 9 is depicted in Figure 1.2. This illustrates the way in which lifetime migration data was presented, analysed and discussed. The lifetime migration histories of the sample of rural residents were subdivided into three age cohorts. These age cohorts consisted of those aged under 40 (Cohort A), those aged between 40 and 59 (Cohort B) and those aged over 60 (Cohort C) at the time of interview. All moves made by each individual were grouped according to the age time in which they had occurred (teens, twenties, thirties, forties, fifties and sixties). The age times have then been grouped into three broad categories; younger years (moves in teens and twenties), middle years (moves in thirties and forties) and later years (moves in fifties, sixties and seventies). It was decided to separate the presentations of the results out in chapters 5, 6 and 7, as it was believed that this would provide clarity to the reader although it is acknowledged that it may appear repetitive.

Chapter 5 presents the results of moves made by all three age cohorts in their childhood, their teens and their twenties. Figure 1.2 illustrates the time frame in which these moves occurred. It shows that three age cohorts made these early moves in very different time periods, each associated with different economic, social and historical conditions of the time. The chapter begins with a description of moves made in the respondent's childhood, it then details their first independent move and this is contrasted with all moves in made in their teens and twenties. A discussion of these results follows with a comparison of the three age cohorts of how the migration processes operating in the different historical conditions.

Chapter 6 presents the results of moves made by all three age cohorts in their thirties and forties and Chapter 7 presents the results of the moves made by two of the three age cohorts in their fifties, sixties and seventies, both are structured similarly. Figure 1.2 illustrates the time frame in which these moves occurred. This is then followed by a discussion of these results and a comparison of the three age cohorts of how the migration processes operated in the different historical conditions.

Chapters 8 and 9 highlight some of the migration patterns and processes throughout the respondent's lifetimes in their entirety. Chapter 8 provides an overview of how migration patterns have changed through time; depicting differences and similarities between the three age cohorts in particular the distance moved, frequency of moves, motives for moving and how these motives changed through time. Whilst Chapter 9 discusses features of lifetime migrations highlighted by the use of a residence history analysis and this is then followed by a series of case studies, which summarise some of the main points discussed and illustrate the great variety in decision-making.

In the concluding chapter a summary of the main findings of the thesis and interpretations of these results is given. This is followed with a consideration with some of the shortcomings of the research project and future research paths identified.

Chapter 2: Residence History Analysis: A Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider the importance of understanding migration changes through time. In most migration studies an arbitrary time span has been employed but most emphasis has been upon migration 'in time' rather than 'through time' (Lewis 1982; Price 1963). Here, it is argued that scant attention has been paid to migration behaviour through the lifetime; in particular to subsequent migration decisions throughout a lifetime. Alternative approaches used to examine changes in migratory characteristics over lifetimes are then discussed and in particular a lifecourse approach is advocated as a useful conceptual framework in which to analyse lifetime migrations. This is followed by an appraisal of residence history analysis, the technique undertaken in this study, outlining the pitfalls and potential of using such a technique.

2.2 The significance of migration, change and time

The realisation of the importance of migration in any understanding of human organisation is reflected in the extensive and detailed literature available (Lewis 1982; Boyle *et. al.* 1998). There are three main reasons for studying migration (Champion 1992). The first relates to migration's role as one of the three components of population change; the second relates to the increasing concern about localised population trends and third, and purportedly most important reason for the growth in interest in migration lies in the way in which migration itself is changing. With the emergence of a world economy and the globalisation of communications, migration, in turn has exploded at all geographical scales (Lewis 1998). Migration affects not only those individuals involved in moves but the wider reaching society and economy, therefore it is important to understand those changes, not least with respect to planning issues (Figure 1.1). Stemming from this is the need to challenge some of the underlying statements that have been made about these changes. In order to evaluate the magnitude and form of any migration changes there has to be confidence in previous patterns and processes to act as a benchmark against which to measure changes. Even in relation to defining and hence measuring changes in migration this is more complex than is first perceived. 'Although almost everybody experiences migration, and most people think they know what it is, the definition of migration is not straightforward' (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 7). In this study, migration is viewed in the widest and most general sense, as the movement of an individual to an alternative place of residence.

Migration or the movement of people from one geographical location to another has, over time, not only increased in volume and diversity but has also involved steadily lengthening distances (Clarke 1989). Advances in technology, transport and other forms of communication have certainly enabled increased mobility in general terms as well as change of residence at a wide variety of spatial scales. Seemingly less clear-cut is the nature of the migration process over an individual's lifetime and indeed the characteristics of the migrants themselves. How this potential increased mobility relates to actual residential mobility is more uncertain. "Whilst there would appear to remain scope for debate over whether in the longer term, people are becoming more or less mobile residentially, there is no doubt that migration patterns are changing and new forms of migration have been emerging" (Champion and Fielding 1992: 5). The relationship between increased migration events and an increase in migrants and their changing behaviour is more complex than at first sight. Whether the increase in moves undertaken is a reflection of the population at large or involves smaller number of repeat migrants is as yet uncertain. In order to evaluate specific changes in migratory behaviour, evidence of specific migrant experiences through time particularly in terms of residential mobility is clearly much needed.

2.3 Temporal approaches to understanding the migration process

Despite time being central to our understanding of the magnitude or rate of change of migration, most authors have not considered its importance explicitly since they have tended to consider migration variables 'in time' rather than 'though time'. Central to this thesis is the concept that in order to evaluate change migration must be firmly embedded in a specific temporal and historical context and subsequent migration events related to each other. This means that in a wider context in order to achieve a real understanding of the migration process and resultant patterns, 'net' migration flows are of limited value.

There are two main approaches to studying migration - cross-sectional and longitudinal (Figure 2.1). Most studies thus far have adopted what can be termed a 'cross-sectional' approach; that is that the focus is upon the same place at two different points in time, but in general does not involve the same people. There are numerous sources of these data; the Census, field surveys, electoral registers, registers of births, deaths and marriages etc. Most cross-sectional analyses focus their explanations for migration patterns on only two places and two points in time. The National Censuses since 1961 have provided a direct question on migration but only consider residents' last previous address if they have lived at a different address in the last year thereby giving a partial picture of moves undertaken. It does, however, provide national coverage of virtually the whole population and is useful for assessing large scale patterns of migration, but tells us little about the motivations for moving nor the frequency that households that have moved in the previous ten years and fails to link those households in space. In other words it permits only aggregate cross-sectional analysis. With regard to migration through a lifetime the Census can only examine household types at discrete points in time; it provides a so-called 'snapshot' or monitoring of migration events every ten years. Special migration statistics suffer from the same weakness. However, it is argued that by failing to link the two populations and migration decisions a valuable insight is being overlooked in migration studies as it does not permit the delineation of specific individual acts of migration or relate successive moves.

On the other hand, a longitudinal analysis considers circumstances over a time period rather than at discrete points in time and the importance of the 'through time' element in any migration analysis is that the susceptibility of individuals to migrate changes through their life.

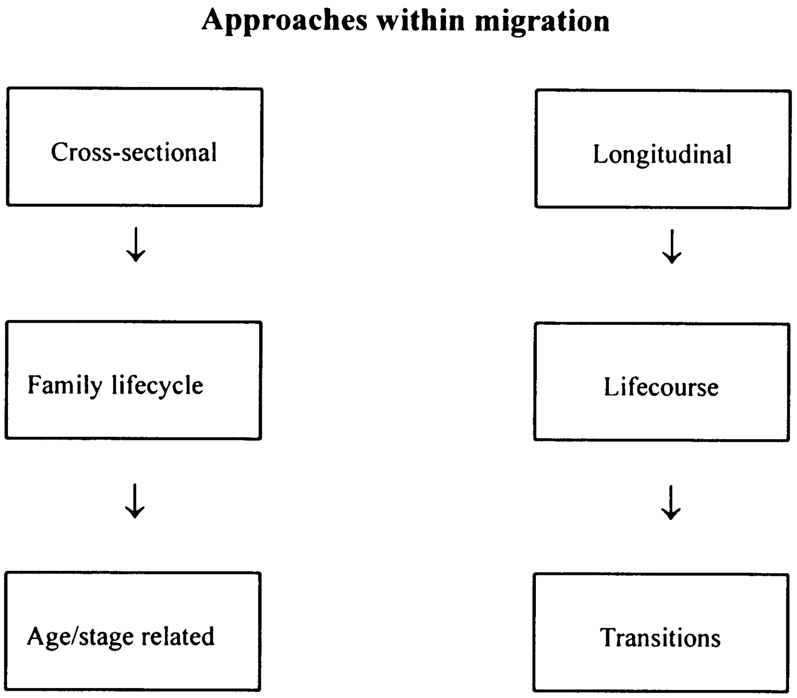


Figure 2.1: Migration through time

Shyrock and Larmen (1965), cited in Lewis (1982: 61), argue that it provides a valuable insight into the migration process because unlike a cross sectional approach it has the potential to determine:

a) How migration develops over an individual's lifetime and its relationship with chronological age and changes in occupation, social status or key events in the lifecycle.

b) The extent to which migration is between specific types of areas, for example similar or different areas in a step-like fashion.

c) The extent of circular and return migration to the same address or locality.

d) The proportion of the population to have spent their lives in the same residence or locality; and

e) The frequency of moves by individual during their live history or a specified time period.

There are various forms of longitudinal data available for analysing migration, but as yet most of them remain relatively untapped resource (see section 2.5) Therefore, most of our knowledge of migration changes still rely heavily upon cross-sectional analyses. Thus, little is known about the impact of previous migration experiences upon subsequent migration experiences. The following sections 2.4 and 2.5 explore cross-sectional approaches to understanding migration through a lifetime.

2.4 Cross-sectional approaches to migration through time

As with changing migration patterns through time, a general perception pervades of known changes in migration patterns throughout individual's lifetimes. Warnes (1986) warns that differential mobility cannot be used to argue that mobility is increasing since there are pronounced social class differences in mobility. There are clearly many different factors, which affect an individual's propensity to migrate; such as their social background, level of educational or employment opportunities, ties to the area etc, and these change with time. As long ago as the late 1880s, Ravenstein (1885; 1889) generated his famous 'laws of migration' including for example that most migrations were over short distances and that females were more migratory than males but despite the validity of many of his claims he failed to incorporate any temporal dimension. However, since Ravenstein's thesis there have been attempts to determine changes in migrants behaviour over time using two broad criteria – age and family structure

Much emphasis has been placed on age-markers as determinants of migration susceptibility. The first detailed attempt to determine the significance of age differentials was Dorothy Thomas's (1938) study of inter-state migrations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the USA. Generally it has been found that migration rates follow a pattern with relatively high rates of mobility shortly after birth, a trough of mobility between the ages of 3 and 13 followed by a steadily rising trend towards a mobility peak between the ages of 17 and 30. Thereafter, mobility falls steadily with age although there is an interruption to this trend between 57 and 67 years of age (Boyle *et. al.* 1998: 111). Empirical data relating to different countries (England and Wales, the United States, Japan, the Netherlands and Australia), taken from different periods (1950s to late 1980s) illustrate the patterns (Figure 2.2). According to Pooley and Turnbull (1998) the relationship between migration and age-time has changed relatively little over the past 200 years and the basic pattern has been quite stable over time and varied little between males and females (Figure 2.3).

Of course these age-related trends in migration are closely related to changes in the household circumstances of individuals over time and are the basis of the so-called Family Life Cycle Model (FLCM). Hill (1964) cited in Hareven (1982: 2) described it as follows;

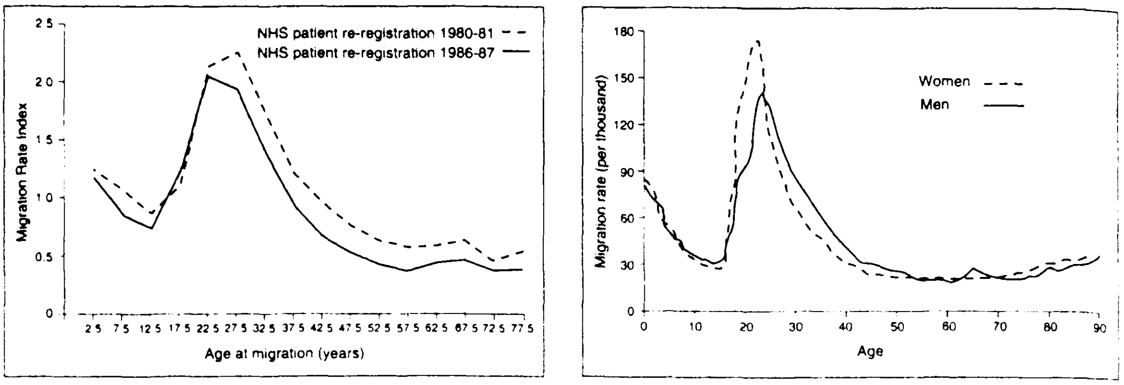
> "The Family Life Cycle measures role changes in the family unit as it moves from stage to stage over the life of its members from family formulation by marriage to its dissolution".

More recently Stapleton (1980: 1103) expanded on this;

> "The traditional life cycle postulates that young women and men remain in their parent's house until marriage. At marriage young women form a new household with their spouse; if they have been employed they may leave the labour force at this time or at the birth of their first child. The new household grows with the addition of children and later, as the children leave, the household shrinks and finally disappears with the death of one spouse and then the other."

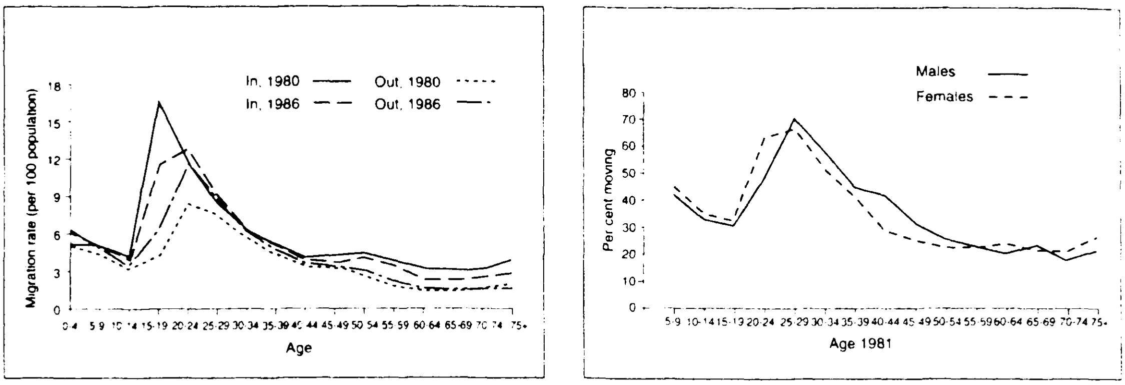
Such a life-cycle pattern has been readily accepted as the basis of models of residential mobility. An early and widely cited reference to the relations between the lifecycle, housing preferences and migration was Rossi's (1955) classic study of *Why families move*. This was a study of four different census tracts in Philadelphia stratified by socio-economic status and mobility level in which he argued that mobility arose for five reasons, namely the creation of new households, mortality, household dissolution, and moves related to work. In summary he argued that;

> "The major function of mobility [is found] to be the process by which families adjust their housing and housing needs that are generated by shifts in family composition that accompany life cycle changes" (Rossi 1955: 9)



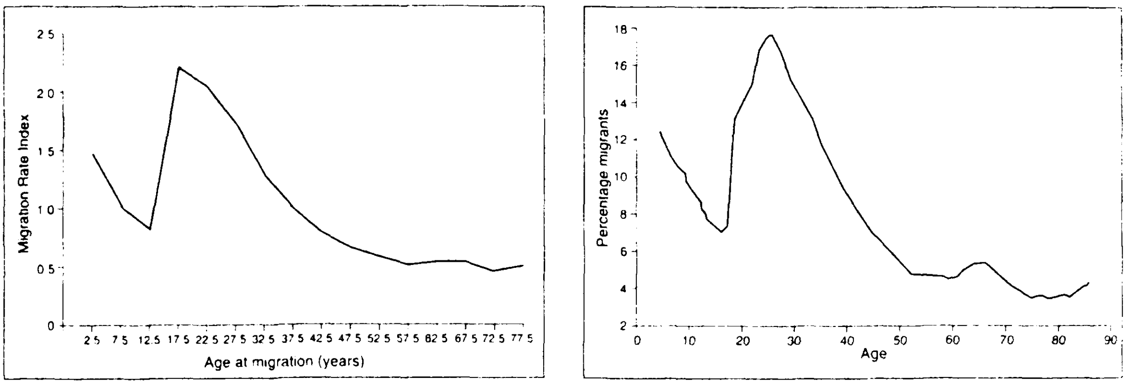
Warnes 1992 England and Wales 1980–81 and 1986–87

Netherlands 1973
Scholten and Van der Velde 1989, reprinted with kind permission from Kluwer Academic Publishers



Otomo 1992 Japan

Hugo 1986 Australia



Warnes 1992 USA 1955–60

Plane 1992 USA 1975–80

Figure 2.2 Selected age-related migration schedules (source Boyle *et. al.* 1998: 112)

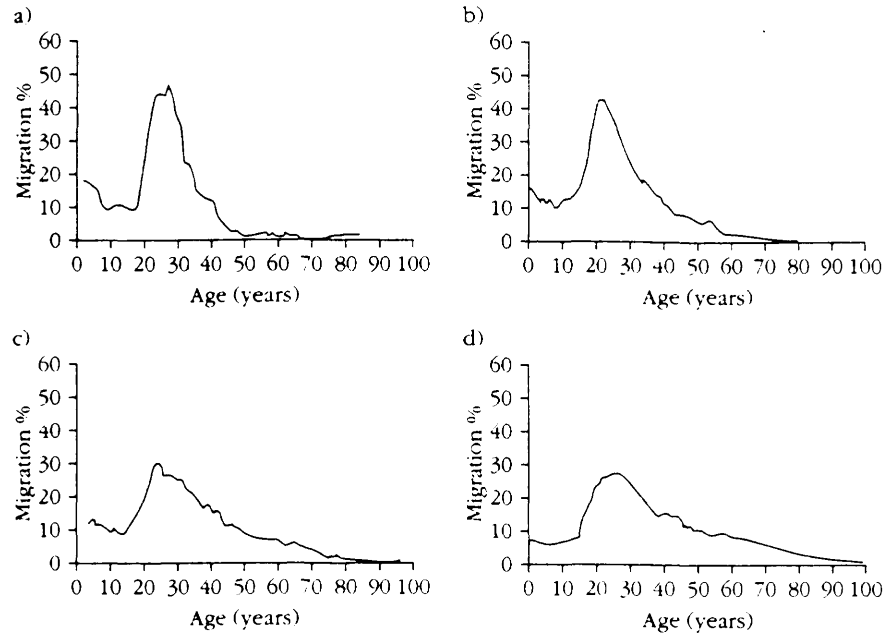


Figure 2.3 Historical age related schedule (Pooley and Tunbull: 1998: 207)
a) moves before 1800 b) moves 1800-49 c) moves 1850-99 d) moves 1900 and after

This study stimulated much research into the migration process during the 1970s focussing on perception and motivation and the role of changing household formation. For example, Abu-Lughod *et. al.* (1960) related the stages in the family life cycle to changing housing need and later, Clarke (1989) identified three lifecycle factors: changes in personal affairs (including marriage, divorce or death), changes in housing space and age. The relationship between life cycle and migration potential has been summarised by Lewis (1982) (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Life Cycle and Migration Potential

Age	Family Membership	Migration
0	Family origin	→All moves are tied to the family
12		
18	Single person	→Decision to leave home
25	Married person	→Moves on marriage
	Member of a rearing family	→Moves as a result of the expansion of the family and the need for more dwelling space
	Decreasing family	→Long period of stability because of desire for educational continuity
50	Older couple	→Moves adjust to dwelling space to reduced needs
60		→Retirement migration
70	Single older person	→Widowhood

Note: Each arrow (→) represents a possible move. Source: Lewis (1982: 90)

Interestingly, Murphy (1987) has explored the development of the FLCM in detail, ranging from Shakespeare's seven ages of men to Stapleton's (1980) more recent incorporation of changing family household structure into the model. A summary of its early development, based on Murphy's (1987) review, is outlined in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Origins of the Family Lifecycle as identified by Murphy (1987: 30-34)

Origin	Typology
Shakespeare:	7 stages of man from baby to second childhood
Rowntree (1902)	Five stages of poverty/wealth related to children
Sorokin (1930-32): Russian Sociologist	Four stages relating standard of living to demographic change
Glick (1947):	Used national level census data, seven key events and indexed them by the median age of occurrence
Hammond (1954)	Used non-demographic elements such as entering and leaving school -other 'Family Theorists' adopted similar ideas of 'critical role transitions'.
Late 1950's early 1960's anthropologists (Hareven 1982)	Lifecycle concepts under the title 'developmental approach'
Fortes (1958)	Developed a three-fold typology based on phases of expansion (marriage and childbearing), dispersion or fission (children marrying) and replacement (the children take over the family and property of their parents).

According to Young (1977), studies up to the 1970s provided plenty of evidence in support of FLCM as a means of understanding mobility and segregation, but more recently there has been growing dissatisfaction with the model. For example, the fundamental idea in a FLCM that the sequence of events is inevitable has been questioned; " a major deficiency lies in the implicit assumption of a single progression through a given number of stages in a pre-determined order" (Murphy 1987: 36). In other words, the premise that individuals do not have the capability of controlling their own lives at least to some extent implies crude determinism. Bryman (1987) also argued that the FLCM fails to accommodate adequately the range of variation in timing of those events that constitute lifecourse stages. As Elder (1978: 6) noted "families with an identical history as determined by a sequence of stages vary enormously in their respective lifecourse". Even, on a broad level there are ethical issues involved in using a FLCM. As Trost (1974: 14) commented "... the use of the concept is not always harmless". The concept might steer the research into wrong channels or put blinds on the researcher, or when used as an educational tool act as a conserving agent." Terminology such as the 'empty nest' phase and 'preferred form' suggest that alternative forms of family organisation were considered inferior (and in many cases were ignored completely). Murphy (1987) too has warned of the implicit value judgements made about 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' forms of family organisation.

Another critique was the notion that the FLCM emphasised the typical at the expense of the atypical. Even if the FLCM did indeed represent a 'norm' in society it would surely be missing a vital component of change if it failed to consider any irregularities. Whilst there is certainly justification for looking at those features of our society which occur most often it may be that rare events are nevertheless still important.

To many, the FLCM was both ethnocentric and time specific since it proffered a "culturally and temporarily bound notion of a family structure" (Katz and Monk 1993: 18). Anderson (1983), amongst others, noted that the implicit underlying model of a stable nuclear family is located in a rather small period of historical period of time even for Western societies, being centred on the middle part of the twentieth century. Also, several studies here indicated the inappropriateness of this model to different cultures. For example Collver, (1963: 87) found in India that the situation in which early marriage, prolonged childbearing and early death combine to merge several of the stages together, whilst Moroika (1967) undertaking research in China and Japan also found the concept of stages inadequate to analyse extended families. Some attempts have been made to compare the lifecycle experience between nuclear and extended families (Stacey 1969). According to some authors these cultural differences should also be taken into account even in the western world as a result of the increasing importance of an ethnic non-white population. In response to these criticisms Santini (1977), cited in Young (1977: 4) argued that it was not always the case that researchers were unaware of 'non-nuclear' families but rather the difficulties involved in defining the life-cycle of an extended family. Bryman (1987) argued that there has also been a failure to take historical time into account. The traditional nuclear family fails to include many members of society such as single, divorced or separated, one-parent families, cohabiters, or unmarried parents and yet these forms of families are increasing greatly in number with the growing rates of marriage breakdown, divorce, cohabitation, re-marriage and non-marital child bearing. Moreover the roles of the individuals within the family have altered i.e. the increasing prominence of women both in employment and societal positions. As Stapleton (1980: 1105) remarked " dual-headed families no longer even remotely resemble this traditional pattern".

Finally, the analyses of FLCM have ignored important gender issues. As Katz and Monk (1993) argued the model has portrayed women only in the context of family relationships. The traditional lifecycle model postulates that young women and men remain in their parent's house until marriage. At marriage, young women form a new household with their spouse; if they have ever been employed, they may leave the labour force at this time or at the time of the birth of their first child. As Stapleton (1980: 1114) noted

> "such a household is synonymous with the male's income, occupational status with the male's occupation, commuting preference with the male's journey to work and space preferences are based on the assumption usually implicit that a full (unpaid) housekeeper maintains the dwelling unit".

As mentioned earlier there has been a large increase of women entering the labour force. Furthermore, others argue that the concept of inevitable progression through assigned stages mean that women are ascribed to particular stages irrespective of whether individual women fall into that category or not (Allat *et. al.* 1987). This then raises another more general criticism that a FLCM attempts to make each stage appear as exact, for example, data are often presented on median ages at marriage and at first birth and therefore this attempt at exactitude seems misleading in a dynamic and diverse society. Summarized by Warnes (1992: 177) “the research of the 1950s and 1960s, which developed round the idea of the ‘family-life cycle’, no longer provides an appropriate model in the context of the emerging multiplicity of household types”. In other words "it became recognised that patterns of family experience and behaviour are also influenced by macro-level social and economic conditions, biological and culturally-determined age-related factors, and by individual career histories such as in the employment sphere” (Murphy 1987: 33).

However, despite these criticisms the FLCM has still some relevance even today when attempting to determine the migration process through a lifetime. Firstly, it draws attention to the importance of longitudinal data and to the fact that households are dynamic even if it does tend to emphasise specific stages. According to Young (1977) the concept has helped to dispel the idea that families have been consistently nuclear over the past two centuries. That is to say individuals who live in nuclear families at one point in time are likely to have lived in extended or augmented households at other points. It can also be argued that the FLCM still applies to some members of the modern community and it is useful in highlighting the differences that occur and in understanding the family's interaction with different economic and demographic regimes. Furthermore, the comparative statistical explanatory power of the lifecycle can be used to explain differences that occur within and between families. Lastly, on a broad canvas, it does draw attention to the relationship between certain demographic events and geographic mobility, even if it does omit several sectors of society (Grundy 1992). Whilst Murphy (1987), has gone so far as to claim that the model is still applicable to about half of the population in the western world.

2.5 Longitudinal approaches to migration through time

In contrast to a cross-sectional analysis, a longitudinal analysis considers events or circumstances through time (Figure 2.1). This approach has the overriding advantage of making it easier to analyse causal mechanisms in relation to migration events. Monitoring associated variables through time means it is also possible to consider external large-scale events hence contextualising migration events Even as long ago as 1959, Bogue (1959) advocated the need for the provision of complete migration histories. Despite the significance of a longitudinal approach the paucity of data has led to a dearth of studies. Even Champion's (1992) claim that migration studies have recently shifted from a 'data famine' to a 'data feast', still pertains mostly to cross-sectional data. Of sources including longitudinal information are the OPCS Longitudinal survey, National birth Cohort Studies, the General Household survey, the Labour Force Survey and the National Health Service Register. But these provide longitudinal data on a national scale, which cannot easily be interpreted on a local scale and fails to allow linkages between members.

Some countries such as Sweden (Olsson 1966) and the Netherlands (Redfearn 1990) have population registers which record all changes of residence and associated household formations at the time and have been used to reconstruct migration histories. Unfortunately, in Britain this was only enforced during and immediately after the Second World War so is of limited use apart from an interest in a particular cohort or a particular time period (Holingsworth 1970). The National Health Service Register (NHSR) was introduced in 1952 listing all patients with particular General Practitioner and by 1975, it provided a 100 percent sample of patients by age and sex and marital position (Devis 1984). For the next nine years, until 1984, this was reduced to a ten per cent sample at which point a hundred per cent sample was reinstated which has made it a useful continuous source of information (Stillwell and Boden 1989). However, the lack of information about household circumstances and the relatively short record means that there are a number of problems in using it for any detailed study of household transitions and migration (Ogilvy 1980). More specifically the 1946-based National Study of Health and Development and the 1958-based National Children Development Study have been useful for the study of the movement of young people (Kiernan, 1991). Due to their entirely voluntary nature and widely distributed interviewees they are useful in providing insights into trends regarding particular cohorts but lack the local scale sampling needed to analyse particular geographical relationships associated with one particular cohort based in one area. Two other sources of household data are available which provide useful background regarding general migration trends in the British population: the General Household Survey (GHS) and the Labour Force Survey (LFS). Both have the advantage that information is available every year but correspondingly there are a number of problems associated with each. Both are based on a relatively small sample, non-response rates are quite high and a sample design based on clusters has attracted criticism. Again the framework of the surveys do not allow a very detailed spatial analysis of trends thus tending to be analysed at the broad aggregate regional level. It is believed that this approach is more likely to identify the real causes of migration patterns and prevents over-simplification. In reality all longitudinal analysis is a series of connected cross-sectional analysis but it is this relationship between, previous events, subsequent events and background factors that is crucial.

More recently, the Longitudinal Study (LS) (OPCS 1973) based on a one per cent sample of those recorded in the Census of 1971 has provided the basis of an aggregate Longitudinal Study of the British Population. Each census year information is added to the surviving members of the original sample. Events such as births, deaths and marriages have been added to the database through time giving a unique opportunity to record change through time. In a recent publication attempts have been made to use the ONS Longitudinal survey to interpret various facets of recent migration in Britain (Creeser and Gleave 2000). For example, Hoggart (2000) investigated the changing composition of the rural population and contested the assertion that as a whole it was becoming a homogeneous domain of the white middle-class. Interestingly, in the study of a mining group Hollywood (2000) emphasised a subgroup which has not received attention is recent years, that of non-movers. However, the main deficiency in the LS is that it is not feasible to interview the participants because the sample is anonymous and given the sampling framework adopted it is not possible to pinpoint a local-scale specific geographical area to examine specific migration flows. Finally, a major problem with all the secondary longitudinal data is that the spatial referencing is difficult to achieve at any level below that of a regional scale. For example, the General Household Survey gives clear information about regional trends but cannot be more finely resolved.

2.6 A Life Course Approach

Since the growing dissatisfaction with the FLCM researchers halve sought some alternative approaches in their attempts to interpret the time dimension in the migration process. One of these approaches is the so-called lifecourse theory, favoured by several branches of the Social Sciences and according to Hareven (1982: 6):

> "A life course perspective views the interrelationships between individual and collective family behaviour as they constantly change over people's lives and in the context of historical conditions. The lifecourse approach is concerned with the movement of individuals over their own lives and through historical time with the relationships of family members to each other as they travel through personal and historical time".

From the burgeoning literature associated with the notion of life course, much of it within sociology, it is evident that the emphasis is on transitions rather than stages, conflict between choice and constraint cohort-specificity, and context. One of the major criticisms of the lifecycle has been the underlying principle that individuals progress through a linear series of inevitable stages related to age. A life course approach does not presuppose the existence of an individuals development stages though some authors still appear to use the terminology 'stage' but in an alternative way. For example, Cohen (1987: 2) views:

> "The life course is like a bus journey punctuated by stages, with boarding and embarking points. [She stresses] These stages are not fixed; have changed in length in response to wider social change and that new stages have emerged. The boarding and embarkation points for childhood have either lengthened or shortened over time and vary with region and culture".

Thus, Harris (1987) and Cohen (1987) adopted the idea of 'turning points' or 'transitions'; a qualitative change in at least some aspect of daily living as opposed to gradual and incremental qualitative changes such as those associated with physiological ageing in later life.

Generally, life course approach stresses the importance of considering past events and actions in an individual's life. As Cohen (1987: 3) has spelled out; "any change in one stage of the lifecourse has implications for subsequent stages". Similarly, Harris (1987) has pointed out the importance of a temporal dimension in understanding social action, arguing that neither a synchronic nor a diachronic (looking at two separate points in time) analysis are sufficient. Only by considering the effects of the past actions of the subject in constituting the context of the current action will the actions be understood. A life course approach not only considers personal time but also historical time. Indeed some, including Harris (1987), have argued that the lifecourse of an individual is the point of intersection between two types of time, personal and historical time.

The theme of intersection is continued with interrelationships not simply between personal and historical time but between different individuals. The FMLC tended to concentrate on the individual progressing through a pre-determined path with little recognition of the fact that the individual is constantly interacting with others. Hareven (1982) stressed the need to consider individuals not in a social vacuum but in their context whether it be the family, the wider community or regionally. Cohen (1987) also emphasised the need to consider the family unit in influencing an individual's actions in particular the exchange between generations.

> "Each person is the centre of social relationships between him/herself and members of his/her ascendant own and descendant generation and the members of these categories are at different points in their life courses. Thus in so far as an individual's life is bound up with and affected by their own situation, the individual's life will be periodized not only by his/her own life course transitions but also by his/her own associates" (Harris 1987: 26).

The rather deterministic ideal implicit in the FLCMs has been seen as a weakness by many. A lifecourse approach offers a framework to consider the junction between choices of individuals and how others mediate that choice. With specific reference to women, Allat *et. al.*. (1987: 3) commented "Paradoxically, although lifecourse analysis emphasises the availability of options and the individual choice the lifecourse analysis distinctions between family and individuals help us to recognise the systematic conflation of the two in most women's lives." Harris (1987) too, argued against both passive determinism and lack of adequate knowledge and instead demonstrated the importance of the context of actions, being itself the process of change and transformation.

Lifecourse is cohort-specific i.e. it is the function of the demographic, social, and political conditions of a particular period and place (Warnes 1992). It has been suggested by Harris (1987) that the study of a lifecourse involves an examination of what transitions the members of different social categories within a given cohort typically experience and then questioned whether those transitions were of such a nature and so-timed as to constitute major changes in the whole way of life of the person concerned.

Lifecourse, according to Harris (1987) should not be referred to using the definite article - as this gives the impression of a definable structure and diminishes the notion of interrelationships. "For lifecourse is not a progress through structure but a negotiation of passage through an unpredictably changing social environment" (Harris 1987: 30). This seemingly 'finicky' point is not taken up seriously by the majority of authors although the idea behind the distinction between 'a lifecourse' and 'the lifecourse' appears worth bearing in mind.

Having discussed some general features of a lifecourse approach, the question then arises as how best to use and more specifically to apply it in a migration study. In general there are several warnings and recommendations given as to the use of a lifecourse approach. Firstly, it should not be identified with any particular methodology - whether it be the collection of life histories or the construction of demographic models. Secondly, it should not be confused with the study of private, personal, individual or particular as oppose to the public, group or collective (Harris 1987). Thirdly, the emphasis should be on lifecourse as a way of categorising and ordering experience rather than explaining or theorising about it (Allat *et. al.* 1987).

Against these warnings then a number of positive features emerge. With its emphasis on the interrelationships of individual, family and historical time it opens up the possibility of a more detailed analysis of the constituent elements of an individual's life (Allat *et. al.* 1987). The element of reification is also exemplified by this approach, in that it provides a means for studying the ways in which people constitute and are constituted by life (Harris 1987). According to Grundy (1992) lifecourse can be used as a conceptual tool, thus providing a framework for analysis.

> "Lifecourse should be viewed as a *field* where the particularity of individual historical experiences is defined in terms of general categories and provides and indispensable practical tool for bridging the gulf between social facts and social acts in away that does justice to the histrocity of them both" (Harris 1987: 43).

A final challenge and warning is given by (Murphy 1987: 67) "the generalised nature of the lifecourse approach makes it less open to criticism but also gives less clear guidelines for a particular analysis - except that no potentially important factor should be ignored".

The adoption of a lifecouse perspective to the study of migration has to date been relatively limited. Of those studies, such as that of Grundy (1992), there has been a shift from estimating the duration of various family life cycle stages to looking at events or transitions associated with mobility. More specifically, migrations are being considered both in an individual and historical context, for example, Morrison (1970) has demonstrated in his notion of 'chronic migrants' that those with a history of migration are more likely to migrate again. A lifecourse perspective has allowed a more detailed analysis of the incidence of movements such as circular, periodic, return and small-scale movements to be documented. It may also show spatial patterns such as small-scale movements and step-wise migration which otherwise go unnoticed (Bedford 1973; Chapman 1976). By the incorporation of a historical context it allows more causal analysis to be undertaken since it is stressed that decisions to migrate are rarely made in isolation, in particular they can be influenced by family, friends and wider society. In other words, this approach stresses the interrelationships between an individual, their family, other generations, and the local community, believed to be crucial in understanding the decision-making process of migration.

One of the few attempts to generate theories of migration through time was devised by Warnes (1992). In this he re-emphasised one of the most important criticisms of the FLCM that it was 'definite and timeless' (Warnes 1992: 177) and, therefore, produced a revised typology of lifecourse transitions believed to be prevalent and significant for residential mobility and household transitions in contemporary Britain (Figure 2.4). This was an important first step in recognising that not all transitions apply to every individual. The revised model addressed the issue of stages and a normative progression though life whilst still acknowledging that there are common attributes to the migration process associated with age and household from. In creating this typology Warnes (1992) also adopted an important notion that the typology is cohort specific in that it is a function of the demographic, social and political conditions of a particular period and place. Furthermore it was argued that over the last century a greater differentiation of these transitions has come about and the need to identify that different household forms take different decisions.

It has been recognised that different cohorts have different migration behaviour whether the distinctions are between age or social class. In order to be able to permit some sort of generalisation about the nature of change, the comparison of age cohorts provides an opportunity to analyse the importance of different social and economic context in which decision were being made. Migration history data in the form of cohort analysis provides a means of integrating the micro-macro levels of explanation. In relation to migration in later life according to Champion and Fielding (1992: 219)

> "Temporal factors need further exploration, even in the relatively well-researched areas of retirement migration. According to this perspective, a particular type of household at a given point in the life cycle, say a married couple approaching retirement age, may engage in radically different migration behaviour on retirement from its counterpart of twenty years earlier. This is because the two households, despite being statically identical at that point in time may well have experienced different housing careers (for instance, where they came from originally or, using the term loosely where they spent their holidays) or be faced with radically different circumstances at the time of retirement such as the state of the housing market or the movement option available to them. What this means in a nutshell is that past migration patterns of migration are not necessarily a reliable guide to the future with the implication that research must be much more cohort based. Only in this way can we begin to establish why some people retire to the traditionally coastal resorts and others to the countryside or the Algarve whilst others do not move at all.

Thus using different cohort experiences it is possible to compare the lifetime migrations and evaluate real shifts in migratory behaviour through time. In summary, although a lifecourse approach has been widely adopted in other branches of social sciences it has not so far been widely used within the study of migration. It is argued that with specific reference to the temporal and spatial components of migration it is particularly useful conceptual tool.

Figure 2.4 Lifecourse and migration (after Warnes 1992)

Life course transition	Housing needs and aspirations	Distance and frequency of moves per year	Age (years)
Leaving parental home	low cost, central city, temporary shared	short and long 1+ moves	16–22
Sexual union	low–medium cost, short tenancy	short 0.3 moves	20–25
Career position	low mortgage, flat or house	long 0.5 moves	23–30
First child			
• good income	medium mortgage, 2+ bedroom house	short	23–30
• low income	social housing	very short	21–28
Career promotion	higher mortgage, larger house	long 0.1 moves	30–55
Divorce	low cost, short tenancy	short	27–50
Cohabitation and second marriage	medium cost rental or low mortgage	short and long 0.1 moves	27–50
Retirement	buy house outright, medium–low cost	long	55–68
Bereavement or income collapse	low-cost rental, shared	short or return	70+
Frailty or chronic ill health	low-cost rental, shared or institutional	short 0.3 moves	75+

Although Harris (1987) warns against associating lifecourse with any particular methodology - in order to be able to attain an understanding of an individual's past and some degree of their former and existing relationships and place them in a historical context lifecourse clearly stresses the importance of a longitudinal approach. More specifically in relation to migration, it is argued that longitudinal data on a micro-scale is much needed (Grundy 1992). Indeed Warnes (1992) implies that unless there are some attempts made to collect, code and publish longitudinal data there is the danger that possible representations of migration will become increasingly anachronistic.

Despite being heavily criticised the FLCM has not been entirely superseded. Realising the importance of age and household form, there have been more recent attempts to update and refine those theories with the emphasis on the transitions experienced by households. The extent to which these age-related migrations have changed over time has yet to be examined with relation to understanding the decision-making process. It has been argued by various authors, including Grundy (1992), that studies of household transitions have largely ignored their spatial dimensions and geographical impact. Also, the simplistic notion that longer distance migrations are the result of employment opportunities and labour markets whilst life-cycle factors promotes local residential mobility has been questioned. Other than Warnes (1992) there have been few attempts to generate any alternatives to the changing migration behaviour through time. However, it is not the case that we do not know much about mobility through a lifetime but rather that the information that is available is patchy; it either refers to isolated household transitions or considers a limited age range with little notion of how this behaviour has changed through time.

There appear to be two broad foci when analysing migration through a lifetime; firstly that a specific household transition is analysed and related to migration behaviour such as leaving home, marriage, birth of children, divorce or retirement. Secondly, that a period of time is considered, such as migration of the young or migration of the elderly (Ford and Warnes 1992). Both approaches then often use a specific sub-group within an age-range, or those with similar occupation or similar cultural background as the basis of the investigation. These two broad approaches are outlined below.

Several studies have concentrated upon specific household transitions and related these to geographic mobility. For example Grundy (1989) analysed women's migration by linking it to marriage, fertility and divorce but though it provides evidence on the numbers involved and their social attributes it tells us little about the spatial context and the decision-making process behind each of the moves. Coleman and Haskey (1988) study of 'marriage distances' provides evidence on the nature of contemporary social life through though the whole research is weakened by its failure to consider cohabitation. A later study of family formation emphasised the growth of cohabitation and the later average age at marriage Haskey and Kiernan (1989) and it clearly illustrated the need for studies of the impact of marriage breakdown on migration patterns. They suggest that although marital breakdown almost invariably involved a move for at least one partner, the relationship and timing of these migration events is less than clear. The impact on individual mobility often cannot be traced until later when there may be a tendency to attribute the move to an alternative reason. Therefore, longer-term implications of marital breakdown on the migration propensities of individuals are less than clear (Grundy 1992: 173). Similarly, in relation to later life, Warnes (1986) and Cribier (1989) for example have studied the very different migration habits undertaken by people in conjunction with retirement but as with other forms of 'event' analysis, it is quite difficult to build up an overall picture of events.

Part of the difficulty in relying on specific events to monitor migration is that they are not clear-cut events. For example, even leaving home is difficult to measure with any precision (Cribier 1989:189). Questions of permanent independence abound and issues of complete or partial financial independence occur. With retirement, this can also be a protracted experience and the whole relationship with any potential household migration may depend upon more the retirement of more than one member. Hence, focusing upon specific transitions within the life course may help elucidate aspects of the migration process but they can not be used to make sense of an individual's migration behaviour throughout their lifetime.

Some other researchers however, have concentrated upon specific sectors of the lifetime such as the mobility during youth and later life. For example, Ford and Warnes (1992) proposed quite detailed theories of patterns of migration in later life, but concluded that;

> "Existing data tells us little of the extent to which moves are premeditated, postponed or thwarted and why some individuals choose not to move at all... as far as mobility planning itself we have little knowledge of its context: we do not know the extent to which mobility is considered part of life plans for retirement or in anticipation of negative life events. (Warnes and Ford 1992: 6).

Whilst a reasonable volume of research has focused upon mobility in later life there is much less research incorporating the mobility of the young. An early example was Hannan's (1968) classic study of the out-migration of rural youth from Western Ireland. By elucidating the future intentions of the youth and their eventual behaviour this study revealed the significance of out-migration in the culture of a sparsely populated region. More recently, Kiernan (1989) investigated the departure of children from home and found considerable variation in the extent of long-distance migration related to socio-economic and personal characteristics but failed to link these to specific geographical contexts. Although detailed studies of limited age spans can be linked together to build up a picture across a lifetime this fails to link the same people's migration decisions.

2.7 Alternative longitudinal approaches to migration

In recent years the usefulness of a longitudinal approach has been realised particularly at a 'local' scale but methodologies have been diverse and confusing, though not always new. Recent literature has become replete with a proliferation of concepts and terms such as residence histories, migration histories, life histories, oral histories and biographies – which have been used inter-changeably and often presented as something innovative (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). As Lewis (1982) pointed out nearly 20 years ago many of the more micro-approaches to migration through time were not really all that new then and as may be distinguished by the 'focus' or methods' adopted in the analysis. Above all, despite a certain amount of over-lap between the terms there are nevertheless important differences and subtleties, which need to be exposed (Table 2.3)

Table 2.3 Summary Table of Related Terms used in the study of lifetime migrations

Approach	Key Points	Examples (illustrative not comprehensive)
Residence History Analysis	Record of all residences and accompanying variables	(Pryor 1979) (Gilbertson and Gurak 1992) (Cribier 1989)
Migration History	May omit all residences, but emphasis upon moves made through time	(Walter 1980; Bailey 1989)
Life History	Incorporate all parts of life, emphasis not upon migration	(Balan *et. al*. 1969) (Bracher and Santow 1990)
Past Migration History	Historical Perspective of migration. More difficult to incorporate elements of decision-making from secondary sources.	(Pooley and Turnbull 1998)
Housing History	Documents occupants of housing, onus upon housing not migration	(Forrest and Murie 1992)
Event History Analysis	General term includes migration as one variable –tends to be large-scale statistical interpretation	(Mayer and Tuma 1990) (Bonvalet and Lelievre 1990)
Biography/Biographical approach	Telling someone else's story but need to focus upon integrated nature of all components	(Halfacree and Boyle 1993) (Findlay and Li 1995)
Oral History/Narratives	Create own story of events that sheds light upon migration but agenda created by narrator	(Gant 1995; Vandsemb 1995) (Stubbs 1984)

Of these concepts probably the most significant is that of *"residence history analysis"* which may be described as the study of migration behaviour through time. It records where a person has lived during his or her life and the timing of movement between places" (Rowland 1979: 3). This often involves the collection of related data such as the individual's: occupational, educational and family history, reasons for moving, income and home ownership. Data sources are diverse including retrospective and prospective surveys at local and national scales, population registers and city directories. The nature and quality thus varies enormously. Pryor (1979) uses the term 'residence history analysis' synonymously with '*migration history analysis*' even though some authors, such as Kothari (1979) argue that there is a difference between the two terms. The difference usually reflects the crossing of some administrative boundary. Residence history analysis would incorporate all changes in residence irrespective of how short the distance moved. Whilst a migration history would only include those moves where a change of locality had been experienced. Despite this distinction by some, there is no difference between the two terms, since every change of residence is in fact a migration and has important implications for both the individual and the spatial distribution of the population as a whole. Nevertheless, the term residence history as opposed to migration history will be used to avoid any confusion and encompass all nature of moves, in particular the short distance moves which are often neglected. *Past migration histories* or residential histories refer to simply to historical longitudinal studies of migration; the main difference between contemporary and historical residence histories lies in the ability to question the informant directly about moves he or she has made.

Closely related to residence history in what is often termed *dwelling histories* or *housing histories*. Forrest and Murie's (1992) work was distinct in that they focused upon specific housing and analysed their changing occupancy. Subsequent housing histories however, are more similar in essence to residence history analysis but the emphasis has been upon the resident's experience of a particular house over a particular time

(Mooney 1995). Thus interest has concentrated upon people's experience of housing rather than the question of moving. Indeed she sought to adopt a more biographical approach, 'tell their own story in their own words and prompted for additional as little as possible to obtain fuller accounts of how people's life experience interact with housing" (Mooney 1995: 7).

According to Collin's English Dictionary (1992:577) 'a *life history* is the series of events that make up a person's life.' In recording life-histories many of the same variables are collected which might be collected in a residence history analysis so there is frequent confusion surrounding the two terms (Bracher and Santow 1990). Due to the fact that residence histories often involve the collection of a great number of associated variables there is frequent confusion between a residence and life history. Pryor (1979) argued that residence history analysis should be seen as only one perspective on life history analysis, other perspectives including family history, occupational history, educational and health history. He then stressed that, 'other perspective' should not be assumed to be peripheral, on the contrary these perspectives are often integral in providing an explanation for the particular residence history. In terms of a so-called 'life-history' any representation is necessarily going to be partial. It is impossible to include in any life history all events, all relationships and all complexities of decision-making. One of the major differences therefore between the terms residence and life history is not so much on the precise nature of data collected but on which part of the information the interest or emphasis is placed. *Event history analysis*, the term adopted by (Mayer and Tuma 1990: 3) is described as 'statistical methods for studying societal change and differences between birth cohorts'. Although this included analysis of migration associated with fertility, marriage and education it is restricted solely to quantitative, large-scale analysis.

According to Chambers English Dictionary (1993: 203) a *biography* is "...a written account or history of the life of an individual", whilst Collins English Dictionary (1991:180) defines the same term as "...an account of a persons life by another". So, it would appear that a biography is a formalised interpretation of an individual's life history and, therefore, any interpretation will depend upon the aims of the biographer. As Pryor (1979:14) suggested; "biography is a work of the imagination - the imagination of form and style and narrative. The biographer is allowed to be as imaginative as he (*or she*) pleases as long as he (*or she*) does not imagine the facts". Though not concerned with residence histories *per se* biographical methods can offer a potential source of data (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). Many biographical accounts include migration and residence histories and, therefore, it could be argued therefore that such an approach is a particular source of migration data. The 'account of another person's life by another' could equally as well include an interpretation of their changes of residence with the focus surrounding those events, as an interpretation of say for example the successfulness of their career. Similarly, *oral history* can be viewed as a biographical approach although the emphasis is upon retrieving the respondent's own account and relaying this rather than recounting and interpreting the events oneself. It could be argued that this is again a more generalised method where the focus is not upon the informant but upon general information gathered. For example, Gant's (1995) use of retrospective interviews monitoring trends of second home ownership are an example of how oral history can be used to interpret the migration process. A *narrative* is a sequence of events told in words, and the events are ordered chronologies and there are a number of narrative possibilities (Vandsemb 1995). It is distinguished by two characteristics; the presence of a story and a storyteller. Further Scholes and Kellogg (1968) claims that any set of events that can be sequenced and related can also be narrated. One of the key issues with narratives as oppose to biographies is in the power relations involved. In the narrative it is the informant whom is providing the account of events, their stories and choosing to tell and hide those pieces of information that they see as relevant or important. Whilst in a biography, Vandsemb (1995:420) claims that "by linking individual stories into a group biography e.g. collecting stories of people migrating from the same village, one gains further insight into the social structures underlying the migration process."

2.8 Residence History Analysis

Since this study will involve the adoption of a residence history approach to understanding the migration process a more detailed consideration of its strengths and weakness will now be undertaken.. Over two decades ago Roseman (1971: 598) argued that future research must consider "residential histories as a means of accounting for the influence of previous moves upon any given set of moves in time and space." Yet, its use as yet has been largely confined to the study of partial migratory histories and not to lifetime migrations (Cribier 1982; 1989, McHugh 1995, Bonvalet and Lelievre 1990). Significantly, most research has been carried out in Asia and the Pacific with some exceptions in the United States and in particular migrations involving urban centres, often in developing countries (Pryor 1979; Hugo 1979; Young 1979). Interestingly the majority of studies of migration histories have been confined to extremes of data analysis; in that that either they have involved the manipulation of huge data sets where there is no intention to unravel the complexities of decision-making process, or conversely, grounded in few specific cases that their individuality renders their use in explaining patterns relatively limited.

Due to differing aims and geographical scales the ways the results are analysed vary too, with on the one hand some very intensive statistical interpretations and the other descriptive explanations. Over fifty years ago, Rider and Badger (1943) used migration histories of families in Baltimore in the United Sates to draw conclusions about a general feature of internal migration and concluded that the probability of moving within a specified time decreases as the length of maintaining the same residence increases. Goldstein (1958) in a study of Norristown, Pennsylvania also utilised this approach in order to understand the problems of the maintenance of social and cultural stability in communities characterised by high mobility. Whilst Taeuber (1961) utilised a national residential history sample of the U.S. population to study the stage migration model and found good support for it. Similarly in Monterrey, Balan *et. al.* (1969) about 1640 partial life histories were obtained systematically to draw conclusions about the general features of migration.

Building upon this early work it was realised that a longitudinal approach to the study of migration specifically using residence histories is extremely useful in analysing and explaining migration behaviour

(Bogue 1959; Balan *et. al.* 1961). By focusing upon individual behaviour through time a residence history analysis perceives migration as part of an individual's life history and, therefore can be linked to other key events such as their education history, occupation history and household transitions. Migration is thus conceived as a function of this preceding behaviour and of concomitant changes in other characteristics (Taeuber 1966).

Within all longitudinal approaches one of the main problems inherent in research remains that of integrating different scales of research to enlighten subject areas. Often the national scale information lacks sufficient detail to be used to relate geographic elements or investigate decision-making through time. Conversely individual studies usually involve sample sizes which are too small to allow meaningful tabulation of the figures. Balan *et. al.* (1969) attempted to overcome this impasse by integrating case studies with complete life histories representing one end of the spectrum and wholly statistical studies at the other end. Conducting residence history analysis using a large enough sample it should be possible to infer some general trends together with an insight into the decision-making behind those existing patterns. Part of the reason in the dearth of longitudinal studies, despite calls for their inclusion, is due to the complexity of tracing and time-consuming nature of collation and analysis.

Given the paucity of data available (with notable exceptions outlined earlier) different data sources have been used to recreate migration histories. One of the pioneers of residence history analysis was Price (1963) who used naturalisation papers to trace a settlement history of a group of Ithacan Greeks who eventually settled in Western Australia. In particular, Price (1963) identified the importance of chain migration and that any interpretation of migratory behaviour must begin with reference to that individual's life history. Clearly his work showed the importance of understanding any resulting migration patterns within the context of their previous experience and specific origins. Others have recreated residence histories using other sources of longitudinal data (Gilbertson 1992). The importance of life history data to medical research has often meant that residence histories can be obtained from surveys carried out for different purposes. For example, Taeuber (1961) used residence histories collected in a lung cancer mortality study to investigate the concept of 'exposure residence'. Significantly, he found that relatively few of the respondents changed their residence between birth and adolescence whereas by their late twenties, over two thirds leave their place of birth and thereafter an individual's potential to migrate declines. It was also revealed that most of the adult population had extensive residential experience of only one or two different sized places, thus indicating a marked stability in the sizes of places in which people live, despite high rates of total residential mobility (Taeuber 1961). More recently Bailey (1989) set out to look at the relationship between an individual's history of migration and duration of sojourn by means of secondary data - the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth - which provided continuous residence histories for 12,686 individuals. His largely statistical analysis concluded that young adults with some migration history are found to be consistently more likely to migrate than young adults with no migration history and therefore tentatively confirmed the chronic migrant hypothesis. In other words that chronic migrants are found to re-migrate at predictable periods during a typical residential sojourn. Also in the United States, McHugh *et. al.* (1995) re-created partial residence histories to investigate multiple residence and cyclical migration in Arizona and found that these types of migration were relatively common and more significant than had previously been thought

Similarly in France, Bonvalet and Lelievre (1990) used two surveys conducted by INED (National Institute for Demographic Studies) to analyse the relations between the family, occupational and migration histories of a nation-wide sample of individuals and that of a sample of Parisians (born between 1926 and 1935). Although they found similarities in the housing conditions and structural forces operating at both scales, they did, however, find differences between the two populations. Notably that Parisians had moved later in life than their counterparts and that particular occupation structure had a great bearing upon the property acquired. Also in France, Cribier (1982; 1989) investigated the retirement years of two cohorts of Parisians who drew their pensions in 1972 and 1984 and examined the structural forces at play in determining differences in retirement migration.

A residence history analysis has the potential to unravel different types of movement that an individual might be involved in throughout their lifetime. According to Young (1979) residence histories are particularly valuable sources for the analysis of step and return migrations, circular and seasonal movements since they provide simultaneous sources of data on the spatial and temporal aspects of migration. According to Lewis (1982) despite the apparent potential of residence histories only a handful of useful studies have been carried out so far such as Pryor (1979). Case studies in this publication point to the potential use residence history analysis has as a means of exposing complexities in the migration process. However, much of the work done in the 1970's concentrated on specific migration patterns evident in Asia and Australia rather than frameworks, applicable to the migration processes in Britain. So far this methodology has been little applied in this country with a few notable exceptions such as (Mooney 1995; Walter 1979). The earlier research by Walter (1980) analysed the migration histories of the Irish population in Bolton and Luton in an attempt to understand the particular characteristics of the settlements.

The subtle difference between the biographical approach and residence history analyses was the focus of a recent debate within population geography. In a contentious article, Halfacree and Boyle (1993: 343) called for the "need to undertake in-depth investigations of biographies of migrants in order to gain appreciation of the intentions implicated in the migration decision". Skeldon (1995) took issue with this challenge, accepting their critique of behaviourlist approaches in migration studies but argued that a biographical approach was not new as the authors had failed to acknowledge a body of research carried out in Asia and the Pacific during the late 1960s and 1970s (Bedford 1973; Chapman and Prothero 1985; Hugo 1979, Pryor 1979). In reply, whilst acknowledging their oversight of literature in the developing world they stressed their interpretation of a biographical approach was not the same as a longitudinal approach teasing-out migration histories (Halfacree and Boyle 1995: 99). They argued that a key concept within their biographical approach was a need to consider how migration fits into the persons' whole life.

In essence their approach differed from previous migration histories in that the emphasis was upon an appreciation of the link between migrations and ones whole life rather than a 'litany of migration events'. However, in Boyle and Halfacree's call for the adoption of a more biographical approach they failed to distinguish between method and focus of study. Whilst acknowledging several important issues raised by Boyle and Halfacree (1993) such as the need for both multiple reasons within migration research and the contextualising of decisions within a lifetime, a biography may not necessarily achieve these two aims.

Thus the use of residence histories is not new and the paucity of studies carried out is partly a result of appropriate available secondary data combined with the time-consuming nature of collecting and analysing residence histories (Table 2.3). A more generalised discussion of the problems of life history data collection was detailed by Young (1979: 79). In particular it was emphasised that in any residence history analysis there was a tendency to generate a greater mass of data than can actually be used in any study. But according to Taeuber (1961: 833); "this fact should not serve as a deterrent but as a challenging opportunity". As summarised by Rowland (1979:27)

> "Despite the disadvantages RHA remain an important and challenging area of migration research because of their potential for introducing innovations in our knowledge by documenting aspects of migration behaviour that are beyond the reach of cross-sectional sources".

Table 2.3Advantages and Disadvantages of using a residence history analysis

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Allows identification of causal relationships	Generates vast data set
Meaningful analysis of cohorts through time -demonstrates comparative mobility of cohorts	Problems with data collection, re-call and definitions
Allows identification of circular, periodic and return migration	Quality of data does not often allow generalisations
Identifies spatial patterns such as step-wise migration	Not widely used, so lack of firm guidelines to process and analyse data
Under-utilised approach	
Emphasis on people as well as places	

2.8 Conclusions

Notions of changing migration behaviour in recent time have been accepted unquestioningly with little attempt to differentiate between different members of the population. It has been argued that little attention has been focused upon changing migration behaviour through a lifetime, in particular subsequent migration decisions. In general, the Family Lifecycle Model has been adopted as a broad basis for the conceptualisation of how migration behaviour has changed over the lifetime. Despite numerous criticisms of the model it has continued to underpin much migration research. Most attempts to monitor changing migration behaviour have been considered using cross-sectional approaches and have considered single migration events related either to specific household stages such as marriage or divorce or specific ages (e.g. the elderly). Such studies have extremely important contributions to make with respect to understanding the relationship between the migration and the specific variable or age cohort investigated, but cannot be related to each other, or use to assess changing migration behaviour though the same lifetimes. Instead it has been argued the investigation of changing migration though a lifetime should adopt a longitudinal approach. Lifecourse theory has been advocated as an important conceptual framework in which to relate migration events and decisions to each other through an individual's lifetime. Data sources of longitudinal migration data, which permit analysis of changing decision-making or relate all subsequent moves are absent so a residence history analysis was proposed to collate lifetime migrations of a sample of rural inhabitants. Having argued for the adoption of a residence history analysis to investigate changing migration behaviour through a lifetime, the following chapter seeks to outline the temporal and spatial context in which those moves were made.

Chapter 3: The Geographical and Socio-economic Context

3.1 Introduction

Following from the previous chapter, since the study is concerned with migrant experience through time in a specific place, it is necessary to provide a contextual background.

> "The decision to migrate is not made whilst placed in suspension the rest of one's life, instead we exist in a context which is predicated upon action in time, not contemplation' (Thrift 1986: 91).

In other words, this chapter highlights the main features of the national and local economy and society that might have contributed to influencing migrant decisions throughout their lives. This background should enable a comparison of 'similar moves' such as those moves made upon leaving home by different age cohorts to be made. Clearly, this vast area of social change can only be sketched in the broadest terms, but it is deemed useful to provide a general framework within which the moves can be placed.

In order to achieve this a contextual background at three different scales will be outlined. The first of these will summarise the cultural, economic, social and political context in which migrations have taken place over the past seventy years. This will be followed by a consideration of the significance of examining lifetime migrations within a rural area and finally, an account will be provided of the demographic and economic changes as well as the planning issues being experienced by the two case study areas.

3.2 Socio-economic context

A broad overview of some of main features of the last seventy years is summarised in Table 3.1. This illustrates some of the key socio-economic features over the last century, which may have been important in influencing individual migration decisions. However, this is clearly not a comprehensive account, merely an illustrative account of variables that may have influenced migrant's opportunities. One key issue is that of variability within the country, the national picture provides a background, but there was huge regional and indeed local variation within the fortunes of the economy, so too great differences between different sectors of the population. For example, even the impact of the world-wide depression of the 1930s was 'patchy', unemployment was extremely variable within the country (low in the relatively prosperous London and the South-East and notably higher in the areas where staple industries were concentrated, such as ship building on the Tyne). Indeed in a number of areas there was spectacular growth and the 1930s was a period, where those in employment were better off with real wage increases and greater purchasing power. So to, there was also variation in the extent and timing of many periods of rapid economic growth or recession and associated changes in the housing market were very uneven throughout the country.

Table 3.1 Broad socio-economic context

Time Period	**Key Features**
1918-39 **Inter-war years**	Brief post-war boom after First World War. Followed by staple industries in long-term decline. War had important effect on women's status. High unemployment with great regional variation (1936 -16% in NE -ship building and coal, 9% in Midlands – manufacturing). General Strike 1926 The Depression –World wide industrial depression. Period that followed marked great regional contrasts – high unemployment for some, for some increased wages in service sector and growth of mod cons.
1939-45 **Britain at war**	End of Depression. Huge demand for industrial products – full employment – Huge social change (Evacuation/black market). Keynsiansim provided frame of reference between late 1930s and late 1970s. Women again involved in war – Land Army/factories/other traditional male employment. 3.5 million houses bombed (estimated 60 million changes of address 1939-45) Growth in authority of state (rationing, conscription, direction of labour)
1945-64 **Post war Britain**	Labour's creation of welfare state The Education Act 1944 (The Butler Act) introduction of '11 plus' Nationalisation of Britain's major industries Immediately post war period of construction (over 1 million houses built) High employment Abolition of Rent Act –more properties but higher rents Huge growth in house buying
1964-79 **The Age of consensus**	Britain apparent inability to match growth rates of world's major industrial economies. Period viewed by some as 'Britain in decline' industrial-post industrial economy. Shift from manufacturing to service economy Significant rise in standard of living -consumerism Inflation and recession –recurring features of economy (stop-go policies) Significant levels of immigration Britain entered EEC Decline in Trade union strength over time 1973 oil Price rise –severe recession / huge rise in employment Winter of discontent 1979 (series of strikes)
1979-1990 **Thatcherism**	Keynsiansim abandoned in favour of free market Monetarism –privatisation of public utilities High unemployment. Riots in Bristol; London, Liverpool and Manchester serious slump occurred 1982 Falklands war. Mid 1980s – rising house prices and rise in incomes. Miner's strike 1984-5 Recession at end of the 1980s when house building and job opportunities well below average levels. 1987 Black Monday –stock market collapse Rising employment levels. Introduction of Poll tax. 1990 Thatcher resigned.

3.3 Migration flows into and out of rural areas

At the outset, this research is not intended to be a study of rural migration per se. In assessing changing migration through a lifetime, the one facet that is constant in the subject of study is the migrant not the place of study. Most migrants will probably have moved through a number of different environments both rural and urban throughout their lives. Nevertheless, since all respondents were selected from two rural areas it is likely that for many, these two areas may have been important in shaping their residence histories. It maybe that a large proportion of those interviewed have lived in a rural environment for a significant part of their lives - that they may indeed be rural migrants but this is of interest to the wider picture rather than the focus of the study. The unifying feature is that all respondents were living in a rural environment at the time of the survey.

This study therefore, affords a unique opportunity to undertake a longitudinal analysis of migration into and out of rural areas and consider several aspects of social change that have emerged over recent years. Given the relatively small scale of this study it is inconceivable that these specific rural migration histories can be said to represent the wider patterns that have emerged in rural areas but it is hoped that they will contribute to the debates about the nature and pervasiveness of the process of migration into rural migration. The following section outlines the rationale behind the choice of rural contexts and outlines how adopting a residence history analysis of some of the inhabitants can help inform some of the current debates.

Migration between urban and rural areas has long since been the subject of study and is not within the scope of this discussion to argue for or against one particular definition of rural. Suffice to say a working definition that would seem appropriate to this study is one, which relies on the perception of people living in that area; what they themselves consider to be rural. Hoggart (1988: 35) states that " rural areas contain small settlements separated by open countryside.... usually the understanding of the general public".

The demographic experience of rural areas, like the economic situation has been varied and in many places whilst predominant rural depopulation was experienced in one area, another experienced growth. Nevertheless, in broad terms rural depopulation, had begun with the onset of industrialisation in the mid nineteenth century. This rural depopulation continued apace well into the 1920s before slowing down due to a combination of two factors: the beginnings of suburbanisation by the growth of adventitious rural populations on the fringes of cities; and second the transformation of certain urban industrial areas into depressed areas (Lewis 1998). After the Second World War this duality in the demographic experience became even more evident. The depopulation of the agricultural and more remote regions escalated to and out-migration was often accompanied by natural decrease (Vince 1952). Yet accompanying this depopulation, the process of outward movement from cities and surrounding countryside also emerged, within the context of increasing affluence, efficient public transportation and a rising rate of private-car ownership (Saville 1957). Yet during the mid 1970s Berry (1976: 24) proclaimed that the duality of the demography of the countryside had been overtaken and a "turning point has been reached in the American experience. Counterurbanization has replaced urbanisation as the dominant force shaping the nation's settlement patterns". Subsequently such a process was identified in the majority of other advanced economies and was generally regarded as the principal driving force into the rural population turnaround (Champion 1989; Cross 1990, Brown and Wardelll 1980).

There has been much debate about the extent and pervasiveness of counterurbanization. Nevertheless, it is the growth of population, which is believed to be one the greatest agents of social changes if not the cause of the fundamental changes that are occurring in the countryside (Watkins and Champion 1991: Thus, rural areas are generally considered to be undergoing huge social change. Words like recompositioning and restructuring are bandied around with few real measures of the extent of real changes that has occurred at a local scale. Too many studies of population change have conceived social change simply in terms of population growth or decline and net migration and losses. However, this is too simplistic since social change can take place even though the rate of population growth might be slowing down, stagnant or even declining. Following Rogers (1990), a shift in attention from gains or losses to the separation of inflows and outflows, any difference between the two flows will change the composition of the local population. To determine the changing composition of an area or community the focus of attention should therefore be on the characteristics of both departing and arriving households. The greater the difference between the two, so-called 'replacement selectivity' then the greater the change in a community's population (Lewis 1991). There are obvious logistical difficulties in tracing households that have left a community, but the fact remains that over-concentration on 'recent incomer households' may skew our understanding of the role of 'local movers' and longer-term resident households within the community. It is therefore argued that the analysis of recent change underplays the existence of any continuity, which may exist, and indeed the importance of local and national historical change. This may play an equally formative part in the decisions of potential migrants Thus a consideration of a selection of the range of rural inhabitants should provide an opportunity to consider the stability of the social structure too.

Many portrayals of migrants to rural areas have been both over-simplified and glamorised with too much emphasis on ''the spectacular' (Hoggart pers. comm. 1995). More recently using evidence from the Longitudinal Survey Hoggart (2000) questioned many of the assertions that rural areas are becoming increasingly homogenous in which " relative wealth is seen as an important prerequisite of admission, with cultural self-selection reinforcing this white, family middle class tone" (Hoggart 2000). The concentration on the 'long-distance metropolitan counterurbanites' as sole agents of social change needs to be redressed with a consideration of other participants. This notion of homogeneity has been questioned and it is argued within studies of rural migration there is a need to encompass all types of participants; long distance, short distance or local movers and long term residents. Indeed the inclusion of so-called 'non-migrants' or those that have perhaps moved within village boundaries should tell us a great deal about the continuity and stability which has existed as well as the change undergone. For a better understanding of rural social change it is just as important to evaluate the positive forces in place, which maintain a population. Simply because their migratory paths may be confined within a small area does not mean that the long-term resident is a passive force.

Likewise, the notion of the urbanite moving into the countryside should not be over-emphasised in all cases, the incidence of household connections or ties to an area, village, house, or rural area in general have a great impact on the assimilation of that household to the community and increase the probability of remaining longer in a residence. (Lewis 1991; Cross 1990). Thus the identity of the contemporary rural migrant is complex. Not only are there many different types of migrants to be incorporated into our understanding but their backgrounds are of crucial importance in terms of the ensuing change. Analysing the last migratory experience by survey may miss valuable links or connections with the area which assure an easier assimilation with the area. So too incorporating a wider range of migrants should ensure that intra-rural migration is no over looked. Small movements may well have been over-looked at the expense of the more glamorous long distance moves, certainly evidence exists for regional variation (Boyle 1995).

There have been numerous studies of the types of rural migrants and the way they are distributed in different parts of the country (Champion 1989, Law and Warnes 1976), but explanations of moves have usually been considered with respect to a single move with one place of origin, one destination and one decision. Williams and McMillen (1980: 189) argue "the concept of a single decision to move is artificial" and there is a need to move beyond the notion of a single decision or two decisions in a linear sequence. Whilst Halfacree (1993) more recently in his evaluation of the importance of 'the rural' demonstrated that exacting single responses or main responses may well underestimate the importance of other factors in explaining the migration process. Furthermore, it is probable that there is a relationship between different moves such that one move should be viewed in the context of previous and potential moves (Da Vanzo and Morrison 1971). Harper's (1991) case studies of decision-making goes some way to illustrating the multi-faceted nature of decision-making; recognising various components of decision-making and provides a model of decision-making which incorporates three elements; the catalyst, the arena and the emphasising the importance of conextualising decisions. So too, Cadwallader (1992) emphasised the importance of contextualising decision-making both in time and space. It is argued here that a reconsideration of linkages between a number of variables may show the importance of past experience on subsequent moves and ties to a place to be more significant in the choice of destination than first thought. In summary using residence history analysis allows for the contextualising of decisions and should help to identify linkages not only within their own life histories but so too to wider social forces.

Having considered the significance of a longitudinal approach in aiding our understanding of rural social change the following section outlines the characteristics of the two rural areas selected.

3.4 Case Study Areas

The study was undertaken in two areas of rural England: Tynedale and Rutland, the selection of which is outlined in the next chapter. The following section provides a local context to broader socio-economic changes and recent rural social change in these two areas. It considers the local context at two spatial scales; firstly the contrasting characteristics of the two districts and accompanying demographic features and secondly the characteristics of the villages from which the sample were drawn.

3.5 Tynedale District and Demographic Background

Tynedale is the largest district in England and Wales and has an area of 857 square miles (Figure 3.1). It is bounded by two county borders and one national border: Durham to the south, Cumbria to the west and Scotland to the north. Tynedale therefore comprises extremely varied terrain and accompanying local economic factors (Figure 3.1). Currently, Tynedale is also the least densely populated districts of the Northumberland County with 0.3 persons per hectare compared with a county average of 0.6 persons per hectare and a national average for England and Wales of 3.2. The population is concentrated in the settlements of the Tyne Valley, the main towns being Hexham, Prudhoe and Haltwhistle with four local centres: Allendale, Bellingham, Corbridge and Haydon Bridge.

Tynedale has witnessed a succession of changes in its migrational trends. Although difficult to pinpoint the magnitude of precise flows in the district given changes in administrative boundaries, some of the general features of migrational trends are outlined below. House (1965) detailed the migration history of the Northeast from the early 19th century until 1931 and concluded that short distance migration from adjacent counties and from Scotland replaced long-distance immigration after the 19th century. Rural depopulation was very heavy after 1851, characterised by migration in one or two stages with intermediate residence in larger settlements or market towns. Families tended to move almost as frequently as single persons, particularly true over short distances. House (1965) also recorded a higher proportion of females over males among emigrants from rural and mining areas and of these women the majority were school leavers and young adults. The first half of this century witnessed a continuation of the rural depopulation process in the Northeast albeit at a slower rate than nationally, immobility being cited as a function of the depression since moving was costly both in economic and social terms.

The employment structure of the Northeast rural areas in 1951, as cited in (House 1965), showed how dependent the economy was upon agriculture comprising 24%, whilst it was only 15% for extractive industries, manufacturing 13% and 48% service industries. However, during the 1950s, following the momentum of Government post-war investment, agriculture continued to get strong support from central Government, thus underpinning hill farming in particular. According to House (1965) this may have helped stem part of the flow into nearby urban centres. Perhaps too, given the unfavourable employment conditions in the cities and coal fields in the period after 1956, there was some reduction in the net loss of adults (those over 21) but not of young persons.

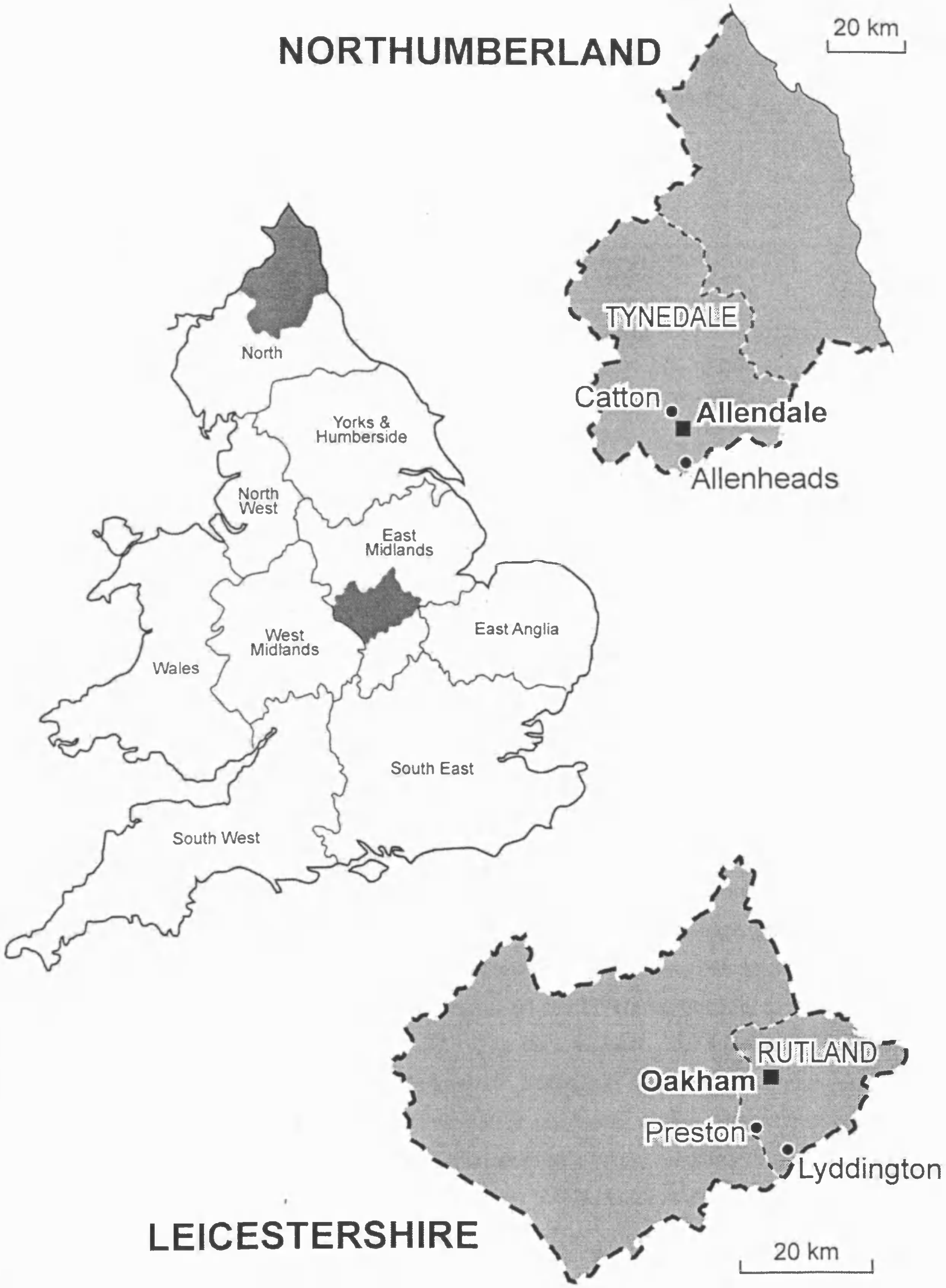

NORTHUMBERLAND
20 km
TYNEDALE
Catton
Allendale
Allenheads
North
Yorks & Humberside
North West
East Midlands
West Midlands
East Anglia
Wales
South East
South West
RUTLAND
Oakham
Preston
Lyddington
LEICESTERSHIRE
20 km

Figure 3.1 Location map of study areas

The population of Tynedale District was estimated at 56,224 in 1991, an increase of 2991 persons in the ten year period 1981 - 1991. At 5.6%, this increase is the largest for any District within Northumberland County. More significantly, the district has experienced natural decline in this period, deaths exceeding the number of births and therefore the increase in population has been generated by net in-migration: more people moving into the district than moving out (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Population Change by District 1971-1991 (Northumberland)

Area	By Year			Intercenal increase or decrease (-) % per year	
County	1971	1981	1991	1971-1981	1981-1991
Northumberland	279,533	299,900	301,882	0.71	0.07
Districts					
Alnwick	27,936	28,700	30,092	0.18	0.46
Berwick-upon-Tweed	25,783	26,200	26,797	0.17	0.21
Blyth Valley	60,723	76,800	78,168	2.39	0.18
Castle Morpeth	47,505	50,600	49,833	0.63	-0.15
Tynedale	53,146	55,100	56,792	0.36	0.30
Wansbeck	64,460	62,500	60,200	-0.31	-0.37

Source: OPCS (1993) 1991 Census: County Reports Part (1), Northumberland (Table B: p.17) London, HMSO.

It is recognised that a large component of these in-migrants commute to Tyneside to work. Unfortunately no figures are available for the level of commuting from Allendale, but in Prudhoe it is has been estimated that 38 % of the town's work force commute to work outside the district whilst in Hexham this is reduced to 28 % (Tynedale District Local Plan 1994: 9). According to the Tynedale District planners the fastest growing parts of the district have been those that are generally attractive to commuters, particularly Hexham, Allendale and Corbridge. As might be expected in such a large district there is a great deal of variation in the level of population increase between different areas. For example, Hexham has experienced a growth of nearly 1700 people between 1981 and 1991, accounting for over half of the population growth in the district and an increase of 19 % for the town itself. Allendale town increased in population by 17 % and Corbridge by 4%. In contrast, Bellingham remained virtually unchanged between 1981 and 1991 and Haydon Bridge experienced population decline. One of the greatest concerns for planners in Tynedale at present is the composition of those out-flows; in particular the outflows of young adults (16-24) relative to other age groups from Tynedale: a drop of 13 % in 1981 to only 11 % in 1991. It is assumed that the lack of availability of appropriate employment opportunities together with the lack of affordable, suitable housing are to blame.

Many of the demographic changes experienced in Tynedale below mirror changes at large in the British population. For example, the district's population is ageing. Over the past ten years the proportion of those of pensionable age rose by 1% to 21 % (Tynedale District Local Plan 1994: 5), this is higher than both the County (20%) and national averages (19%). This has important implications in what is a predominantly 'rural' district with respect to the health and transport services. This increase in the elderly has coincided with a reduction in the number of young adults, particularly in the rural areas being investigated. Household size is becoming smaller due to a number of factors: people living longer, higher incidence of divorce and separation and an increasing number of young people living independently at a younger age. In Tynedale, average household size has fallen from 2.66 persons per household in 1981 to 2.47 in 1991 and is predicted to fall further to 2.34 in 2000 (Tynedale District Local Plan 1994: 4). Housing tenure has also changed significantly, with a growth in private home ownership, from 53 % in 1981 to 66 %in 1991.

The North East as a whole has a legacy of declining traditional industries and subsequently higher unemployment compared to other areas in the UK. This is reflected regionally in the relatively high rates of unemployment of 9.2 % in June 1990, compared to a national rate of 5.3%. Yet, once again given the size and variation of settlements within Tynedale unemployment rates vary greatly too. Several of the market towns within close reach of the selected villages are experiencing relatively buoyant economic circumstances (Tynedale District Local Plan 1994). Indeed, Tynedale District Council identified that within the Hexham Travel To Work Area (HTTWA), which covers the majority of Tynedale an unemployment rate of only 3.3 % represented the lowest in the region. In terms of the local economy, there is one particularly important factor which comes into force, that of commuting. As mentioned earlier much of the population growth in Tynedale has been attributed to in-migration. Unless this involves a majority of non-working households, then commuting is an important feature. Furthermore, as with all generalisations there is great disparity between unemployment for particular age and gender groups. For example, among young adults (16-24) the figure rises to 6.6 %and when considering only male young adults this rises to 9.5 %.

Tynedale's employment has historically focused on the agricultural industry with over three-quarters of the land within some form of agricultural use. However, there has recently been a significant reduction in the agricultural work force, estimated to be about 4% between 1982 and 1992 (MAFF report, cited in Tynedale District Local Plan 1994). This has coincided with a change in the type of agricultural employment: in particular a reduction in full-time farm workers, an increase in part-time working, and a reduction in the number of full-time non-family employees. Yet, despite the landscape being dominated by agriculture it constitutes only approximately 7% of the total employment in Tynedale in the 1990s, although it must be added that many jobs within the service sector are reliant upon the agricultural industry. The service sector employs the largest proportion of the work force (45%) followed by the distribution and catering sector 20%. The increase of businesses in the area compares favourably with that of other districts within Northumberland at 17.1% between 1980 and 1989, but this is still well below the national average of 29%. However, many of the businesses listed in the Tynedale Business Directory still employ less than five people and, therefore, in terms of actual numbers employed this still represent a relatively small number of people. The District Council has recognised the importance of the growth of existing small and medium sized firms and the impact of foreign investment (Tynedale District Local Plan 1994).

3.5.1 Allendale Parish

The sample of respondents interviewed in Tynedale District were drawn from Allendale Parish, an area of 40 square miles and includes the valleys and moors of the East Allen River (Figure 3.1). It contains three main settlements: Allendale (estimated population over 1300), Catton (estimated population over 350) and Allenheads (estimated population over 200) at the head of the East Allen River making a combined population of nearly 1900 (OPCS 1993). The former economy of the dale was lead mining particularly important in the mid nineteenth century, in which a large number of miners also worked as part-time farmers. This has resulted in a large number of isolated farms, some of which are still working farms but the majority of which have been converted into homes with a small number lying ruined. There are many reminders of this mining legacy: overgrown spoil heaps, disintegrating chimneys on the fell side, strange mounds and runnels on the landscape. The lead mining in Allendale locale encouraged immigration at its peak around the 1870s of both skilled and unskilled workers often over long distances. This flow into the Parish was later reversed as the leadmining declined and workers were left with no work and no means to feed themselves. There are many records of lead mining families emigrating to Australia. The economy and remaining workers were then reliant mainly upon sheep and cattle rearing or the small service centres of Allendale. Population in East Allendale fell by one-tenth between 1951 and 1961 but with a diminishing rate after 1956 (-5.4%), an unusual feature in the Northeast rural area (Edwards 1964). As early as the 1950s, Allendale had undergone a distinct concentration of growth. (Edwards 1964) field survey in 1962 identified 73 out-migrants between 1951-1961, 43 males and 30 females when the population was 1400, thus approximately 5% of the population. This left an unfavourable age structure with a low ratio of under 21-year-olds (24% in 1961). Of these migrants, the majority only moved short distances, over one half were absorbed by Tyneside and Northumberland. Of great significance is the composition of those flows: two-thirds of both female and male migrants were 15-25 years.

Travel to work was in evidence during this time period too, particularly to Hexham, mostly as a result of a good bus service but there were also instances of travel further afield to Tyneside. Although residents were travelling some distance to work by the 1960s they were long term residents of east Allendale Parish, rather than urban incomers. Even in the 1960s Edwards (1964) was fairly optimistic as to the future of the parish:

> "There is a strong dales spirit in Allendale and a well-developed community tradition. Farming is being re-organised into fewer but larger units by amalgamation of small-holdings uneconomic to work in present conditions. Tourism is on a small scale as yet but there is a spread of holiday cottage conversions from old, abandoned buildings. Allendale Town attracts retired folk ad overall economic prospects in the dale are not unpromising. Indeed in company with other Pennine dales present population densities continue above average for the rural areas; a further run-down would not be serious." (Edwards 1964: 134)

Although, inhabitants from the village of Allendale, or town as it has been traditionally known, were not included in the survey its prominence within the Parish and influence upon the other two settlements merits a brief description. It lies ten miles south-west of Hexham and about one mile south-east of Catton and four miles north of Allenheads. There are ten shops and five public houses, two garages, a bank, a church and chapel. Public amenities also include a village hall, recreation ground, church hall, library, school, doctor's surgery, fire station and a primary and secondary school. It is therefore an extremely important service centre for the surrounding area. Employment in Allendale is largely service businesses, shops, hotels and garages. A crystal manufacturing business set up by the Rural Development Commission lies on the outskirts of the village on the road to Catton. In association with its size there is a wide variety of housing. It has over 30 local authority houses and 25 elderly person bungalows and Housing Association owned elderly person's accommodation.

As mentioned earlier, Allendale was an important lead-mining area in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, during the last forty or fifty years it has become a popular holiday location and the importance of the tourist industry should not be understated. Allendale's local economy relies heavily upon providing accommodation, meals and entertainment for both locals and tourists alike. The railway never reached the town as planned but took passengers as far as Catton, a mile away. When the railway was running it was a popular day-trip and weekend-break from Tyneside. Today it still attracts a large number of tourists either in cars, or by bike.

The respondents were drawn from two villages in Allendale Parish: Catton and Allenheads. **Catton** is situated about one-mile north-west of Allendale and only nine miles north east of Hexham. Its proximity to both these service and employment centres have insured it as a popular destination. Its name is said to have been derived from the vast number of wild cats that bred in the valley at one time (N.F.W.I. 1994). The main part of the village comprises a number of old stone cottages around a triangular green. There is a small amount of ribbon development at either end of the village but it maintains quite a compact centre. There are about 200 households and several outlying farms. There are no local authority houses but there is quite a mixture of house type and size: ranging from several 1960s built open-plan bungalows, one bedroom terraced cottages and large detached stone built houses.

Several former public buildings have been converted into private use such as the old Board school built in 1879, subsequently taken over as a field study centre. The last shop run by the Allendale Co-operative closed fairly recently but the post office still operates from a private house. In the past several of the cottages around the green acted as grocers, general dealers or butchers. When the railway brought tourists from Tyneside up to the Allendale area, there were several establishments providing both accommodation and food. There is still a small Methodist chapel in the village and the village hall has many activities run from it. Yet local employment is scarce. Apart from the crystal factory on the outskirts of Catton, which provides jobs for locals, a guesthouse, several mixed farms, a coal merchant and a caravan site, there are limited employment opportunities. Hence, many residents commute to Hexham, Newcastle and Carlisle for both employment and services.

The second village in Allendale Parish from which the sample of respondents Allenheads, which is situated at the head of the East Allen valley, at an altitude of 1340 feet with moorland reaching 200 feet around it. It is reputed to be the highest village in England (N.F.W.I. 1994) and is distinctly more remote than either of the other two settlements. There was formerly a lead mine in the centre of the village, which was in operation until 1980, although it had been declining since the beginning of the 20th century. At its peak in the mid 19th century this mine was responsible for one-seventh of the total lead production in England (N.F.W.I. 1994) and at this time Allenheads was a busy place with many miners supplementing their incomes with small farms. As the lead mining petered out, farming continued and several of the small farms formed co-operatives in order to make a living. After the final closure of the mine in the 1960s, a newspaper article commented that the village was 'dying' which prompted an immediate local response. In fact the village featured on a popular BBC series, "The Changing Countryside" (Newby 1982) which depicted pictures of run-down buildings and gloomy boarded up or empty houses and shops. Originally, the village was an estate village and even today much of the property is still owned and being leased by the proprietor, Lord Allendale. In 1978, a local Community Trust, the Allenheads Trust was formed in order to encourage the transformation of the village. However, as with any such change, local groups opposed new development. However, the Trust has re-built many of the derelict buildings and created a heritage display centre with a cafe, a holiday house, two craft shops, offices, a riverside path, several picnic sites, a trout farm and a museum for an historic hydraulic engine which used to drive the saw mill. The village store/post office has transferred into the renovated building. The old mining warehouses have been renovated and Tynedale Council has a number of incentive grants to encourage small businesses to locate there. At present, the old warehouses house a furniture restorer, an environmental consultancy and a graphic designer/free-lance artist. There is also a busy village inn, which was re-opened about six years ago after several years of closure and also provides bed and breakfast accommodation too. The fells cater for grouse shooting, which brings vital income to the area and helps manage the moorland.

Yet, despite these encouraging signs, local employment in Allenheads is still limited. Many residents commute to Allendale, Hexham and also to Carlisle. There is a mix of household types but the age structure appears to be dominated by the older age groups: the relative isolation of Allenheads and its lack of local services have probably deterred some of the young with families.

3.5.2 Tynedale District: Planning context

An understanding of local migrations need often to be considered within the housing and development policies carried out by the county and local distract councils. Some policies determine the level of housing growth locally as well as economic development.

In terms of the growing number of households identified in the section 3.5 the Northumberland County Structure Plan advocates that any local plan should accommodate a level of growth sufficient to assist the regeneration of the Northumberland economy, and to meet the housing and employment needs of local people, i.e. 2,200 dwellings and at least 30 hectares of employment land in Tynedale. This was based on a forecasted population increase which included a lowering on average household size, an increase of second and holiday homes whilst keeping the average rate of growth constant and the proportion of institutional and private households the same.

Tynedale District Council has identified four major concerns in terms of planning: the limits to the continuing growth of existing popular settlements such as Hexham, Allendale and Corbridge; the scope for growth in less popular areas which have seen population decline; the changing structure of Tynedale's population and associated outflow of younger population from the less popular remoter areas and the need to provide a wide range of accommodation to meet the varied needs of the population. There has also been a more general realisation that there is a great variability within the district in terms of the types of appropriate measures for different locations.

The approach that is used in determining where the new housing is to be built is to differentiate between those areas subjected to intense housing pressure and the more rural parts of the District, defined as the Commuter Pressure Area and the Rural Area. The local centre of Allendale has recently been included in the Commuter Pressure Area due to its particularly high rates of growth although the previous 1989 Tyne Valley Local Plan had excluded it. Other centres to the eastern boundary of the district have also been included in the most recent amended CPA. After allowing for housing completions to 1st May 1994 provision will be made for 1300 additional dwellings within the commuter pressure area over the period 1991-2006. Tynedale District Council intended that future growth should continue to focus on the main towns of Hexham and Prudhoe and the local centres of Corbridge and Haydon Bridge.

Although Allendale is the smallest designated Local Centre in Northumberland it has experienced the highest rates of growth in the County in recent years. The 1991 Census estimated that there were 360 dwellings in Allendale, representing an increase since 1981 of 17% but this increase in housing is compounded by three factors: average household size is low, vacancy rates are above average and there are a larger number of second homes. Yet because there are already commitments for new housing in Allendale it was decided that there should be no further allocation of new dwellings. The impact upon the neighbouring settlements and selected field study villages of Catton and Allenheads is that a small amount of new housing has been proposed here. However, this is fairly limited, being restricted to building conversions and limited in fill of a maximum of two dwellings on appropriate sites.

Housing provision beyond the Commuter Pressure Area, in the Rural Area is set to allow the building of at least 500 new dwellings over the period 1991-2006. This has been set out in an attempt to encourage development in some of the smaller settlements to 'support the life of the rural community' (Tynedale District Council 1991: 87). However, in-filling will not always be encouraged particularly in the more remote Pennine villages where it is deemed the character of that settlement might be irrevocably altered.

Despite the identification of the level of dwelling increase that will be allowed in Tynedale the Local plan however, gives no indication as to the access different sectors of the population will have to that housing. There has been an increase in older groups particularly the middle aged and a reduction in younger adults (those between 16-24) in Tynedale in general and a particular reduction of the younger age group in Commuter Pressure Area, thought to result directly from lack of local employment and lack of appropriately-priced houses. Tynedale District Council states that it is "deeply concerned at the difficulty experienced by local people on modest incomes in obtaining housing to buy or rent at a price that they can afford" (Tynedale District Local Plan 1994: 98) and therefore it proposes to support initiatives to provide " affordable housing". Affordable housing was defined as housing for sale or rent at a price which those identified as being in need or unable because of insufficient income to compete in the local housing market, can afford to pay. However, as elsewhere, due to financial restrictions and Government policy the bulk of new housing is expected to be provided by the private sector. House prices are relatively high in Allendale and Catton but have remained slightly lower in Allenheads and there are more rented properties available. Consequently lower income households can often find difficulty buying a house in the area. The Right To Buy Legislation (1980) combined with the relatively low and declining proportion of privately rented housing has meant that such households are often obliged to move away. So whilst endorsing the need to provide more affordable housing within the area little is being done to alleviate the problem other than providing very strict criteria to selecting tenants for existing Council housing. Allendale Parish Council like others, together with Tynedale District Council and the Rural Housing Trust, have already carried out a Local Needs survey and demonstrated the need for affordable housing.

In summary, one of the main implications of planning legislation is that limited assistance will be given to enable locals with lower incomes to gain access to housing. The measures taken in Allenheads to provide sheltered accommodation for older households is undoubtedly worthwhile but in order to have a great impact more of this type of accommodation would is needed. It seems clear that Catton will remain a popular commuting destination and this is reflected in the house prices over the last ten years. For example, a modest three-bedroom cottage sold in 1983 for £31,000 had risen to £67,00 by 1995. With the lack of rented accommodation available it may well be that this acts as a barrier to locals with lower means who want to set up separate households but are forced to move away. Allenheads, given its location high at the top of the valley and relative isolation, may still deter some younger families but in contrast this may appeal to older couples or younger families with no dependants. House prices here reflect the slightly lower competition for housing. Yet, as Allendale itself continues to grow and act as a focus for migration it may well be that this makes neighbouring property more desirable and hence expensive.

3.6 Rutland County: Demographic Background

Rutland is well known to many people as formally being the smallest county in England. However, in 1974, with the introduction of the two-tier system of county and district replacing the county and borough rural and urban districts, Rutland was made into a district within Leicestershire. Yet, for many the desire to maintain Rutland as an independent county has remained an emotive issue. Thus during the reorganisation of the counties and districts in the 1990s it was eventually decided to re-instate Rutland's county status. The 'new' county has an area of 150 square miles and is less than 15 miles from north to south and its relatively small area affords some homogeneity in terms of landscape. It is located on the edge of the Fens, with the Welland Valley marking the southerly boundary and minor scarp lands to the west. The County boundaries of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Leicestershire lie to the north-east, south and west respectively (Figure 3.1).

Currently, compared with the districts in Leicestershire, Rutland is the least densely populated with 0.8 persons per hectare compared with a Leicestershire average of 3.4 persons per hectare and a national average for England and Wales of 3.2. The population is concentrated in the market towns of Uppingham and Oakham and a large number of smaller settlements roughly evenly distributed throughout the county.

Up until forty years ago or so, Rutland was almost wholly rural in its occupational structure and had remained so for hundreds of years. The rich, fertile soils and relatively mild climate has supported crops and forests for centuries. It used to be a royal hunting ground and is still an important foxhunting region. In 1953, 33% of all males were employed in agriculture, compared to a national average of 7.6% (Saville 1957). This figure is probably an under-estimation due to the fact that occupations were included in different categories: horse foreman, grooms and horse keepers were included in the road transport workers sector. Rutland's population increased steadily during the first half of the 19th century reaching a maximum in 1851 (23,000), thereafter it declined steadily until 1931. However, this decline was not even; Oakham continued to grow, albeit, slowly during the 19th century and the first part of the 20th Century, whilst, Uppingham also increased in population up until 1951 largely as a result of the well-known public school. In 1931, over four-fifths of the parishes in Rutland had populations of under 500 and just over 70 per cent had populations of less than 300 people. This has remained remarkably unchanged up to the present day. During the 1930s Rutland's population remained stationary at roughly 18,000 inhabitants. According to Saville (1957) Rutland's post-war demography was markedly influenced by a number of defence establishments and other communal establishments, thereby increasing the number of males in some parishes and distorting the gender/population balance. At the same time the market towns Oakham and Uppingham retained their population levels during the 1950s and 1960s. However, since the Second World War, Rutland has experienced a considerable amount of rural depopulation (Saville 1957). It is quite clear that during the late 1950s when Saville's work was published, Rutland was suffering from excessive depopulation in particular the loss of young workers to the nearest local centres of Oakham, Uppingham, Leicester and beyond. (Saville 1957) summarised the situation as follows:

> 'The population increases which have occurred since 1931, or rather 1939, have only slightly improved the situation, but without detailed field survey it is impossible to say whether these increases represent real increase in the rural populations or whether they are the result of the migration into these rural areas of

> adventitious elements whose acceptance of a rural background may, or not be permanent. In any case, the 1951 Census was too near to the end of the War to permit any firm generalisations to be made regarding the future population of Rutland's rural parishes. All that can be said is that despite the new prosperity in the countryside since 1939, the tendencies favouring depopulation do not appear to have been weakened.(As a foot note he adds some statistics of households with lack of piped water etc. which show the living conditions of those living in rural districts)."
>
> (Saville 1957: 82)

The development of the steel works at Corby and the construction of local reservoirs at Stoke Dry were both particularly important in siphoning off some of the rural labour from the smaller parishes where there were few local employment opportunities.

The population of Rutland District was estimated to be 30,747 in 1991, an increased of 851 in the ten year period 1981 -1991, representing a 2.8% increase (Table 3.3). Significantly, this transformation bears comparison with several of the districts in Leicestershire.

Table 3.3: Population Change by District 1971-1991 (Leicestershire)

Area				Intercenal increase or decrease % per year	
County	1971	1981	1991	1971-1981	1981-1991
Leicestershire	799,537	842,500	865,133	0.53	0.26
Districts					
Blaby	74,280	77,300	82,109	0.39	0.61
Charnwood	125,596	134,200	141,165	0.67	0.50
Harborough	52,964	60,800	66,552	1.39	0.91
Hinckley & Bosworth	75,543	87,600	94,536	1.50	0.77
Leicester	284,170	279,800	272,133	-0.16	-0.27
Melton	38,894	43,300	44,663	1.08	0.32
North West Leicestershire	70,938	78,600	79,746	1.04	0.14
Oadby & Wigston	49,780	50,600	51,742	0.16	0.23
Rutland	27,372	30,600	32,487	1.12	0.61

Source: OPCS (1993) 1991 Census: County Reports Part (1), Leicestershire:, (Table B, p.17) London. HMSO.

The districts to the south of Leicester: Harborough, Hinckley and Bosworth, and Blaby experienced significantly high rates of population increase like that of Rutland between 1981 and 1991. In all forms this population increase can be attributed to greater births than deaths together with a significant proportion of net in-migration. The population of Rutland has increased by roughly one-third in the last 25 years (Rutland district Local Plan 1995). According to the Local plan this has inward movement can be attributed to the perception of the area as a pleasant place in which to live, commute from and retire to. From these growth districts in Leicestershire there is clear evidence in Rutland of the process of counterurbanization having become the most significant component of its demography.

3.6.1 Lyddington and Preston Parishes

Within Rutland County the questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews were undertaken in two parishes: Lyddington and Preston. Lyddington lies on the northwest slopes of the Welland Valley, about two miles south of Uppingham (Figure 3.1). It is roughly a mile long with most of the houses being on the main street, except for two newer developments built in the 1960s: Colley Rise and Windmill Way. Until the last thirty years Lyddington's image was less than idyllic and had developed as a staging post between Uppingham and Corby, it had the rather unfortunate nickname of 'long-low lying-lazy Lyddington'. In recent years many of the houses have been renovated and it is a very picturesque 'much sought after village location'. There is one small terrace of brick-built council houses on the main street but the majority of the houses are built of the local iron stone and limestone and are privately owned. It is estimated that 33% of houses are owner occupied whilst 41% are buying and less than three per cent are rented from the Local Authority (OPCS 1993).

Lyddington has a population of 409 according to 1994 mid-year estimates. Between 1981 and 1991 its population had increased by 30 persons representing an increase of 8.2% and according to the latest figures in 1994 this is continuing to rise with a further increase of nearly 2%. There are 147 households in the village and, therefore, average household size is 2.78 relatively high considering that there is a significant proportion of older single (almost 18%) or dual headed households. This reflects the fact there are relatively large number of families with children.

Employment in Lyddington is largely non-local. There are three working farms, two public houses and a post-office/delicatessen re-opened this year, employing a small number of local people. Also in terms of services there is a village hall, an active church complete with choir and bell-ringers, a local playgroup and a Women's Institute Group. Many people commute to the surrounding centres of Uppingham, Oakham, Corby, Peterborough and Leicester as well as further afield to London and Nottingham. The Exeter Estate originally owned part of the village, but apart from some fields all properties are now owned individually. Over 30 cottages have been demolished since 1900 but the late 1960s early 1970s saw the building of two new estates and the council houses. Several other public buildings have now been converted into private use including several laundries which did the laundry for Uppingham School, a reading room and a Methodist chapel. Lyddington developed largely as a rural trades service centre with many agriculturally related occupations. This was due, in part, to its strategic location part way between Uppingham and Northamptonshire and more recently the industrial town of Corby. Matkin's Oakham Almanacks for 1930 and 1940 show the existence of many local traders and labourers: shoemakers, stone masons, tailors, carpenters, grocers, four bakers and two blacksmiths. Formally there were five public houses in use: the Lord Roberts (4 Main Street), the Pied Calf (13 Main Street), the Swan Coaching Inn (36 Main Street) and The Olde White Hart and the Marquis of Exeter. The latter two are still in existence.

Preston lies on the main road to Oakham less than two miles north of Uppingham. The main body of the village is to the west of the main road but there is a row of council houses, several modern bungalows and the former police station to the east The village consists of many handsome ironstone-built houses mainly owner-occupied; 35 % are owned outright, 38 % are buying and 10 % are rented from the Local authority (OPCS 1993). It has a population of 161 persons according to 1994 mid year estimates. Between 1981 and 1991 its population had increased by seven people representing a 4.17% increase yet the latest figures in 1994 show a decline of almost 14 people giving a decrease of almost 8%. There are 80 households in the village and therefore average household size is 2.01 persons per household. This reflects the relatively large number of single occupancy (over 25%) or dual-headed older households. This almost mirrors the national average of 23.2% of households with one person living alone (OPCS 1991).

As with most villages in Rutland most employment is non-local, indeed Preston has a high proportion of retired persons. There is one public house on the main road; the Wheel Inn, a former stopping point for coaches before the main road was re-routed. There is one working farm in the main body of the village, a church and village hall with a small number of local events. The former school has been converted into private housing. Most of the working population commute to the surrounding centres of Uppingham, Oakham, Corby, Peterborough and Leicester as well as to London. There are a large number of retired persons and house prices are relatively high as its close proximity to Uppingham and small size seem to make it attractive.

In addition to the closure of the school two shops and the post office have also closed. There used to be several working farms, two small holders, a baker, blacksmith, master thatcher, wheelwright, carpenter, butcher tailor and signalmen (Matkins 1930). The cottages were occupied by grooms, gardeners and farm workers.

3.6.2 Rutland County: Planning context

The Rutland Local Plan has classified settlements into three tiers: the two 'market towns' of Oakham and Uppingham, six 'rural settlements' and 'other villages'; subdivided into Limited Growth Villages and Restraint Villages. Both Oakham and Uppingham had previously been identified as the largest settlements in the District for housing, employment, services and leisure. These provide a wide range of services for the surrounding rural area including shopping facilities, regular markets and other community services. Identified as being able to offer alternative forms of transport, it has been decided to encourage growth in these two centres to help reduce reliance upon the private car. Rural Centres, akin to 'key Villages' have been designated as such on the basis that they are generally the largest and best served villages in the District and generally act as service and employment centres, to some extent for the surrounding area. They generally possess shops, post offices, community hall or centre, school, health facilities and a library and tend to be better served by public transport than other villages. The following centres have been designated as Rural Centres: Cottesmore, Empingham, Great Casterton, Langham, Ryhall and Whissendine. The Local Plan argues that due to their larger size assimilation of residential, industrial and commercial growth will be achieved more easily, both physically and socially. Limited Growth Villages are those that have been identified as possessing limited facilities and services but whose development has been relatively static. Rutland District Council envisage moderate housing development and possible small-scale industry, commerce or appropriate sport and community facilities. In accordance with this policy, "planning permission for residential development will be granted if it is of small-scale, comprising groups of dwellings, in-fill plots or the change of use of existing buildings" (Rutland 1995). Sixteen villages have been given this status including Lyddington. Restraint villages generally comprise the smallest villages and hamlets with a very low level of services and facilities. The District Council believe conversely that development that could "detract from the character of the village and prove potentially disruptive will not be achieved readily and therefore should be discouraged" but they do admit that in certain cases there is scope for in-filling and conversions. Twenty nine villages are designated as Restraint Villages including Preston.

Rutland Council calculated, given projected rates of growth that about 2350 additional dwellings will be required for the period April 1991 - March 2006. In accordance with the Structure Plan housing development should take place at a high density and as compatible with the type of dwellings proposed the location and character of the area as possible. The local Plan therefore has specified that Oakham and Uppingham should receive about 50% of the overall allocation, with the other half in village locations - prioritised in the group of Rural Centres.

The impact of these planning policies upon the villages of Lyddington and Preston will be limited. There may be some in filling and building in Lyddington but it is unlikely to increase the housing stock significantly. However, given the recent opening and seemingly thriving post office and delicatessen, together with the popular, up-market pubs, the White Heart and The Marquis of Exeter it seems likely that this may encourage other small-scale spin-off trades such as craft shops or tea shops. The probable scenario is that Lyddington house prices remain high, thereby denying access to only those that have considerable purchasing power. There is a mix of household types by age, including quite a large component of younger families with children. Perhaps the existence of a small local school may well sustain the flow of the upper and middle class families whilst still remaining an attractive location for older households who would have access to a local post office and take public transport to Uppingham. But planning regulation for Preston will undoubtedly restrain growth in population and the turnover may continue at current levels. Its larger component of elderly households and lack of amenities may well make it a less desirable location for younger families but yet its small size is also an attractive feature for others. Current house prices reflect the fact that it is still deemed a prime location with a particular air of exclusivity. Given the continued trend of movement into Rutland and the planning pressures upon Preston, it is conceivable that house prices will continue to exclude most apart from those with considerable purchasing power.

3.7 Conclusion

It has been argued that the context in which migration decision are made is crucial and therefore the general economic background of the last seventy years has been outlined together with the important local demographic features of each study areas. In other words having provided an overview of the changing social and demographic change this has been related to the selected study areas. Thus, the local experiences of some factors that may be important in mediating individual's decision to move into or out of the selected villages are summarised in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Summary of main features of two study areas

	Rutland	Tynedale
	Physical features	
Area	Relatively small area; more homogenous	Relatively larger area more diverse
Location	Heart of England –proximity to many industrial centres, communication lines	Stretches across large swathe of country but more isolated
Terrain	Rolling hills, fertile soils and productive farmland	Upland Moorland, much of it rough and moderately harsh agricultural environment
Settlement pattern	Many small parishes equitably distributed	Dispersed settlements and larger concentration, function of history and terrain
	Population	
Age structure	Younger, more equitable distribution of all age bands	Fewer young adults relative to the rest of the population
Household structure	Big difference between the two villages; Lyddington much younger families compared to Preston.	Villages in study area more similar; both older with equitable proportions of professionals
Travel to work	High instances of commuting- very large distances in all directions	Reasonably high level of commuting but mainly to the two centres of Hexham or Tyneside
Historical demography	Period of depopulation post Second World War but extreme repopulation over the past two decades	Period of depopulation since 1950s but re-population identified since 1970s

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 argued for the need to re-examine the significance of viewing migration through time and suggested that even within a limited literature there are a number of misconceptions as to how to undertake a longitudinal analysis of migration. Within the context of contemporary rural migration this chapter will highlight a two-part methodology as adopted in this study; first a questionnaire survey of four villages in Northumberland and Rutland in order to determine the residential histories of residents as well as their demographic, economic and social profiles and, second, a series of in-depth interviews which reconstructed fuller migration histories as well as the context of the migration process. The chapter will also summarise the demographic characteristics of the sample of respondents from both surveys and discuss the problems involved in collecting residence history data and that of a researcher's positionality within such research. However, the chapter will begin with a discussion of how the sample villages were selected and that of the households interviewed (Figure 4.1)

4.2 Selection of field areas

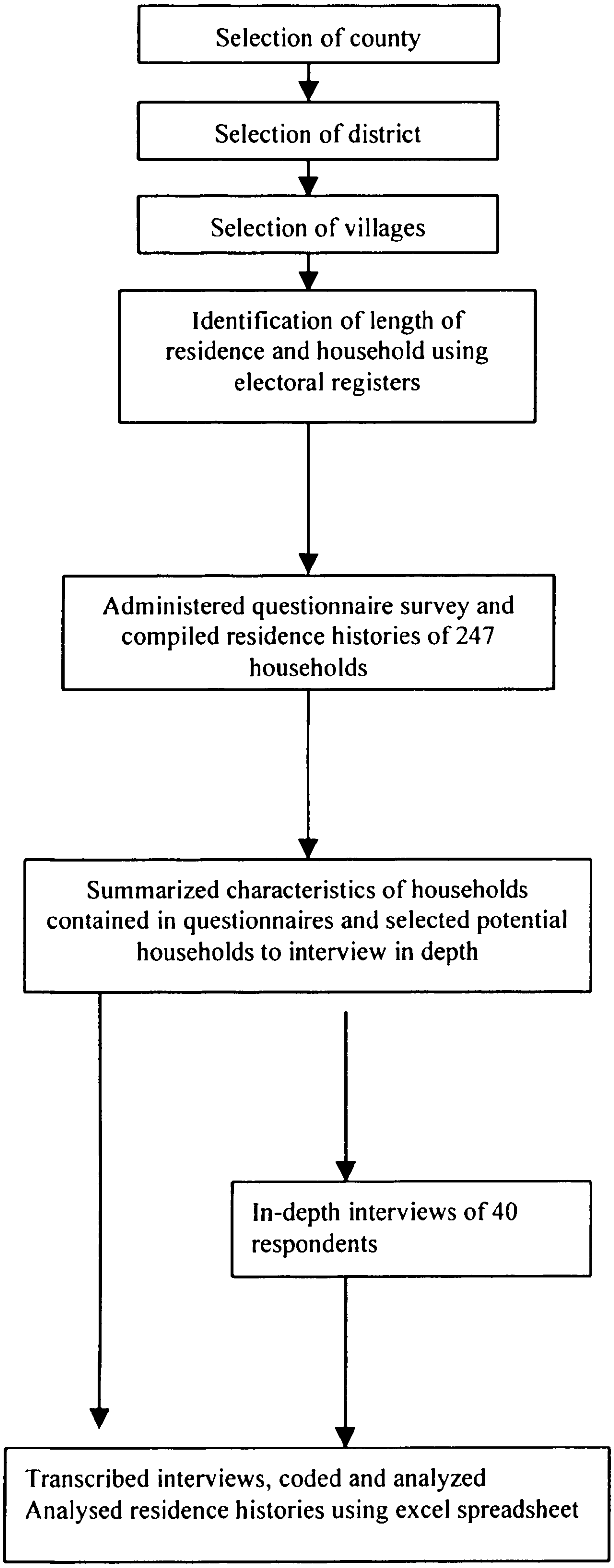
The demography and planning of the two areas selected have already been discussed in Chapter 3 as part of the context for migration decision-making. This section outlines the procedures adopted for selecting the sample of residence histories. In order to contribute to the debate on counterurbanization it was necessary to choose areas that were currently undergoing rural growth and in which migration was an important contributor to that growth. Rather than find an area that typified any one particular form of rural growth, two areas were selected to provide contrasting contexts to help elucidate variations within the process of migration. The two areas could have been selected on any number of different criteria; different farming patterns, different cultural and historical backgrounds, different degrees of isolation or indeed 'rurality'. Two counties Leicestershire and Northumberland were selected. Leicestershire, being near the rapidly growing and expanding Southeast and close to a variety of urban influences whilst Northumberland, being more isolated and distant from major urban influences and still characterised by hill farming. Figure 3.1 shows the location of the study areas and selected villages. Census data reveal that the populations of both counties have been growing over the last forty years but over the last twenty years at a declining rate, which mirror the national pattern of a slowing down of population growth (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1 Population Growth in Selected Counties: Population Present 1851-1991

Year	Leicestershire	Intercensal increase % per year	Northumberland	Intercensal increase % per year
1951	651,658	0.89	272,641	0.31
1961	706,122	0.80	274,312	0.06
1971	799,537	1.25	279,533	0.19
1981	842,500	0.53	299,900	0.71
1991	865,133	0.26	301,882	0.07

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, (1993) 1991 Census: County Reports Part (1), Northumberland: HMSO: London (Table A p.16)

Figure 4.1 Summary of Methods


Selection of county
Selection of district
Selection of villages
Identification of length of residence and household using electoral registers
Administered questionnaire survey and compiled residence histories of 247 households
Summarized characteristics of households contained in questionnaires and selected potential households to interview in depth
In-depth interviews of 40 respondents
Transcribed interviews, coded and analyzed
Analysed residence histories using excel spreadsheet

Significantly, over the past 30 years apart from Wansbeck between 1971 and 1991 and Castle Morpeth between 1981 and 1991, all the rural districts in Northumberland and Leicestershire constantly gained population (Table 3.2 and Table 3.3).

Though in the majority of cases there was a slowing down in the role of growth during the 1980s. For the purpose of this study it was deemed necessary to select two districts for the intensive study. Eventually Tynedale in Northumberland and Rutland in Leicestershire were chosen on the grounds that their population growth had slowed somewhat between 1981 and 1991 and both were predominantly agricultural containing market towns and smaller settlements separated by open countryside. Until the 1970s both districts had experienced considerable depopulation and their population revival would seem to indicate the extent to which counterurbanisation had penetrated into the heart of the English countryside.

Having decided on the study areas the next stage in the selection was to find a number of villages within each area to examine in-depth. On the basis of the pilot study, together with financial and time constraints, a target number of questionnaires of 125 within each study area was set, making a total sample of 250 households. The next section describes the criteria upon which the selection of villages was made.

There were three dimensions to the selection of case study villages: size, housing mix and location. Firstly, it was decided to select parishes with between 80 and 200 households (Table 4.2). Approximately 14 parishes in Tynedale and 16 in Northumberland fitted these criteria. It was felt that such parish sizes would ensure that there were enough households to provide a reasonable response rate and at the same time make it more feasible to understand some of the dynamics of village life and identify important elements relevant to the migration process. It was deemed that parishes bigger than 200 households might make it more difficult to ascertain criteria that were important to all those households moving into the village. A pessimistic estimate for face-to face surveys regarding non response might be as high as 40 per cent given that such a survey relies upon finding occupants in and available for interviews and can only be carried out during 'reasonable hours' of the day. Thus choosing this size of settlement meant that in order to provide a response of 125 households it would be necessary to select two villages in each field area, so that the criteria of appropriately sized (between 80-200 households) and the problem of non-response (approximately 40%) could be fulfilled.

The second feature that influenced the selection process, was the mixture of housing identified in order to provide a sample of different socio-economic households. A crude visual appraisal of parishes that matched the size requirement was conducted to ensure that possible villages to be included incorporated a mixture of housing (some large detached expensive housing together with smaller less expensive properties). Thirdly, it was decided to choose two villages within close proximity as it was likely that they would been affected by similar external experiences and it would then be appropriate to amalgamate the results for part of the analysis. To establish village sizes two different forms of secondary data were used: Civil Parish monitors and electoral registers. This type of selection process is hindered by the fact that the delineation of boundaries for census administration can not be matched up with what seems appropriate 'on the ground'. In rural areas where the population density is relatively low, many of the wards are consequently large and often incorporate many quite radically different settlement types. At an Enumeration District (ED) level it is equally difficult to correspondingly match up 'sensible' spatial boundaries on the ground with those that have been used for administration purposes. ED boundaries will sometimes include some properties with one larger settlement and exclude others.

Using County Ward and Civil Parish Monitors for 1981 and 1991 it was possible to determine the variety of Parish sizes within each District (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Distribution of Parish sizes (in households) for Tynedale and Rutland

No. of households in each Parish	Rutland	Tynedale
<50	23	3
50-99	10	13
100-149	8	10
150-199	4	6
200-499	8	11
500-999	3	4
>1000	2	5
Total number of parishes	58	52

Source: OPCS (1994) 1991 Census Ward and Civil Parish Monitor Northumberland Government Statistical Services, London, HMSO.
OPCS (1994) 1991 Census Ward and Civil Parish Monitor Leicestershire Government Statistical Services, London, HMSO.

Within Rutland there were a larger number of smaller regularly spaced parishes that contained only one village. Many of these parishes had between 50 and 200 households. It was therefore relatively easy to select possible villages. Within Tynedale it was more difficult to select appropriate villages as there was a larger spread of settlement sizes and many of the smaller villages were contained within larger Parishes. To do this, electoral registers were used to gauge the number of household in particular villages rather than Parish. Electoral registers were obtained from Rutland District Council Office in Oakham and Tynedale District Council Office in Hexham. The final selection involved viewing possible villages, assessing the variety in the housing stock and assessing travel time and costs. It was also necessary to avoid villages in close proximity to R.A.F bases such as Luffenham in Rutland, where there may be an over-representation of households of airforce personnel as these would give a restricted impression of motives and frequency of moves.

In Rutland the villages of Lyddington and Preston were chosen as they fulfilled the size criteria of between 80 and 200 households, are less than four miles apart and being relatively close to the same service centres and road networks (Figure 3.1). In Tynedale the villages of Catton and Allenheads were selected since they fulfilled the size criteria and being less than seven miles apart. However, they probably have different influences in terms of service centres; Allenheads being influenced to some extent by Alston or Carlisle and Catton by Allendale and Hexham. This is more a function of terrain as Allenheads is situated at the head of the East Allen Valley whilst Catton is in the main Allen Valley

(Figure 3.1). Table 4.3 shows the relative sizes of each village and the sample size produced from each and the relatively high response of over 60% in both larger villages.

Table 4.3 Village and Sample Sizes of selected case-studies

Village	No. of Electors	No. of HH	Response	As a %
Catton	267	142	90	63
Allenheads	137	84	35	40
Lyddington	302	150	90	60
Preston	143	78	35	45

4.3 Selection of households

Before selection of these four villages it was necessary to assess how the sample of households chosen reflected the population against which they were being drawn. According to Sprent (1988: 188) "sampling provides a mechanism whereby we can make an estimate of population characteristic and get, based on probability theory, a numerical measure of how good that estimate is". Moser and Kalton (1983: 57) summarised the main practical advantages of sampling as "one of the overriding purposes of random sampling is that it is then feasible to perform statistical tests on the data." However, given the nature of this type of survey entailing reasonably detailed responses and thus quite high levels of co-operation and time invested from the interviewees, it was decided that it was not practical to achieve a random sample. There were two main factors which promoted this; firstly that non-response potential was reasonably high and secondly, that the motives of moving into a specific village were being compared. Random sampling would have increased the time involved in achieving the required response rate achieved and so a larger settlement would have had to be chosen to allow for the non-response rate. Yet, in an attempt to make the sample representative quota sampling was used. Drawing information about the length of stay from electoral registers it was possible to generate a sampling framework illustrating the length of stay for each household. The sampling frame was divided into four subgroups representing 'length of stay'. Each household address was assigned into these four categories and then as households were contacted according to relevant proportions of each. The bases of identifying the sample of respondents were the electoral registers (Sherwood 1984 357:358). Briefly, electoral registers for a given year indicate which voters were residing at a particular address the preceding October. For example, the qualifying date for the February 1995-February 1996 electoral register is October 1994. By referring to previous electoral registers for the same polling Districts it is possible to compare electors by name who were in residence some years before. Using electoral registers from the years 1990, 1985 and 1980 gave a list of residents who had been resident for at least 5 years, between 5-9 years, between 10 and 14 years and at least 15 years. Due to the fact that within a given time period, some members of a household with the same name left whilst others remained the duration of stay for a given household was based on the longest-term resident.

However, there were a number of limitations using this method. Firstly, some of the older electoral registers were listed alphabetically, whilst more recent ones were done by street names. In the cases where individuals had moved house within the same polling district, it was easier to be sure that individuals were still present using an alphabetical list. Comparing house by house was more likely to incur error. Secondly, it was also possible that error occurred in the case where women who had been living in the same village all their life changed their maiden names on marriage thereby being entered on the register as a 'newcomer'. Thirdly, electoral registers may be inaccurate. Individuals may forget to register, be late registering or indeed not register at all; a situation particularly prevalent during the period of the community tax.

Yet, despite these flaws electoral registers provide a reasonable indication of the proportion of households or at least part households that had lived there for a given time period. Households were divided into four groups where at least one household member had lived there for: less than five years, between five and nine years, between ten and fourteen years and more than fifteen years (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Description of villages from electoral registers (1980, 1985, 1990 & 1995)

	Tynedale				Rutland			
Population	Allenheads	as a %	Catton	as a %	Lyddington	as a %	Preston	as a %
< 5 years	42	50	30	21	39	26	18	23
5-9 years	15	18	29	20	45	30	25	32
10-14 years	9	11	26	18	21	14	6	8
> 15 years	18	21	57	40	45	30	29	37
Total households	84		142		150		78	

From this sampling framework it was possible to take account of differences in the population when selecting interviewees. Table 4.5 illustrates the length of stay of those interviewees who completed questionnaires in part one of the methodology.

Table 4.5 Description of interviewees in survey selected from electoral registers

Sample	Tynedale				Rutland			
	Allenheads	as a %	Catton	as a %	Lyddington	as a %	Preston	as a %
< 5 years	15	43	25	28	32	36	11	31
5-9 years	5	14	16	18	22	24	9	26
10-14 years	5	14	21	23	15	17	2	6
> 15 years	10	29	28	31	21	23	13	37
Total households	35		90		90		35	

Table 4.5 illustrates that the sample population is representative of the variety of households in terms of their length of residence, as there was no greater than 10% margin of over or under-representation of any one subgroup. These data also provides an estimate of reliability of electoral registers since the households were selected upon this basis and then real length of residence was recorded. Thus any discrepancy between actual length of residence and purported electoral register length of residence could be recorded. This figure was surprisingly low with only 9 discrepancies in all 250 households (less than 4% error). In general the error under-estimated those in the 5-9 years category and over-estimated those in the < 5 years, maybe due to the time lag between moving in and registering.

Other criteria that might have illustrated the representativeness or otherwise, of the sample are not as easily determined from secondary data sources at this spatial level. It was estimated since over 40% of the households from the villages were incorporated into the survey that this would achieve a balance in terms of other criteria such as gender, household typology, tenure and occupation. Table 4.6 illustrates the general composition of the two samples against figures compiled at district level.

Table 4.6 Characteristics of the Sample Survey Population and 1991 Census

Variables		Tynedale (Allendale Ward)	Tynedale (Survey)	Rutland (Uppingham Ward)	Rutland (survey)
Age Structure(% of total persons)					
	18-29	14.2	6.6	17.4	4.8
	30-44	22.3	19.8	21.6	16.8
	45-64	21	23.4	20.8	40.2
	65-74	12.8	19.8	11.1	7.2
	75-84	6.1	5.4	5.1	6
	>85	1.8	0	1.4	0
Owner occupied	Owned outright	26.8	79.2	25.5	86.4
	Buying	55	/	41.9	/
	Rented	18.2	20.8	13	14.4
	75+	7.9	5.4	6.5	6
Households consisting of pensioners		28	23.2	24.4	16
One person living alone		28.8	23	22.5	17
With one person aged 16 or over with children (0-15)		2	0.8	2.1	3.2

Sources: OPCS County Monitor: Northumberland – 1991 Census (1992), OPCS County Monitor: Leicestershire– 1991 Census (1992), OPCS Ward and Civil Monitor (1993) Northumberland 1991 Census,, OPCS Ward and Civil Monitor (1994) Leicestershire1991 Census

4.4 Approach

Within parts of the population geography literature there has been a call for the adoption of several methods in any investigation (Graham 2000). Denzin (1978: 291) refers to this process of 'triangulation' as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" and, therefore, recently this has become known as a multi-method approach (McKendrick 1995). It could be argued that this is what several authors have been doing for some time but have focused their discussions or papers on one particular aspect of the method rather than explicitly acknowledging the use of several methods or approaches. Since a specific sample of households was required to conduct this research a two-part method was used involving a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data and analyses. It was felt that such a combination would help expose the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and it would be possible to fuse the strengths to obtain a better understanding of the relationships between the process of moving house and the underlying forces.

4.5 The Surveys

Part one of the fieldwork employed a questionnaire survey to establish a sample of households located within the chosen field areas and a range of migration histories from members of those households. The choice of a questionnaire survey was based on the lack of secondary data available with respect to precise household characteristics and complete migration histories. Mailed questionnaires and telephone questionnaires were thought inappropriate for several practical reasons. Nachmias and Nachmias (1992: 215-216) and May (1993: 72) discuss both the advantages and disadvantages of both methods in general. The overriding factor affecting the need to approach individuals face-to-face was the complexity and variety of respondents' residence histories discovered whilst piloting. Devising a questionnaire schedule that could be self-completed would have had to include too many filter questions and consequently been too long-winded and consequently off-putting. It is also believed that due to the wide range of responses possible, many inaccuracies would have incurred. Again, for the same reason telephone interviewing would have been inappropriate and given the average length of time taken to complete each questionnaire it would also have been too costly.

There were clearly advantages in choosing a face-to-face questionnaire survey, not least that it was possible to seek clarification of questions that were not understood correctly. Being able to see the context in which the questionnaire was answered as well as the emotions and expressions and reactions were useful. This method generally yields a high response rate with a higher control of the interview situation, but at a slower speed and therefore, correspondingly 'higher' cost (May 1993). However, there are also elements of face to face interviews/questionnaires that needed to be taken into consideration. For example, how did the presence of the interviewer affect the respondent in terms of the responses they gave (see section 4.7). Nevertheless the rapport achieved between the interviewer and respondent was vital not only to that specific exercise but also to the success of the subsequent interviews and hence it was deemed an obligatory first stage.

The design and administration of the questionnaire was piloted before its use. Given the time constraints a pilot survey of 25 households was undertaken from both field areas but in neighbouring villages to those villages that formed the main part of the survey. Subsequent adjustment of the questionnaire took place, such as re-wording, simplifying and reducing the length by asking only quite basic factual questions. The pilot survey revealed a huge disparity in possible answers such that, in order to gain consistent information from all informants it was necessary to ask for factual information regarding their migration histories. In general asking questions about individual's life histories elicited a good response and respondents were very willing not only to answer the questions asked but also to clarify their positions in greater detail. This 'contextualising' was a vital source of information and to some extent moulded the course of the subsequent research. It also became apparent during the course of the pilot survey that there was a blurred distinction between a structured interview and a questionnaire in which quite a lot of clarifying was required depending on the individual. Due to the rigid format of information required and the idea that the interviewer had 'more control' over the situation it was deemed to be more akin to a questionnaire survey.

The following section will discuss the questionnaire design (see Appendix 1.1). There is some disagreement about the positioning of the factual personal questions or 'classification questions'. Some researchers believe that putting factual personal questions at the beginning may put people off, whereas asking factual questions after eliciting opinions and beliefs, the person may then refuse to answer

(Frankfort-Nachmias 1992). After piloting, it was decided that few people were suitably 'put off' and given that they were relatively straightforward, non-contentious questions to answer it seemed appropriate to put them at the beginning. Therefore, the first section began with a mixture of questions regarding the household profile in terms of ages, status and relationship to the individual being interviewed, occupations, places of work and childhood residences.

The selection of the interviewees was based on the status of the individual within the household. As the aims of the questionnaire were to establish migration histories and reasons for moving, children were excluded as in most cases they did not actively participate in the decision-making process. The person selected to answer the questions regarding the household as a whole was taken to be either the female or male adult who appeared to be responsible for the upkeep of the house. That is, if someone answered the door and purported to be clearly a guest or lodger, another adult member was sought. A balance of female and male adults or 'heads of household' was sought. There are many debates surrounding this term but since a mixture of female and male migration histories with associated viewpoints, representation was not required. It would have been useful to consider the residence histories of all household members but it was too time consuming and, therefore, a sample of individuals from different household types would still achieve the aims of the research.

4.5.1 The Questionnaire

With respect to the first 'factual section' of the questionnaire survey it soon became clear that even presumed 'clear-cut' issues are not simple. The question regarding marital status demonstrated that even this was not a clear-cut question. Individuals who had become married again would often put themselves in the married category rather than the re-married one. This emerged on several occasions as the migration history unfolded revealing another benefit of using a face to face questionnaire survey. In the pilot stage, age-bands were used so as to allow a degree of sensitivity but due the difficulty of analysis date of births were sought in the full survey. Factual questions regarding occupation were asked but even if occupants were not working currently, previous occupations were asked so that households could be classified into social groups using the 'Standard Occupational Classification' scheme used by the census. It also gave a better indication of the education achievements of the individual, although it is admitted that this association is open to criticism. 'Place of childhood' was difficult to define particularly when respondents had spent their time in many places or had spent considerable periods in boarding schools. In such cases, a category of not applicable was applied. In others where people had a strong pull towards one of their childhood residences the answer given was the place that dominated their perception. It was also important to stress that they should classify this particular place according to their memories of the place and not in terms of its morphology today. This became apparent again during piloting when respondents referred to what are now suburbs of large cities as villages.

The second section asked about the individual's residence history. This was taken to be the respondent who had co-operated in the first section. It began with a filter question to determine if the respondent had ever moved. In general given that people tend to be able to recall events that have happened most recently it was decided to go back in time when asking questions about previous residences. In most cases it appeared to be the most successful way of ordering and remembering events. However, in a couple of cases involving older respondents who had moved several times it became apparent that it was easier for them to begin with their first home and work though subsequent moves chronologically. As the same set of questions were asked about each residence it was moderately easy to adjust the question order.

Questions began with the name of the place, as precisely as possible, followed by a description of the residence, tenure, length of time spent there as accurately as possible and a description of whom was in the household when the move took place. The type of residence seemed to make it easier for respondents to be clear in their mind about the ordering of events, the progression from a 'flat' to a 'semi' or 'that terrace' meant that they had a definite image in their minds. Prompting respondents back though time in this way seemed to get a better response than simply using the name of the place. With respect to the length of time stayed in one place it soon became clear that some respondents were clearly better than others at remembering dates whilst others 'rounded-up' years. However, once some respondents had been through all moves undertaken they often changed these answers on reflection realising that they had over-estimated some stays and under-estimated others. Approximations were deemed to be satisfactory as eliciting definitive answers would have taken too much time and it is believed that it would not have made that much difference to the accuracy of the responses. The reason for asking about the household structure at a particular point in time i.e. at the time of arrival meant that a consistency could be achieved. Incorporating all household changes took too long and so asking for household details at the beginning of a stay meant that respondents tended to volunteer additions (most often births of children or grandparents) and subsequent moves revealed the loss of other household members. It was felt that this would incorporate many household changes through time without specifically asking about these details separately and lengthening the questionnaire considerably.

Reasons for moving were asked using an open question in order to reveal more detailed information for subsequent interviews. Open questions give respondents a greater freedom to answer the question because they answer in a way that suits their interpretation (May 1993: 78). The phrase "main reasons" was used in attempt to disclose multiple reasons and allow the respondent to be as forthcoming as they wanted to be. This had the problem (or advantage) that in many cases respondents were keen to describe the situation in great depth - more fitting for an interview situation than a questionnaire survey. Nevertheless, despite the fact that coding was subsequently more difficult, the additional information gleaned more than compensated for this. The case for multiple reasons was discussed in greater depth in 2.9.

The final section asked briefly if the respondent had any intentions to move in the foreseeable future. The term 'foreseeable' was used so those respondents could use their own temporal frame of reference. It is possible that some respondents might have quite long-term strategies with regard to moving. For those that found that too confusing the clause, say the next five or ten years was added. If the household had plans to move, follow-up questions regarding the nature and reasons of that intended move were asked.

The following section describes the administering of the questionnaire survey. Using the electoral register, a sample of addresses was used to detect possible interviewees. In the case of two villages, Catton and Lyddington, contact was made initially with one household who were used as informants. The key informants in both cases were prominent people in the villages, one a Parish councillor, the other the organiser of several groups within the village. Their knowledge reduced the time wasted as they went through the list of those selected and could say at what time households were likely to be at home and which if any of the houses selected were unoccupied. This was particularly helpful in the case of households with families, being aware that children were being collected from school and these times avoided. Although it could be argued that by gaining a third party opinion of some householders could prejudice the interviewer, in several cases it was useful to be prepared. For example, in one case it was very useful to be aware of the fact that the householder's spouse was dying from cancer and hence questions about future moves required a great deal of sensitivity. On another occasion, the householder was known to be extremely deaf but nevertheless was extremely lucid, without this information the interviews could have been awkward. It could also be argued that being alerted to when potential respondents might be in was also an ethical issue as it was sensitive information with regard to personal security. However, full identification and a long discussion was carried out with the key informants so they could evaluate my credentials. A door-to-door survey was carried out over a six-month period varying the time of day, day of the week and including several holiday periods to try and incorporate as many respondents as possible. In particular an attempt to achieve a balance between males and females residences histories many evening and weekend visits were made out of 'normal' working hours when a greater proportion of male householders were present. Weekends proved to be the most successful times to achieve greatest responses rates and find people at their most relaxed too. Non-response in the sense that people did not want to comply to being interviewed was extremely rare. Out of all requests to help complete the questionnaire, only three householders declined. In answer to being willing to have return visits made in the future again, only 20 out of 250 households (eight per cent) expressed a reluctance to be revisited. Indeed many volunteered home telephone numbers in anticipation of missed information.

4.5.2 Focused interviews

Broadly speaking there are four types of interviews used in social research: the structured interview, the semi-structured interview, the group interview and the unstructured or focused interview. Although each possess certain characteristics, which set them apart, it is possible to use a variety of methods within the same research project. They can also be characterised along a quantitative-qualitative continuum with the formalised standardised example (survey) to an unstructured situation of qualitative depth which allows the respondent to answer without feeling constrained by the pre-formulated ideas of the researcher (May 1993: 91). Focused or unstructured interviews both individually and with two household members were conducted.

The precise distinction between focused or unstructured and semi structured interviews is ambiguous. The central difference is said to be the open-ended nature of focused interviews (Frankfort-Nachmias1992). The interviews undertaken were attempting to record and understand the moves undertaken throughout an individual's life. After piloting it was decided that the most successful approach to doing this was not as at first thought to use a semi-structured approach with key themes to be addressed but instead to use a chronological approach. This has been termed 'sequential interviewing'. As May (1993: 100) notes " it is of particular interest to those (methods) which permit a greater flexibility for the person to answer in his or her terms and involves interviewing people about events in the way they unfolded". By using this chronological format it allows people to reflect on their experiences in which the researcher is interested. Its flexibility allows respondents to return to points previously made and in reflecting upon their account respondents can modify, alter information too. This is not a new approach, and has its origins in the Chicago School of Social Research (Kurtz 1984). The idea of sequential interviewing is closely related to several other approaches: oral histories, biographical approach and life histories as discussed in Chapter 2. But according to Cook and Crang (1995: 51) each has its own distinct aim. Nevertheless in terms of methods they are all dominated by a qualitative approach; in other words attempting to understand people's experiences, opinions, aspirations and feelings. This 'sequential' approach was adopted, beginning with individual's earliest recollections of their childhood residences and continuing through their lives. However, the interviews were not completely free flowing as there was a checklist of themes to be addressed and if interviewees had not mentioned these then they were introduced, thus blurring the distinction between a 'true' focused interview and a semi-structured interview. This 'check list' has also been referred to in the literature as a 'topic guide', 'interview schedule' and 'interview' prompt (Kitchin and Tate 2000).

One of the main advantages of conducting interviews in this way is that it challenges the preconceptions of the researcher. As Bryman (1987: 47) argues;

> " a phenomenon like rambling can be viewed as providing information because it reveals something about the interviewee's concerns. Unstructured interviewing in qualitative research, then, departs from survey interviewing not only in terms of format, but also in terms of its concern for the perspective of those being interviewed".

In determining those respondents who were to be interviewed in the second part, several criteria were applied. On the original questionnaire survey the final question had asked if they might be willing to answer further questions in the near future, obviously those that had answered "no", were discounted. The central concept of the spatial and temporal context as a mediating factor in the migration decision was investigated as being a core issue within lifecourse studies. One of the overwhelming issues that emerged from the questionnaire survey was the way in which different generations had been influenced by national circumstances at particular points in their lives. Thus, the impact of the Second World War upon the older generations set them apart whereas the younger ones were beset by problems of lack of job opportunities. Thus, the choice of households interviewed was based on the selection of three different age cohorts. A breakdown of the size of cohorts represented in all four villages showed noticeable differences and similarities (Table 4.7)

Table 4.7 Distribution of age cohorts within sample

Age cohorts	No HH total sample	% of Total sample	No. of HH in Tynedale sample	% of Tynedale sample	No. of HH in Rutland sample	% of Rutland sample
20-24	8	3	5 (0)	4	3(1)	2.4
25-29	11	4	6(0)	4.8	5(0)	4
30-34	20	8	12 (3)	9.6	8 (1)	6.4
35-39	19	8	9 (2)	7.2	10(2)	8
40-44	22	9	12(0)	9.6	10(0)	8
45-49	27	11	9 (1)	7.2	18 (2)	14.4
50-54	30	12	8 (0)	6.4	22 (2)	17.6
55-59	24	10	10(0)	8	14(0)	11.2
65-69	24	10	17 (1)	13.6	7 (1)	5.6
60-64	25	10	12(0)	9.6	13 (2)	10.4
70-74	21	8	16(1)	12.8	5(0)	4
75-79	13	5	6(0)	4.8	7(0)	5.6
>80	6	2	3(1)	2.4	3(0)	2.4
	250		125		125	

- Figures in brackets represent the number of households who did not want to become involved in any follow-up interviews

From this it can be seen that whilst respondents in Tynedale were dominated by the 65-74 year-old cohort, in Rutland the younger 45-54 year-old group and 55-64 year-old group dominated. Given that not every household would agree to co-operate, it was acknowledged that it would be better to choose cohorts that were well-represented but that in order to be able to make any comparisons between the two field areas the same age-groups were required. Given the limitations of having a smaller potential sample of participants it was decided simply to subdivide the whole group into three distinct age groups: those under 40 henceforth called Cohort A, those between 40 and 59 henceforth called Cohort B and those over 60 henceforth called Cohort C. The arbitrary age divisions are partly a reflection of the sample acquired in that one wanted to be able to compare similarly sized age groups. However, Grundy (1992) warns against age-predictors since many life events are not as prescribed by age and similar types of moves may well have taken place in different age times. Leaving home, getting married, starting families may well have been common events for those under 40. Likewise a diminishing household size may have been true for those over 40 and associated housing needs. In those over 60, retirements may have been a common consideration in migration decisions. Yet, given the constant factor in all the variety of experience was calendar time combined with the prevailing economic and social circumstances of certain time periods it seemed most effective to consider those individuals who had undergone similar external forces. Clearly there are enormous problems with making arbitrary divisions such that an individual born one side of the division say 1959 and another born in 1961 would be in different cohorts and yet their experience would have most certainly be influenced by similar prevailing circumstances. This is a common problem of categorisation. Short of separating out and discounting all those members where time periods were similar and including only those where time periods were discrete there appears to be no way of overcoming this problem. It was deemed however that as all respondents were included in the analysis those prevailing trends would still emerge despite the overlap. However, for the second part of the fieldwork one criterion applied was that of those members being re-interviewed were from quite discrete age cohorts. Thus members from three broad age cohorts were selected: those between 30-39, those between 45-54 and those between 65-74.

Using the database that had been compiled from the results of the questionnaire survey all households that had agreed to answer further questions and were in either of the chosen age cohorts were selected. Table 4.7 illustrates the potential number of respondents, eliminating those that did not want to participate again the number of households reduced to a slightly lower figure shown in brackets. A letter was sent to all possible participants re-introducing myself, explaining the general outline of the interviews and explaining that they would be contacted within the next few days to arrange an interview. In total 128 letters (roughly half the initial respondents) were sent to potential respondents, 60 to residents in Tynedale and 68 to residents in Rutland from all three age cohorts (See Table 3.8). All interviews took place in the respondent's own home as this appeared to be most convenient for the interviewee. According to Cook and Crang (1995: 67)

> "Not only is it very possible that your research project will not have a domestic focus, but you and your research participants may also feel nervous or vulnerable in the presence of a stranger in a private place. They suggest various alternatives varying from local halls, work places or social places or accompanying interviewees on car journeys."

Since all respondents had been met previously and in most cases having been invited into their homes, issues such as safety and awkwardness were not such prominent issues and it was deemed the most natural and convenient meeting place to select. Table 4.8 illustrates the number of respondents contacted for follow-up interviews. As mentioned earlier these were selected on the basis of age and included a broad cross-section of types of occupation, social class, number of moves undertaken and time lived in the villages.

Table 4.8 Distribution of respondents within each age cohort

	Tynedale	Rutland
Cohort A (30-39)	16	15
Cohort B (45-54)	16	36
Cohort C (65-74)	28	17

Once again given the time constraints and the delay in responses, no specific order was given to those potentially included, those who were willing and able to comply within the dates specified were included. In general the response was very high when contact was actually established, however, it was often difficult to persuade people too far in advance to commit their time and thus many meetings were arranged only one or two days in advance, weekends and evenings being the most convenient especially for those working. Given the uncertainty of length of interview in general only one interview could be completed per evening and this was frustratingly slow. In total out of the 128 contacts, a total of 40 interviews were completed, but this can not be regarded as a response rate of 30% as the remaining contacted had not refused to co-operate but had not replied within the time required. Table 4.9 gives a summary of characteristics of those re-interviewed including their occupations, number of moves made in their lives and length of time they had lived in the village. These results are discussed in later chapters but the table simply illustrates the variety of interviews undertaken.

Table 4.9 Summary characteristics of interviewees

Cohort A	Present at interview	Age	Economically Active	Employment/former employment	HH Class	Length of residence	No of moves
C3	F+M	30-34	Y	PHOTO-FINISHER	IIIM	1	9
C27	F	35-39	Y	NURSE	II	6	5
C35	M	30-34	Y	BIOLOGY TEACHER	II	1	7
C57	F	35-39	Y	OFF. MAN FOR HUSBAND IN ARCHITECTURE FIRM	II	2	7
C58	F	30-34	Y	CARER'S ASST.	IV	10	3
L2	F	30-34	Y	CHARTERED ACCT./TAX CONSULT.	I	2	4
L9	M	35-39	N	STUDENT	I	2	12
L18	F	35-39	N	TEACHER -PRIMARY	I	2	8
L26	F	35-39	Y	MEDICAL SECRETARY/AEROBICS TEACHER	II	4	7
L46	F	30-34	Y	FARM LABOURER	I	4	2
Cohort B							
C41	F	45-49	Y	CARE ASST.	IIIM	20	4
C43	M+F	45-49	Y	CARE HOME PROPRIETER	II	2	9
L30	F	45-49	Y	COMPANY DIRECTOR-TOUR OPERATING SERVICE	II	4	5
L45	F	45-49	N	HOUSEWIFE	II	1	6
L60	F	45-49	N	HOUSEWIFE	I	8	7
C7	M+F	50-54	N	TEACHER-P/T	II	16	2
C34	M+F	50-54	Y	HOUSING CLERK	IIIN	20	10
C64	M	50-54	Y	SCHOOL TEACHER	II	30	3
C80	F	50-54	Y	PARTNER IN COAL MERCHANT BUSINESS (CLERICAL)	IIIM	12	2
L33	F	50-54	Y	FARMER -MIXED CATTLE AND SHEEP	II	21	7
L37	F	50-54	N	OCCUPATIONAL THERAPIST	II	9	11
L44	F	50-54	Y	TEACHER	I	5	4
L74	F	50-54	N	TEACHER-PRIMARY/EDUCATION	II	8	8
L80	F	50-54	Y	PERSONAL SECRETARY TO HEADMASTER	II	23	2
Cohort C							
A28	M	65-74	Y	POSTMASTER	IIIN		8
C10	M+F	65-74	N	PERSONNEL OFFICER - NEEB	IIIN	11	5
C12	F	65-74	N	PHARMACIST -TEACHER-HOSPITAL	I	12	8
C17	F	65-74	N	HEADMISTRESS F/T	II	13	7
C5	F	65-74	N	POLICE OFFICE SUPERVISOR	IIIN	11	7
C19	M	65-74	N	TEACHER -SECONDARY SCHOOL	II	2	3
C31	F	65-74	N	HAIRDRESSER/DANCE TEACHER F/T	IIIM	6	6
C32	F	65-74	N	HAD OWN BUSINESS-NEWSAGENCY	II	16	11
C66	M+F	65-74	N	ARCHITECT FOR LOCAL AUT. F/T	IIIN	8	9
C68	F	65-74	N	PHARMICIST	I	14	3
C75	M+F	65-74	N	BANK CLERK	I	11	5
L4	M	65-74	N	SCHOOLMASTER	II	13	12
L5	M	65-74	N	ADMINISTRATION MANAGER-ENGINEERING DEPT.	I	6	11
L11	M+F	65-74	N	BRICK-LAYER -SELFEMPLOYED	IIIM	54	3
P8	M	65-74	Y	HEADTEACHER-UPPINGHAM SCHOOL	I	24	9
P21	M+F	65-74	N	TECNICAL MARKETING DIRECTOR -ELECTROMAGNETICS CO.	II	10	9

In general, the interviewee invited the researcher in to the place where they had been sitting but often asked if alternative situations, for example at tables would be more appropriate. The decision to remain in a position where they had clearly been most relaxed was taken. Despite the lapse of time since the previous encounter with the respondents, in most cases the fact that some rapport had been established made for a reasonable relaxed situation. Interviews usually began with some general questions regarding the last year in general. After some initial 'ice-breakers' which usually involved the respondents asking about the state of my research, how long the project had to run or what were my intentions afterwards and frequently the offer of coffee or tea, the interview was started. Permission was sought for the use of a tape recorder stressing the fact that the tapes would only be used by the researcher and anonymity would be respected at all times. The debate surrounding the use of tape recorders is a well-known one. May (1993: 104) suggested there are three broad headings - interaction, transcription, and interpretation. At an inter-actionable level some people find tape recorders inhibiting and are not as open as a result, yet if the interviewer is not scribbling notes furiously they are more likely to be able to promote a natural conversation. Transcription is time- consuming but has the benefits that it is possible to record exactly what has been said in the respondent's own words, recording the whole of what has been said and not what the interviewer has selectively picked up on. At an interpretative level it is possible to consider the gestures and emotions of the interviewer as well as the words undertaking textual analysis at a later date. Piloting proved that few people refused to allow the interview to be recorded but in several cases the interviewees were definitely inhibited. Once the tape recorder had been switched off the respondents visibly relaxed and went back over events, clarifying the situation.

The interview schedule had two parts. The first was a re-cap of factual information about the household. This was partly to check that no details of the household had changed and also to act as a means of building up confidence and rapport. Then the chronological list of residences was checked. It also served a 'test' of confidence in the reliability of the data providing the reassurance that all but two cases where minor errors in the ordering of events, that the chronological ordering of events with the timing, places and associated circumstances were surprisingly replicated. A check-list of themes of interest was referred to (see Appendix 1.2) during the course of the interview but the nature of the interview was intended to be unstructured so that a wide variety of issues and scenarios could examined. Interviews lasted between thirty minutes and two and half-hours. Given the nature of the interviews and the fact that in general people seemed to like to talk about their lives, it was difficult to constrain the time taken to complete interviews.

> 'There is a tension in the biographical interview between, on the one hand the need of the interviewer to establish and maintain a rapport and a trusting relationship in which the interviewee will disclose a significant personal information and, on the other, the practical demands and constraints of any research enquiry. What transpires is inevitably something of a balancing act (Gearing and Dant 1990: 152)

Some interviews were conducted with two people. This did not constitute a group interview as such but nevertheless there are similar issues involved. Advantages are in examining issues which are not clearly resolved, analysing inter-personal relationships, which member appears to be the most dominant and most importantly acting as checks on the accuracy of the information. It became clear in one interview that one household member was clearly more reliable in terms of accuracy of dates and timings. It also gave an indication of conflicting priorities. However, against this due to the constant interjection it perhaps inhibited the less dominant member and some issues which were more sensitive for either member may not be voiced. A mixture of one person and two-person interviews was carried out in order to evaluate both methods.

4.5 Form of Data Analysis

After each questionnaire was completed, it was assigned a number and the information was entered into an Excel spreadsheet. Information was categorised as in sequence of moves undertaken not the time in which they took place, beginning with the first moves, differentiating between those undertaken with parents and those independently. Each move was then assigned a place name, settlement type data, age-time and time period, length of stay, reasons for moving to that place. Coding was assigned to motives, occupation, place type and household structure (Appendix 1.3). Apart from motives the coding adopted was based upon classifications used by the National Census so that the database was standardised. Social class was based upon occupation as has been customary since the 1911 census into a small number of broad categories (Appendix 1.3). In terms of selecting a typology, the exacting requirements were that the typology could be extended back though time to elucidate trends within the sample and be comparable with national data sets so that local findings could be placed in context. Hence for the coding of household types, a household and family composition (10% sample) was used and based upon the inter-relationships within the household.

Having entered the data from the questionnaires into the database it was decided to amalgamate the information from the two areas and consider the gross patterns that emerged from the different age cohorts. This provided three subsets of data, those in cohort A who were under 40 years old, those included in cohort B who were under 60 years old and those in cohort C who were over 60 years old. It was found subsequently that the database had to be reorganised several times to create a uniform and manageable data set. For example, when last moves were being considered this required isolating single moves out of 250 respondents, each with over 500 fields. Likewise, in order to manipulate all moves within certain age times, colour coding was used to manipulate the data set as easily as possible. Thus, each individual had all those moves that were completed in their thirties for example coloured in yellow, this aided the cutting and pasting of cells between different operations. The database was used to describe the essential characteristics of moves undertaken in each age time period and relate these to the circumstances in which they were made.

All taped interviews were transcribed and annotated immediately after undertaking them to provide a comprehensive account of the interviews. These annotations represented informal coding strategies. It was decided not to use a software package to analyse them, partly due to time constraints and also because it was felt that manual categorisation of the data was sufficient for the aims of the research project. The transcripts were printed out and annotated, then formal coding was assigned to specific portions of the data and subsequently the originals were edited on screen to create new files. However, this was not a strict linear process but more iterative (Dey 1993). The interview checklist was used to generate initial master categories and then further categories were created. However, given that interpretative techniques employed were not quantitative, numerical counts of quotes were not used since it was deemed that the residence history analysis approach with a more flexible interview agenda did not merit this. The significance of a factor being only attributable to the number of times it has been mentioned would have neglected the fact that this was an attempt to understand the complexity of the migration process in its entirety not one specific element. The selection of quotes used in the ensuing chapters are not necessarily based upon the number of respondents to have commented upon a particular feature, they are simply illustrative. Care was taken to avoid the use of the same case study too frequently, although the more eloquent or reflective interviewees did articulate features that were important.

4.6 Practical and methodological considerations

The limitations or constraints of the methods used are inherent to this type of research and were not, as such, unique to compiling residence histories. Elements of both practical and methodological considerations involved the procedure of piloting, the quality of data and the issue of positionality are discussed in the following section.

4.6.1 Piloting

Problems, which were unique and therefore could not be envisaged in a pilot survey included variation in specific voices and background noise. In the initial piloting survey, only a limited number of questionnaires were conducted (25 in total). Given the vast array of different reasons for moving it was decided not to prescribe categories in advance. Instead, an open question on the decision to migrate served the purpose of allowing respondents to use their own words to decide why something had happened. On completion of the full survey, 28 categories of responses were used in coding the data. It was decided that when analysing the responses those who had given more than one reason, these multiple responses would not be 'weighted', as it was clear that one reason was not twice as important as another for example. Thus analysis of results was conducted using the total responses given not as a reflection of the number of respondents. One of the greatest drawbacks of using open questions and then coding them retrospectively is the appropriateness of specific categories and how these marry with the respondent's own choices. This became evident when attempting to code data retrospectively and finding that some categories had elements of overlap. In these cases both categories were marked as this was deemed to include all reasons but it could be argued that some reasons were double-counted. For example when respondents had discussed moves and given reasons such as moving house to allow more space for their growing family this meant they had alluded to specific housing needs but had also alluded to changes in household structure. Prioritising elements of decision-making through time would have been far too complex to evaluate in this type of project. Thus the slightly unsatisfactory situation remained with uncertainty about the representation of the importance of factors in decision-making. A fuller discussion of the assessment of the use of residence histories to analyse decision-making is contained in chapter 9.4. Surprisingly, 'non-response' was evident in the second part of interviewing. On several occasions although quite precise arrangements had been made either individuals had forgotten about these arrangements or on the prescribed time had other more pressing engagements. Given that this part of the fieldwork was time consuming it was often quite difficult to rearrange the interviews.

4.6.2 *The nature of residence history data*

The research project was attempting to extract from individuals their 'life stories' with associated migration events. This was not a simple collation of data as both part one and two of the fieldwork involved interviewing likened by Kitchin and Tate (2000: 213) to a 'complex social encounter.' For example, it became difficult, without appearing rude, to show a lack of interest in the detail individuals were prepared to share. On several occasions people would bring out photographs of places or key people in their lives. Likewise, the notion that precise dating was required became quite an obsession for some. Despite reassurances that general ideas would be fine much time was taken to give an accurate picture of their life events. Relating more details of events in their lives that were clearly important to them proved fascinating but also frustrating at times. This exemplified one of the huge problems of using residence histories, in that it is extremely time consuming to retrieve the information and although a great deal is interesting, not all of it is relevant. On one occasion, having arranged to re-visit a couple they had decided to help out by detailing all their moves in what they referred to as their 'book' which they presented to the researcher on entrance. When asked questions instead of discussing them, the replies were that 'they were all in the book'. Not having had a chance to look at the 'book' it was then difficult to initiate a 'rolling conversation'; instead it became incredibly stilted and frustrating. In this situation, perhaps retrospectively it may been better to follow-up with a further interview having had time to digest the information.

It also transpired inadvertently that respondents made assumptions about the type of information required and therefore gave selective answers (Chapter 9.14). Despite stressing that all previous addresses were required people often felt that time spent studying or training where there had been little choice in accommodation was not required. It seemed to help summarising the residence history at the end to check for accuracy as they then came up with comments like "well then of course I had 2 years in nurses accommodation but you won't need that will you". This generated another dimension to the validity of the results in that the younger age cohort may well have recorded more moves in their twenties than their counterparts. This may simply have been because they were more recent to them and seemed to have relevance, whereas those older respondents may have behaved in the manner described earlier and discounted frequent moves early in their lives. However, in most cases returning to the original account produced few discrepancies.

It had been hoped that it might have been possible to get a gender balance in terms of migration histories but in practice this proved impossible. Although care was taken to vary the time of day as well as the day of the week, it was more likely to find women at home willing to comply with the survey than men, for a number of reasons:

1. More women than men are carers and therefore, stay home to look after elderly relatives or children.
2. Many women are engaged in part-time employment than full-time and therefore are likely to be at home. Employed men tended to be in full-time employment and by dint of them living in rural areas many of them commuted, arriving home relatively late and were not as willing to answer questionnaires.
3. The survey areas had a relatively older population with a high number over 70 years old. Due to the disparity in death rates there were a large number of older widowed women living alone.
4. In many cases when a couple lived in a house the women offered to help first and often it would have been both rude and inappropriate to try and persuade the man to help instead.

There were many occasions where a couple was present and there were distinct differences in the types of responses given. This appeared to reflect the preoccupation with their individual responsibilities. Male respondents more often than not would stress employment and occasionally housing as the main motivating factors in a move (Pahl and Pahl 1971). Women would refer to the needs of different family members incorporating choices of school, their own employment needs as well as their partner's employment. This became particularly apparent when moves had not taken place. Frequently, the female respondents rather than the male were able to recall aborted moves in detail or the range of choices of houses and locations they had considered in the past. Clearly the sampling frame was not one in which one could test the significance of this kind of response but it is clearly important when discussing motives in migration to incorporate this gender dimension to household decision-making (Agg and Philips 1998: 259).

4.6.3 Positionality

It soon became clear that different roles could be assumed to elicit different information. In many cases it seemed to help to make the research appear 'less academic' as it was deemed less official and therefore respondents were less likely to withhold information. Many respondents had been involved in education through teaching and made the point that they felt morally responsible to help out. With others, very often from a background in business it seemed to help to make research appear crucial to some sort of planning issue. It could be argued that this is manipulative and dishonest but it is essentially pragmatic and often instinctive. The respondent is still in control of which information he/she decides to surrender.

As explained earlier despite some of the drawbacks of using face-to face interviews the benefits outweighed the disadvantages in terms of establishing rapport and securing return visits. However, one of the clear methodological problems that presented itself with such a method is the 'power relations' during the interviews. This is summarised by Kitchin and Tate (2000: 219);

> "In textbook descriptions of an interview, the interviewer is usually in total control of the situation asking the questions and responding to answers. 'Normal' conversations do not take this form. In 'normal' conversations both parties ask and respond to questions. In most interviews the interviewee will also ask the interviewer specific questions. Feminists argue that in such as case if the interviewer refuses to answer an opinion-based question they are compromising the rapport and trust of the interviewee. If an interviewee does respond to such a question however, they are then breaking the notion of neutrality or objectivity."

Dyck (1993) has considered this notion of reflexivity in greater detail. As a relatively young female researcher the perception of me by many was probably non-threatening and therefore access may have been more easily gained. However, many of the issues were quite personal and hence the respondents felt equally and probably rightly entitled to reciprocate this questioning. Not only was this difficult to negotiate but also the researcher's background, moves, personal circumstances would clearly have a bearing upon the way in which they perceived the interviewer and offered information. Two aspects of the researcher's own background were ones that were perceived to have a potential influence on the way the interview progressed. The first of the issues only related to interviews in Tynedale. Firstly, having lived and grown up in an area close by provided local knowledge, which was useful when place names were referred to. It also meant having a personal history which was relevant to the respondents in terms of social background (such as the area one had grown up in, schools attended etc). Queries were frequently made about the nature of the place being stayed in whilst doing fieldwork (effectively a second home since 1977). Whilst for some respondents the fact that neighbours were well-known gave credibility to my position, for others who perhaps opposed second home owners this sometimes made it awkward. It also became an ethical issue as to how evasive one became and how quickly one moved away from the personal to their personal histories. Secondly, in both Rutland and Tynedale, when discussing moves as children, respondents were keen to know the interviewers background. Going into a rural area and probing information about rural life, having been brought up in suburban Newcastle and

Oxford with the rest of the time being in University cities of Edinburgh and Leicester meant that one could be viewed simply as a 'townie academic'. It was possible sometimes to recognise potential conflict when revealing details about oneself. Although, having quickly recognised the importance of volunteering information as being a way of both making interviewees more likely to volunteer information and more comfortable, it was sometimes difficult to be entirely truthful without sensing one might evoke a negative reaction. As other authors have noted it is not that one should like all subjects that one interviews, but one should have a respect for them (Gearing and Dant 1990). This became difficult on occasions. On one particular occasion, an older man seemed more than willing to help with the questionnaire. However, once having explained to him the first few questions he launched into a hugely critical haranguing of the uselessness of degrees. It was at times difficult to work out how much was 'tongue in cheek' and how much was rudeness. He was an influential figure in the village and offending him might have resulted in other respondents refused to help.

Along with notions of objectivity, self and others was the notion of moral obligation. Many of the households visited contained elderly single people, often widowers and widows who appeared pleased to have some company. It was difficult to restrict the time one spent on each questionnaire, let alone the second-part interview. On numerous occasions offers of cups of tea and coffee were made and it would have been difficult to leave without offending the respondent. Respondents appeared in the main to like the opportunity to talk about their lives and people that had been important in their lives. These interviews were enjoyable but it required a great deal of stamina and the whole process of collecting data took much longer than expected. Residence histories provide a vast amount of information, almost too much, thus the need to remain focused on the subject given the time constraints, whilst also establishing a useful rapport became a constant source of conflict.

Having outlined the methods used and discussed some of the associated limitations and problems the next chapter summarises the most recent features of migration into rural areas and draws out the specific issues in relation to the case study areas.

Chapter 5: The Younger Years

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the migration patterns and processes of respondents in their 'younger years', which will involve a consideration of mobility through childhood and young adulthood. The original sample was subdivided into three age cohorts: those currently aged in their twenties and thirties, those in their forties and fifties and those in their sixties and seventies. Henceforth the youngest cohort will be referred to as Cohort A, the middle-aged cohort as Cohort B and the oldest cohort as Cohort C. 'Younger moves' incorporates moves referred to as their first independent move and subsequent moves made by the respondents up to their thirties. The subdivision of moves into teens, twenties and thirties clearly cuts across these two different move types. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, most analyses have thus far focused upon the first independent move alone (Boyle and Halfacree1998) and it was therefore decided that a two-pronged analysis of the single independent move in the context of all moves made in the younger years would be an important contribution to understanding the migration process as a whole. First independent moves for some may not have taken place until their forties or even fifties and sixties but these were relatively infrequent (seven members in total) and were excluded. The data was analysed in two ways: by move type (first independent moves up to the age of 39) and age-time (those moves carried out in the teens and twenties).

Figure 1.2 illustrates the different time periods in which each cohort made moves. Members of Cohort A were born in the late 1950s and 1960s and experienced their childhood in the late 1960s and 1970s. Most of them made their first independent moves during the 1980s. Those in Cohort B were born around the time of the Second World War and grew up in the 1950s. The majority of their independent moves were undertaken in the late 1960s and 1970s. Those in Cohort C were born in the 1920s and grew up in the inter-war years. For this older cohort, leaving home generally took place during the 1950s and early 1960s.

Section 5.2 will outline some of the principal differences between the three cohorts in terms of their childhood origins: including where they grew up, household characteristics, and length of stay and tenure in first residence and will include all respondents. Section 5.3 analyses moves undertaken by respondents independently and is followed by a discussion of first moves away from home. In contrast, section 5.4 presents the data obtained for all moves undertaken in the individual's teens and twenties to ascertain the significance of the first independent move against all moves undertaken in the 'younger' years'. The final section will attempt to provide explanations for the differences in the experience of moving in different time periods as revealed by in-depth interviews.

5.2 Origins of Cohorts

Although place of birth statistics can be useful in examining origins of populations, it seemed this was too limited a definition to use when discussing the impact of an individual's childhood environment.

Several respondents gave the place of birth as being different to the place that they had their most formative memories. Since this analysis has sought to understand the relationship between the places a person has lived in and their subsequent moves it seemed important that in defining origins of people, for these to be meaningful places for the respondents. Birthplace statistics would have recorded main hospital centres, most frequently urban centres. For this reason the place where someone had grown up or felt that they had spent a considerable part of their childhood was recorded. This too, is not without some confusion since several respondents felt they had lived in too many places as a child to have particular memories of any one place, hence these were excluded from the analysis. This was particularly true of children whose parents had been in the army, or when they had spent large periods of time away at boarding schools. Although it was often these children who felt that they had a great experience of growing up in the countryside, even when their parents had perhaps been linked through their employment to urban centres.

> "We had a flat it was an army flat it was a huge mansion and the army had requisitioned it during the war and had it divided into flats and offices. It really was wonderful paddling around the streams - it was a village near Bay Bridge I think it's an enormous place now it wasn't then. Then we went to Sandhurst. we had a flat in a large country house it wasn't army accommodation. Again it was a rural community and we spent all our time paddling in streams playing hide and seek ... nice country"
> (L30 Professional Female Cohort B)

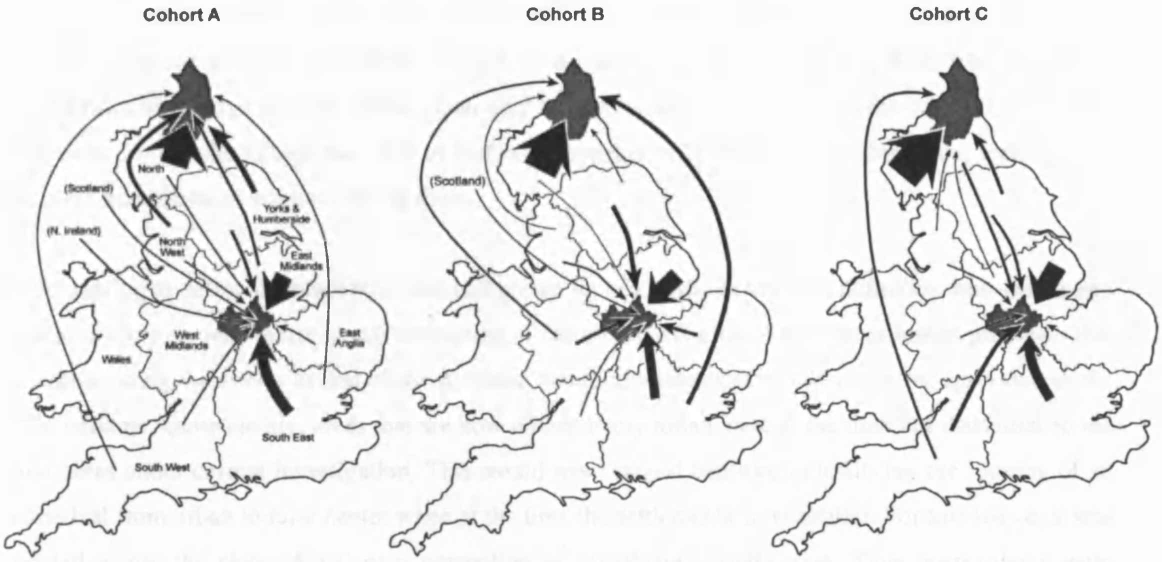
Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 illustrate some of the chief characteristics of the sample in terms of where members grew up. This does not necessarily imply that members were born in these places but represent where a member spent their formative childhood. Hence, for some members who had moved frequently as a child this was not possible –this accounts for the fact that the sample is incomplete.

Table 5.1 Origins of Respondents by Age Cohort.

ORIGINS	Cohort A				Cohort B				Cohort C			
	Rutland		Tynedale		Rutland		Tynedale		Rutland		Tynedale	
REGION	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NORTH	1	3.7	20	64.5	1	1.5	31	79.5	2	6.5	42	82.4
YORKS AND HUMBER	2	7.4	4	12.9	7	10.8	1	2.6	2	6.5	4	7.8
NORTH WEST	2	7.4	3	9.7	3	4.6	1	2.6	1	3.2	1	2.0
EAST MIDLANDS	11	40.7	2	6.5	26	40.0	0	0.0	14	45.2	1	2.0
WEST MIDLANDS	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	7.7	2	5.1	1	3.2	0	0.0
EAST ANGLIA	1	3.7	0	0.0	5	7.7	0	0.0	1	3.2	0	0.0
SOUTH EAST	7	25.9	1	3.2	14	21.5	4	10.3	7	22.6	0	0.0
SOUTH WEST	1	3.7	1	3.2	2	3.1	0	0.0	3	9.7	3	5.9
WALES	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
SCOTLAND	1	3.7	0	0.0	2	3.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
NORTHERN IRELAND	1	3.7										
Total	27		31		65		39		31		51	

Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 indicate that across all three age cohorts the majority of respondents had originated in the same region in Tynedale, over 70% of the sample had originally come from the North compared to only 45% of the Rutland sample from the East Midlands. Across the three age cohorts, Cohort A contains more diversity in terms of members' origins in both Tynedale and Rutland. Respondents in Cohort B living in Rutland show similarly diverse backgrounds, whereas respondents in Tynedale in both Cohorts B and C had a very high proportion of members from the North.

Figure 5.1 Origin of respondents


Cohort A
Cohort B
Cohort C
(Scotland)
(N. Ireland)
North
Yorks & Humberside
North West
East Midlands
West Midlands
East Anglia
Wales
South East
South West
(Scotland)

The Rutland sample has a larger proportion of members who had originated in the Southeast in all three cohorts, possibly reflecting nothing more than the county's position in the south of the country. These figures could also be compounded by the respective locations of each district within each region. Tynedale is situated in the heart of the North region, whilst Rutland is situated towards the west of the region thereby making origins of some who lived relatively nearby part of an adjacent region. Despite the potential bias that could have arisen, these results indicate that within the two areas there is a significant difference in the processes of population turnover. The population in Rutland appears to have a much greater mix of people in terms of where they originated compared to Tynedale. At a much smaller scale numbers originating in all the villages of the study area were significantly different between all three cohorts. Seventeen members of the oldest cohort, nearly one quarter, originated in one of the four study villages compared to fewer than 10% for both of the younger cohorts including those who had never moved from the village as well as those who may have returned. The notion that the younger generation who were born in the village have left to find work appears to be borne out by this study, leaving only the older inhabitants to continue living there.

In attempting to define the place someone had grown up in as rural or urban, a definition was used based foremost upon the respondent's own perception of the settlement. One of the first potential problems that emerged during the survey is that of the dynamic nature of a classification which relies upon size as the main variable. Quite clearly, areas that are now undisputedly urban were at the time not dissimilar to the rural areas under current investigation. This would have caused confusion classifying the journey of an individual from urban to rural centre when at the time the settlements were similar. For this reason it was decided to use the respondents' own perception of settlement classification. Thus, respondents were asked to describe their place of origin as open countryside, hamlet, village, small rural or urban town, large town, suburb or inner city and in the case of small towns whether this was believed to be urban or rural. For example, one interviewee who had moved from his area of origin some 50 years ago described what is now an established suburb of Newcastle as:

> "Oh no it was a separate village back then and the farmer the farm up the road was called Glebe farm which was of course attached in someway to the church they farmed all the land round about Benton church. They used to fetch the cows through the village up to the farm, you see cars and buses were quite rare."
> (A28 Non-Professional Male, Cohort C)

Others felt that they were in some way 'country' people because they had had considerable contact with rural areas during their childhood either because relatives lived there or because they went on holiday to the countryside. One respondent voiced her feelings about having had in some ways 'rural roots':

> "Well, my mother belonged Throckley which isn't far out from Newcastle but when I was a child Throckley was still classed as a village.. Still a small mining area it was still a village and still countryside. I can remember coming out from Newcastle to Denton Burn for picnics right down in the dene in Denton Burn. Because the trolley buses ended at Denton square turned round and went back into Newcastle. We used to get off there and walk three hundred yard up the road and go down into the Dene.. and that was a big day out. Now, *I* have seen all that develop so you can imagine how Throckley's developed over the years and Throckley was very much still countryside as I remember it and because my mother was brought up in Throckley we spent a lot of time at Throckley visiting relatives and that I never ever classed myself as a city person, and my mother only had to move into Newcastle because my father worked for the Post Office in those days as a local sorter and because his shifts started very early in the morning you had to lived within so many miles of your job and Throckley was out of the area... (C19 Professional Female Cohort B)

There was little difference between the origin of respondents in Cohorts A, B or C (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Childhood place type by age cohort

	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Birth place						
Rural	20	37.7	35	34.3	37	46.8
Urban	33	62.3	67	65.7	42	53.2
Total *	53		102		79	

* Numbers do not equate to sample size as not all respondents could adequately classify

Just under half of all three cohorts had come from rural areas and just over half from urban areas though Cohort B had a slightly higher proportion of members who were brought up in urban areas. One might expect that given rising levels of urbanisation this trend might have been more pronounced in the younger generation too, with a larger proportion of members having lived in urban areas. This could mean that Cohort B was more representative of the general understanding of the term 'counterurbanite' or it could be that the relatively higher number of rural birth places in Cohort A represents those respondents who had not made a move away form a rural area.

On the other hand there were clear differences between cohorts in terms of parent's tenure. The tenure of respondent's parents' first properties was ascertained during the survey (Figure 5.3). Among Cohorts B and C roughly twice as many respondents had lived in rented property as children compared to owner occupied property. In the youngest cohort two-thirds of respondents lived in owner occupied property as children compared to rented property. This is in line with the general growth in home ownership and the decline of the rental sector. Generally, tied property previously a significant element of the rented property market in the countryside has been in decline. Generally the proportion of tied workers relative to the size of each cohort had decreased only very slightly through time in this sample. (Figure 5.2).

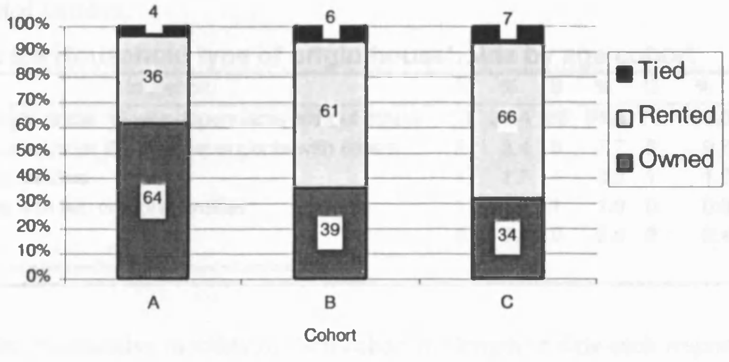


Figure 5.2 Tenure of parent's first property where respondent grew up

*Figures do not correspond to sample size data missing for those respondents who could not re-call information

Comparing the size and composition households of the three cohorts is problematic given the dynamic nature of household structures in recent times (Grundy 1992). Households change continuously and therefore the information collected was for one point in time, from the respondent's first memory. Given that the position in a family was not collected then household size was problematic because if a member was either the first born or the last born this would have given very different sizes of household in the first residence. Not withstanding this problem though, it was still clear that household size was greater in the past (Table 5.3). The modal values were much closer to the national averages than the mean values. Coleman and Salt (1992: 221) calculated that the mean household size in Britain in was 4.1 in 1931, 3.4 in 1951and 3.1 in 1961.

Table 5.3 Mean and modal values for household size in first residence by age cohorts

Cohort	A	B	C
modal values	4.0	4. 6	3.0
Mean values	5.0	5.0	5.5

More significant however, was the variety in size of household in the past. There was a larger number of bigger households although similar number of households with four or five members. There were no examples among the younger Cohorts A sample of households with greater than six members, whilst there were several examples of households with more than 12 members in the oldest cohort.

In contrast to childhood household size, when household type was examined there appeared to be little difference between generations (Table 5.4). Most respondents in all three cohorts had grown up in a household that consisted of a married couple with dependent children without others (over 85% of all cases). Only six members in the total sample had been brought up as part of lone parent family and there were examples in all three cohorts. However, there was a higher incidence amongst the older cohorts of households that contained a married couple family, dependent children and others. In other words this category incorporated those families with grandparents or other relatives as well as lodgers. This contrasts sharply with the current household structure of the sample where there were few incidences of households with extended families.

Table 5.4 Household type of origin households by age cohort

Household	A	%	B	%	C	%
Married couple under 65 with dependants without others	53	91.4	88	84.6	71	86.6
Married couple under 65, with dependents with others	2	3.4	8	7.7	8	9.8
Lone parent families	1	1.7	4	3.8	1	1.2
Households with two or more families	1	1.7	1	1.0	0	0.0
No family	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.4
Total *Some data unclassified so total does not equate to sample						

In order to determine the comparative mobility of each cohort the length of time each respondent spent in the first residence was analysed (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Length of Time Respondents Spent in First Residence

Time spent in first residence(Years)	A		B		C	
	No of moves	% of moves by A	No of moves	% of moves by B	No of moves	% of moves by C
1-5	22	38	22	21.2	22	26.8
6-10	6	10	19	18.3	10	12.2
11-15	4	6.9	5	4.8	7	8.5
16-20	19	33	25	24.0	19	23.2
21+	7	12	33	31.7	24	29.3
Total	58		104		82	

Again given that the position of the child within the household was not recorded it is difficult to draw any conclusions about mobility of households from this data. However, in this study most moves were made within the first five years of respondent's lives or when members moved upon leaving their family home. This would suggest that among all three cohorts there was a degree of stability in residences during childhood with very few members who had moved between the ages of 11 and 15 years. Having considered the characteristics of the origins of the three cohorts, the following section considers the first independent move made by respondents.

5.3 First independent moves

The notion of 'leaving home' could be construed as rather ambiguous and is often temporally and culturally defined (Bracher and Santow 1990). Many individuals made moves away from home and subsequently returned – this seemed to be more common amongst the younger generations who went away to study but did not view this move as a formal split from home. This was also felt by the parents interviewed whose children were away at college or university or in what they regarded as temporary jobs. Even when children were at least temporarily financially independent and spent more time in total in another residence, they were still considered as part of the present household by their parents. Amongst several interviewees there was the expectation that their children might return to live with them. Amongst the oldest cohort, many members remained at home upon getting their first jobs and contributed to the household income as oppose to moving. Frequently, newly married couples continued to live with their parents or in-laws either because they needed to save enough money to put a deposit down upon a house or because they were expected to care for their parents. Thus a distinction was made between leaving home and first independent moves. Moves made away from the main household unit in which an individual was brought up, whether it was individually or as part of a smaller family unit were regarded as first independent moves irrespective of how each move was viewed at the time. Even withstanding this distinction in terminology many of the moves described in the following section were undertaken under very different circumstances.

Before considering mobility in early adulthood it seems important to consider those who in effect never left home at all and lived in the same residence all their lives. As part of the whole sample they formed a relatively small number: two males and five females out of a total of 244, less than 3% of the sample. Nevertheless, it is important to attempt to understand the mechanisms and processes operating to retain individuals in the same place. Given the very small incidence of cases it is difficult to form generalizations about how important class, gender and temporal context are to each member. Four members came from Rutland and three from Tynedale, and all were non-professionals (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Profile of Non-Movers

HH CLASS	SEX	Cohort	Household structure	AGE	BIRTH PL /ORIGIN	COUNTY - BIRTH	TENURE OF PARENTS AND INDIVIDUALS
IIIN	M	A	Single	20-24	Lyddington	Rutland	Owned
IV	F	B	Single	40-44	Catton	Northumberland	Rented
IIIM	F	B	Single (carer)	45-49	Lyddington	Rutland	Owned
IIIM	F	B	Married couple family no dependents	55-59	Preston	Rutland	Rented
IV	F	C	Single	70-74	Catton	Northumberland	Owned
IIIM	M	C	Married couple family	65-69	Catton	Northumberland	Owned
IIIN	F	C	Divorced	65-69	Lyddington	Rutland	Owned

Clearly the youngest male from Rutland is still at an age when many of his peers have not made a move away from home either. Personal circumstances meant that he had remained in his family home alone, due to bereavement, but might well choose to move in the future. He was therefore in a different category from those who had made a more resolved decision that they would never move.

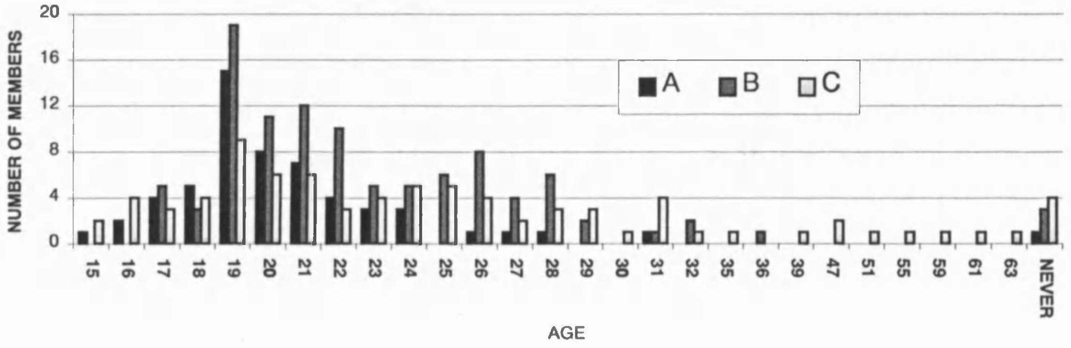
Of the seven, five had not moved away because as they put it 'there was no reason to'. During the interviews *all* referred to relatives or close friends as a contributory factor for their remaining in their homes though additional factors appeared significant including marriage and employment. For example, in two cases respondents had married and their spouses came to live with them. Significantly, the remainder of the sample had remained single and had continued to live with their parents and to care for them in old age eventually inheriting the property. Another respondent had spent a considerable part of her life living in Nottingham during the week where she worked and came home at weekends to look after her mother and father. Another was a farmer who had worked alongside his family until they died and then continued to live in the same property but had sold the adjoining land. Apart from caring for relatives, the common theme which links all cases together is that they all lived in accommodation eventually owned outright. Surely one of the strong motives to remain *in situ* was the cost of moving away both in monetary and psychological terms linked to a lack of stimulus. Apart from the two who married there was also a lack of impetus in terms of changing household needs.

Of those households interviewed consisting of married couples with non-dependent children, thirteen out of the fourteen examples consisted of male non-dependants. Since these non-dependants had not been interviewed it is impossible to know why they remained at home and whether there were any particular processes that might have promoted the gender imbalance in the decision to live at home. Several lived on working farms and therefore were involved in working the land as part of the family. This gender imbalance in terms of mobility in rural areas was common historically according to Pooley and Turnbull (2002) because of the way farms were organised and worked. Beyond agriculture, contemporary studies have also found that it was more likely for men to remain with their families whilst being financially independent or at least delay leaving home, the implication being that it was more comfortable to remain at home (Stockdale 2002). Generally in both Tynedale and Rutland it was notable that very few non-dependent female children had returned to live with their parents.

The following section will attempt to unravel some of the differences in the timing, motives and destinations of first independent moves that emerged in terms of class and gender within each age cohort and between age cohorts. There are several points worthy of consideration. Any discussion of class difference is fraught with difficulty since the only measure of class is based upon current occupation. Several respondents had come from backgrounds associated with manual occupation and progressed through their careers to professional or managerial levels. The moves that they undertook initially may well have been similar to their contemporaries who remained in manual occupations. However, the complexities of multiple temporal classification systems were both beyond the scope of this study and deemed impractical given that the survey was complemented by in-depth interviews. Throughout the rest of this study the professional and managerial classes will be referred to simply as ‘professional’ and the remaining categories simply as ‘non-professional’. There is also both an inherent class and gender imbalance in the sample so it is difficult to make statistical generalisations from this data set. There is a dominance of professional and managerial classes in the sample as a whole, accounting for two-thirds of the sample (161 out of a total of 244 respondents). This reflects the situation in the selected villages, that the field areas have a preponderance of professional households. Likewise two-thirds of the sample is female, despite attempts to collect roughly equal proportion of each described earlier. The under-representation of both female and particularly male non-professionals meant it was not appropriate to conduct statistical analysis. Nevertheless, there are still interesting differences within the sample and between cohorts in terms of motives, leaving ages and distances migrated.

In any examination of circumstances surrounding adulthood moves one of the features that differentiates members is the age at which individuals leave home. Figure 5.3 illustrates the differences in ages of member’s first independent move in the three age cohorts. Clearly, there is a much greater variation in leaving ages for older respondents compared to younger respondents. The majority of the youngest Cohort A left home aged 18 or 19, whilst the middle cohort had a wider spread of ages up to the age of 22. The oldest cohort had the greatest disparity in terms of ages with many making their first independent move right through their twenties.

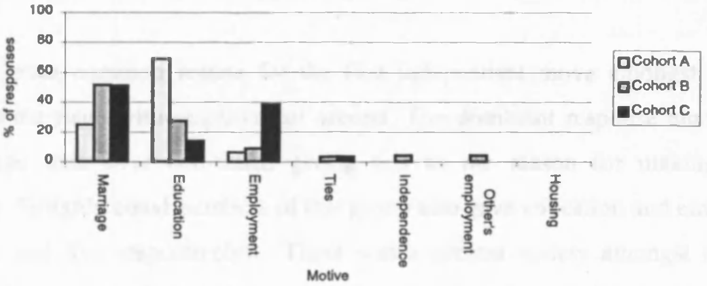
Figure 5.3 Age at which first independent move was made



Among the youngest cohort there was here was a greater similarity between the professional and non-professionals in their leaving ages. The non-professional women left at a slightly later age than the non-professional men: between 20 and 21 compared to 18 and 21. Whilst men and women from the professional class left home, similarly at the age of 19. The middle cohort also illustrated similar patterns –with both men and women in the professional classes leaving at the age of 19. However, there was a slightly greater difference between classes: with men and women from the non-professional classes leaving at later mean age of between 22 and 25. Conversely, professional men and women in the oldest cohort formed independent households at a relatively older age than their younger counterparts. Mean values for both men and women were 27 and 28 respectively with median values of 22 and 24. On the other hand non-professional men and women in the oldest cohort formed independent households earlier than their professional counterparts with a mean age of 23 and medians of 20 and 24 respectively. However, taking mean values for first independent moves was rather misleading since in some cases the range was too great and a small number of respondents had made their first move at a very late age due to sets of rather extraordinary circumstances. For example, there were 7 respondents who had made their first independent move over the age of 35 and of all of these were in the oldest cohort. Two thirds of those who had left at that later age did so following the death of a relative they had been caring for. The remaining third were agricultural employees who had moved out of farms when their children married and took over the family farm. In earlier times this type of move would not have been deemed necessary and clearly is another example of the growth in the number of household in general.

Any attempt to determine the reasons for the differences between the three cohorts has to be undertaken in the context of the time in which the individuals were making these moves. As outlined in Chapter 3 motives were obtained using open questions; respondents were asked the question " what were your main reasons for moving?" and some replied giving single answers whilst others gave multiple responses. When respondents were asked why they had undertaken these moves their responses were assigned one of 28 categories. Where respondents gave more than one reason these were not weighted but care was taken to avoid confusing the number of responses with the number of respondents. Responses were then grouped into six types; housing, employment, household transitions, environment, ties and education and these were illustrated as a percentage of the total number of responses. From Figures 5.4a and5.4b, it is evident that there were a greater variety of motives amongst the youngest Cohort A than to the two older cohorts.

a) Professionals



b) Non-professionals

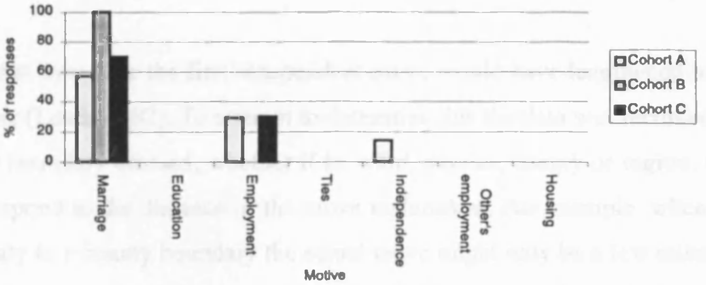


Figure 5.4 Motives for first independent move by social class

The most common response amongst the youngest cohort for moving was education or training. This accounted for over 50% (20/38) of the responses from the professional class with equal proportions from both men and women. Marriage was the second most common reason in the professional classes among both men and women (8/38) with only 1 moving to cohabit. Very few members of the professional classes made their first independent moves for employment reasons (only 4/38). Amongst non-professional females the most common response for making the first independent move was marriage (8/13) followed by cohabitation (3/13), whilst for the non-professional males employment and independence were the most common reasons.

On the other hand among the members of Cohort B as a whole, the most common reason for making the first independent move was marriage (66/104), followed by education or training (25/104). Amongst the professional women over 50% of moves were made upon marriage (38/59), with a further 25% made for training or education. Interestingly, one third of the female professional sample gave multiple reasons for moving and the most common additional reason was due to ties – respondents moving to live near friends or relatives who were already resident near their destination. This incorporated those who moved to their husband's place of residence on marriage as well as those who chose specific training establishments because relatives lived nearby. The most common reason for male professionals was educational or training reasons, followed by marriage, with only 4 out of 23 stating employment. By far the most common reason for both male and female non-professionals first independent moves was marriage and in fact only one moved for employment. It should also be noted that unlike Cohort A, there were no examples of members of Cohort B or Cohort C moving to cohabit.

Similar to Cohort B, the most common reason for the first independent move amongst members of Cohort C as a whole was marriage with employment second. The dominant response amongst female professionals was marriage with over two-thirds giving this as the reason for making their first independent move (19/31). Roughly equal numbers of this group also gave education and employment as reasons for moving (four and five respectively). There was a greater variety amongst the 20 male professionals with 7 moving on marriage and 6 on employment and 4 on training. Again, multiple responses were common particularly amongst both female and male professionals. Two particular combinations of responses were noted: having ties to a particular location with marriage and employment with marriage. Amongst the non-professionals, marriage was the most common, followed by employment.

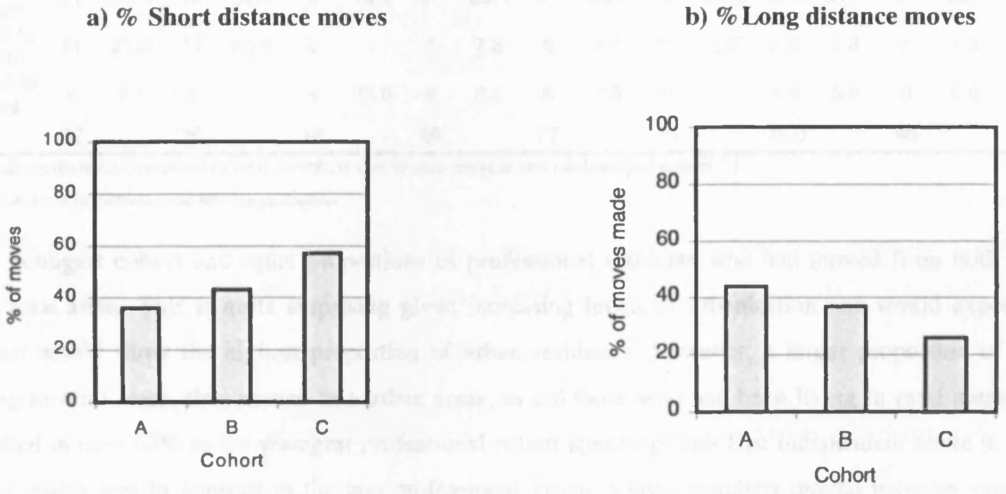
Previous studies suggest that over time the first independent move would have lengthened in distance as well as increased in number (Lewis 1982). To attempt to determine this the data was recorded in terms of the type of administrative boundary crossed, whether if be ward, district, county or region. Clearly, this does not necessarily correspond to the distance of the move undertaken. For example, when a residence is situated in close proximity to a county boundary the actual move might only be a few miles but will be recorded as a move which crosses a county boundary. Similarly counties located close to regional boundaries may show more examples of regional movement than those in the heart of a region. Nevertheless, the alternative of attempting to elicit responses from interviewees' approximate distances for any but the most recent moves was deemed too off-putting and time-consuming.

According to Table 5. 7 approximately 36% of first independent moves made by the youngest cohort shows that were made within the same district rising to 50% within the county and the remaining 50% were to a different region or abroad. Forty three per cent of moves made by Cohort B were within the same district, rising to 60% within the county and 40% to a different region or abroad. Whilst 60% of Cohort C's independent moves were within the same district, rising to 75% within the county and only 25% of moves made to different regions or abroad. Figures 5.5a and 5.5b emphasise that over time a greater proportions of people's first moves have been over increasing distances, but this is not a straightforward increase.

Table 5.7 First independent move by class and distance

Move Type	Cohort A						Cohort B						Cohort C					
	No of moves	Professional	Non-professional	% of total moves	% of professional moves	% of non-professional moves	No. of moves	Professional	Non-professional	% total moves	% of professional	% of non professional	No. of moves	% of professionals	% of non-professional	% of total	% of professional	% of non-professionals
Within wards	10	2	8	18	5	42	22	12	10	22	15	53	30	16	14	38	74	50
Between wards same district	10	7	3	18	18	16	21	16	5	21	20	26	15	8	7	19	37	25
Between districts same county	9	5	4	16	13	21	14	11	3	14	13	16	6	4	2	8	15	7
Between counties within regions	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	4
Between regions or from Scotland	16	16	0	28	42	0	34	33	1	34	40	5	16	15	1	20	40	4
Outside Great Britain	9	5	4	16	13	21	3	3	0	3	4	0	5	2	3	6	12	11
Between neighboring districts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Between neighboring counties	3	3	0	5	8	0	6	6	0	6	7	0	6	6	0	8	15	0
Total Moves	57	38	19				101	82	19				79	51	28			

Figure 5.5 a) Proportion of short distance moves (within the district) and long distance moves (between regions or from Scotland) by age cohort



There is a clear difference in terms of class for Cohort A, since over 40% of the non-professional class moved within the same ward and a further 38% within the same county. In general the majority of the non-professional class had not moved long distances (Table 5.7). This contrasts with the professional class, with over 40% of all their moves accounted for by moves between regions or from Scotland. These moves will in the majority of cases have involved considerable distances. Cohort, B shows a similar pattern of moves for the non-professional classes. Over 50% of this sample made moves within the same ward and a further 45% within the same county. The very small number of members from the non-professional class who had made longer distance moves were largely made up of those who had joined the armed forces. The professional classes in Cohort B made up the majority of moves to different regions or abroad, accounting again for over 40% of this sample. Among Cohort C, the proportion of non-professional classes who made moves within the ward was again 50%, with a further 25% moving within the district. Yet, the professional classes in Cohort C made fewer moves outwith the region (about 32% of the sample) but a greater number within the same county. All of this demonstrates that whilst the mobility of the professional class may have increased through time, evidence collected here suggests that over time the first independent moves for the non-professional classes have changed little.

A simple analysis of the destinations of those first independent moves demonstrated that in all three cohorts, respondents were more likely to move to or within an urban rather than a rural environment (Table 5.8). However, the strength of this relationship has increased through time. Whilst over 60% the younger two cohorts moved to urban areas only 54% of the oldest cohort moved to urban areas. The dominant flows in all three cohorts were those between similar environments, i.e. from urban to urban or from rural to rural. There are, however, significant differences between the moves undertaken by different classes.

Table 5.8 Flows between urban and rural areas for first independent move

Cohort	A						B						C					
	(All)	as %		as %	NP	as %	(All)	as %	P	as %	NP	as %	(All)	as %	P	as %	NP	as %
Rural to rural	16	30.8	7	19.4	9	56.3	26	27.1	14	18.2	12	63.2	29.0	40.3	17	37.0	12	46.2
urban to urban	21	40.4	18	50.0	3	18.8	57	59.4	51	66.2	6	31.6	37.0	51.4	27	58.7	10	38.5
Rural to urban	11	21.2	11	30.6	0	-	7	7.3	6	7.8	1	5.3	2.0	2.8	2	4.3	0	-
urban to rural	4	7.7	0	-	4	25.0	6	6.3	6	7.8	0	-	4.0	5.6	0	0.0	4	15.4
	52		36		16		96		77		19		72.0		46		26	

*Numbers do not correspond to total members due to non-movers and unclassified moves

F= Female M= Male P= Professional NP= non-professional

The youngest cohort had equal proportions of professional residents who had moved from both urban and rural areas. This is quite surprising given increasing levels of urbanisation one would expect this cohort would show the highest proportion of urban residence. However, a larger proportion of those living in rural areas, then moved into urban areas, as did those who had been living in rural areas. This resulted in over 62% of the youngest professional cohort spending their first independent move in urban areas which was in contrast to the non-professional group, whose members moved between rural and urban areas in equal proportions though 80% of this sample ended up living in rural areas. The large flows into urban areas were mainly composed of those attending universities or colleges accounting for the largest proportion of this subgroup.

On the other hand those professionals from Cohort B originated in greater numbers from urban areas with over 70% of this sub-sample, compared to Cohorts A and C . Once again the greatest flow upon first independent moves was into urban areas from other urban areas. The proportion of those entering and leaving urban and rural areas was identical. However, although both had greatest flows between similar areas, i.e. from urban to urban area and from rural to rural areas there were smaller flows between both rural and urban. In contrast, the non-professional class had a larger proportion of members originating from rural areas and the largest flow was within rural areas. Of those who originated in rural areas, only one currently classed as a non-professional moved into an urban area. This would seem to suggest that the moves of non-professionals into urban areas at this point in their lives does not seem to allow a 'return' migration.

The oldest professional cohort exhibited a similar pattern of flows to the middle professional cohort, except that the former had a higher proportion of inhabitants leaving and entering rural areas compared to urban areas. Otherwise, the dominant flow was between urban areas and between rural areas with very small flows crossing between different area types. Although four members of non-professional sixty and seventy-year-olds lived in urban areas prior to living in rural areas, interestingly all those who had lived in rural areas made their first moves within rural areas. After attending college or university several members of Cohort C had chosen to live in a rural area, although some have come from urban backgrounds a significant proportion have returned to rural areas

In recent years there has been a considerable growth of entry into owner occupied property in terms of their first independent property by the professional classes as illustrated in Table 5.9. Whereas in Cohort C only 20% of the sample were in owner-occupied accommodation, this rose to over 50% in Cohort B and to 75% in Cohort A. In the non-professional classes the ratio of owner-occupied first residence to rental accommodation has remained very similar through time with only a slight increase in the youngest cohort but still remaining below 50%. (The fact that many of the non-professional class have entered rented or tied property when they made their first independent moves may be related to the fact that many of them were agricultural labourers and most of the accommodation was tied.) If one considers the cohort as whole, respondents in the youngest cohort had the lowest proportion of respondents moving into owned accommodation, at only 15%, reflecting the large numbers entering rented student accommodation. The middle cohort had the highest proportion of members moving into owned accommodation, at 40%, whilst the oldest cohort had about 30% of the sample moving into owned accommodation.

Table 5.9 Transitions in Tenure for first Independent Move

Tenure change No of Respondents	A	A Prof	A Non-Prof	B	B Prof	B Non-Prof	C	C Prof	C Non-prof
Former residence owned by parents	37	29	8	46	43	3	18	10	8
Former residence rented or tied	20	8	12	55	39	16	61	41	20
First independent residence owned.	8	5	3	40	33	11	29	23	8
First independent. residence rented	49	32	17	60	49	8	48	28	20

Tables 5.10 and 5.11 illustrate some of the changes in household arrangement when the respondents move into their new residences on leaving home. In all three cohorts most respondents moved into smaller households due to the majority of members moving from households consisting of married

couple families with dependants-without-others, to no-family households, 2 or more person households or married-couple-families-with-no-children. Although there are examples of other household forms and transitions there was surprising conformity between cohorts. The youngest cohort proportionally had the largest numbers of those entering no family households mostly entering shared rented accommodation as well as smaller number setting up households directly with a partner. Both older cohorts have a much greater number of members leaving home and forming a household as a married couple with no children. The oldest cohort actually has a greater variety of transitions compared to the middle cohort. This is partly due to the fact that there were a number of examples of respondents getting married and going to live in the same household as their spouse whilst they saved up money to put down a deposit on a house. This also accounts for the later age at which independent households were formed. It is interesting to note that there were very few examples of respondents forming independent households alone or cohabiting but where this occurred it was among Cohorts A and B.

Table 5.10 Household transition upon first independent move by age cohort

Household Change Changes in Size	A	B	C
Increase	3	6	8
Decrease	34	71	58
Large-scale shared accommodation	17	20	10
No Change in Size	4	4	3

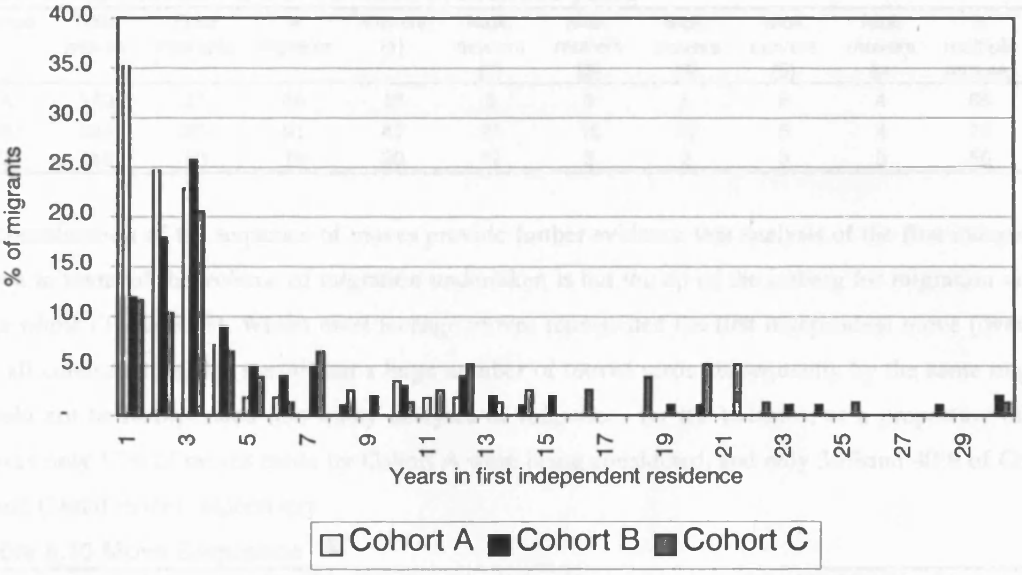
Table 5.11 Changes in household composition upon first independent move

	A	B	C
Initial status			
Households code 5: Married couple, with dependent children without others	54	81	69
Household code 15: Lone parent family with dependent children	3	8	2
Household code 7 Married couple family with Dependent children with others (e.g. grandparents)	0	11	7
Others	1	4	4
Change in household circumstances on leaving home			
From 5 to 2 (no family-shared accommodation)	32	30	19
From 7 to 2 (no family –shared accommodation)	0	3	3
From 5 to 3a (to Married couple family no dependents)	14	46	34
From 7 to 3A (to Married couple family no dependents)	0	8	3
From 5 to 1c (1 person single Household	4	0	1
From 5 to 9 (Cohabiting couple no children)	3	0	0
From 5 to 7			4
From 5/7 to 5/7		8	9
From lone parent families to			
Cohabiting Couple with no dependents	1	1	1
No family	1	1	1
Married couple family with dependent children	1	6	

In terms of comparing and contrasting lengths of stay Figure 5.6 illustrates the length of stay in the first independent residence of all three cohorts. There are clearly incompatibilities between the three data sets as the youngest cohort may well be still in their twenties and thus one would expect a much higher proportion of their stays to be a relatively short time. The higher incidence of one year stays among Cohort A, contrasted quite sharply with the two older cohorts. This could be a reflection of these moves being more recent and hence each residence is seen as more distinct and therefore was recorded, or it could be that the younger generation only expected to stay a short time in their first residence. However, interestingly, the nature of length of residence for the oldest two cohorts was virtually identical. With a peak of between three and five years being the modal value, there are also a surprising number of first independent moves, which have resulted in quite long-term stays.

Having considered the important aspects of the first independent move the following section seeks to place these in the context of all moves made in the younger years, i.e. all moves made in the respondent's teens and twenties.

Figure 5.6 Length of residence of first independent move



5.4 Migration in teens and twenties

So far only first independent moves have been discussed but, of course, those in their teens and twenties will also possibly make several moves during these ages. There are many examples in the literature of the considerable number of moves during early adulthood as new households are formed, upon marriage for example, thus confirming one the basic tenets of the family life cycle model (Boyle and Halfacree 1998). Over time it would be expected that those in early adulthood today would be considerably more mobile than those of a similar age during the 1950s and 1960s (Rossi 1980; Lewis 1982).

Table 5.12a and b identifies those respondents who had moved several times during their teens and twenties. In particular, there was a marked contrast in the migratory experience between members of Cohorts A and C. The oldest cohort has the greatest number of multiple movers in the teen years, no doubt a reflection of the early school leaving age and of the high proportion in manual occupations such as agricultural labouring during the inter-war years. Meanwhile Cohort A had the lowest proportion of multiple movers (at 8%,) possibly a reflection of the tendency to delay leaving home and the homogeneity in terms of why people left home. Conversely, over 65% of Cohort A had moved at least twice in their twenties whilst a number had moved as many as five or six times. In other words the mean number of moves for the different age cohorts disguised a great disparity in the incidence of members who had moved frequently. The emerging trend therefore, appeared to be that over time the mean number of moves has increased in their twenties, with one third of Cohort A moving only once in their twenties, compared to half of those in Cohort C.

Table 5.12a Number of Moves made in Teen years

Cohort	Total moves	Total migrants	% Migrants	Migrants (1)	Mult. movers (2)	Mult. movers (3)	Mult. movers (4+)	% multiple movers	Mean no. moves
A	28	25	43	23	1	1	0	8	1.12
B	31	27	26	24	3	0	0	11	1.15
C	28	22	27	17	4	1	0	23	1.27

Table 5.12b Number of moves made in twenties years

Cohort	Total moves	Total migrants	% Migrants	Movers (1)	Mult. movers (2)	Mult. movers (3)	Mult. movers (4)	Mult movers (5)	Mult movers 6+	% multiple movers	Mean no. moves
A	170	51	88	18	8	8	5	8	4	65	3.3
B	225	95	91	41	23	15	12	5	4	73	2.4
C	110	60	73	30	17	8	2	3	0	50	1.8

A consideration of the sequence of moves provide further evidence that analysis of the first independent move in terms of the volume of migration undertaken is but the tip of the iceberg for migration volume as a whole (Table 5.13). Whilst most teenage moves represented the first independent move (over 75% for all cohorts), this also meant that a large number of moves made subsequently by the same migrants would not be incorporated into many analyses of migration. By the twenties, as a proportion of total moves only 17% of moves made by Cohort A were being considered, and only 30%and 40% of Cohorts B and C total moves respectively.

Table 5.13 Move Sequence

moves in teens	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	Moves in 20s	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
A	25	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	A	30	31	44	30	18	9	5	2	1	0
B	25	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	B	69	63	42	26	14	8	3	0	0	0
C	21	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	C	43	30	19	10	6	1	1	0	0	0

So if the volume of migration is not adequately reflected by analysis of first independent moves then how do the relative proportions of short distance and long distance moves emerge as a proportion of all migration undertaken during the teens and twenties? Table 5.14a and b indicate the number of moves made within each distance category in the teens and twenties and is summarized in Figure 5.7a and b.

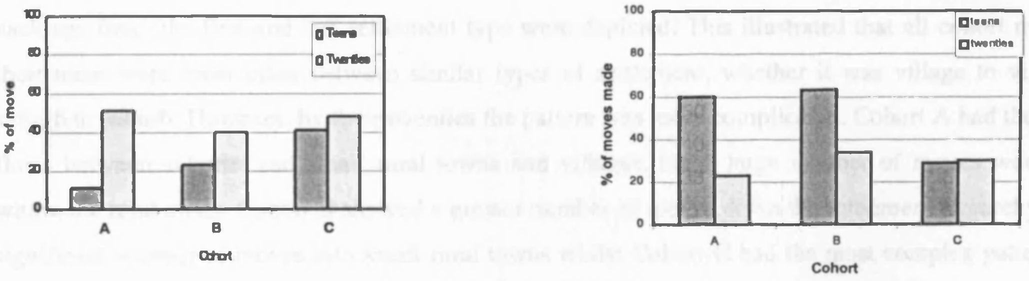
Table 5.14a Distance moved in teens

	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
Type of moves	Count	as a % of moves undertaken	Count	as a % of moves undertaken	Count	as a %
within wards	2	7	6	20	5	19
between wards same district	1	4	1	3	6	22
between districts same county	4	14	2	7	5	19
between counties within regions	0	0	0	0	2	7
between regions or from Scotland	15	54	19	63	6	22
outside Great Britain	4	14	0	0	2	7
between neighboring districts	0	0	0	0	0	0
between neighboring counties	2	7	2	7	1	4
Total	28		30		27	

Table 5.14b Distance moved in twenties

		Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C
Type moves	Count	as a % of moves undertaken	count	as a % of moves undertaken	Count	as a %
within wards	54	32	50	22	34	31
between wards same district	33	19	40	18	19	17
between districts same county	19	11	33	15	5	5
between counties within regions	2	1	5	2	1	1
between regions or from Scotland	37	22	73	32	32	29
outside Great Britain	21	12	15	7	12	11
between neighboring districts	0	0	0	0	0	0
between neighboring counties	4	2	9	4	7	6
Total		170		225		110

Figure 5.7 Proportion of long distance moves (between regions or from Scotland) and short distance moves (within the same district) by age cohort



Long distance

Short distance

Whilst an analysis of first independent moves demonstrated a clear trend of increasing distance of move and a reduction in short distance moves through time (Figure 5.5a and b), when all moves are incorporated into the analysis the picture was more complex (Figure 5.7a and b). Although the teens age time contained more examples of long distance moves and these appeared to have increased though time, the twenties showed a much more even pattern of ‘long distance moves’. When all moves were incorporated, the proportion of long distance moves in their twenties accounted for only 23% of Cohort A’s moves, and 34% and 30% for cohorts B and C respectively. Whilst the figure for short distance moves as a proportion of all moves shows that Cohort A had a higher percentage of short distance moves compared to its older counterparts.

Having considered the types of environment moved between for the first independent move the following section illustrates the types of movement up, down and along the settlement hierarchy in the teens and twenties (Tables 5.15a and b)

Table 5.15a Moves along the settlement hierarchy in teens

	Cohort A	% a	Cohort B	% B	Cohort C	%C
Number of movers	25		27		22	
multiple movers	2	8	3	11	5	23
Down - into smaller settlements	2	8	2	7	1	9
Up - into bigger settlements	4	16	10	37	4	18
same	16	64	15	56	15	64
No. of moves	22		27		20	

Table 5.15b Moves along the settlement hierarchy in twenties

	Cohort A	% a	Cohort B	% B	Cohort C	%C
Number of movers	51		95		60	
multiple movers	33	65	54	57	30	50
Down - into smaller settlements	26	55	27	30	9	16
Up - into bigger settlements	4	9	17	19	9	16
same	17	36	46	51	38	68
No of moves	47		92		56	

Figure 5.8a and b show there are clear differences between the three age cohorts in the types of settlements they were moving between. To simplify the picture, where multiple moves were made within each age time, the first and last settlement type were depicted. This illustrated that all cohort moves in their teens were most often between similar types of settlement, whether it was village to village or suburb to suburb. However, by their twenties the pattern was more complicated. Cohort A had the largest flows between suburbs and small rural towns and villages, but a large number of moves were made within the rural arena. Cohort B showed a greater number of moves down the settlement hierarchy with a significant number of moves into small rural towns whilst Cohort C had the most complex pattern with more moves to similar sized settlement and more moves still within the urban system.

Figure 5.8a Moves along settlement hierarchy in teens

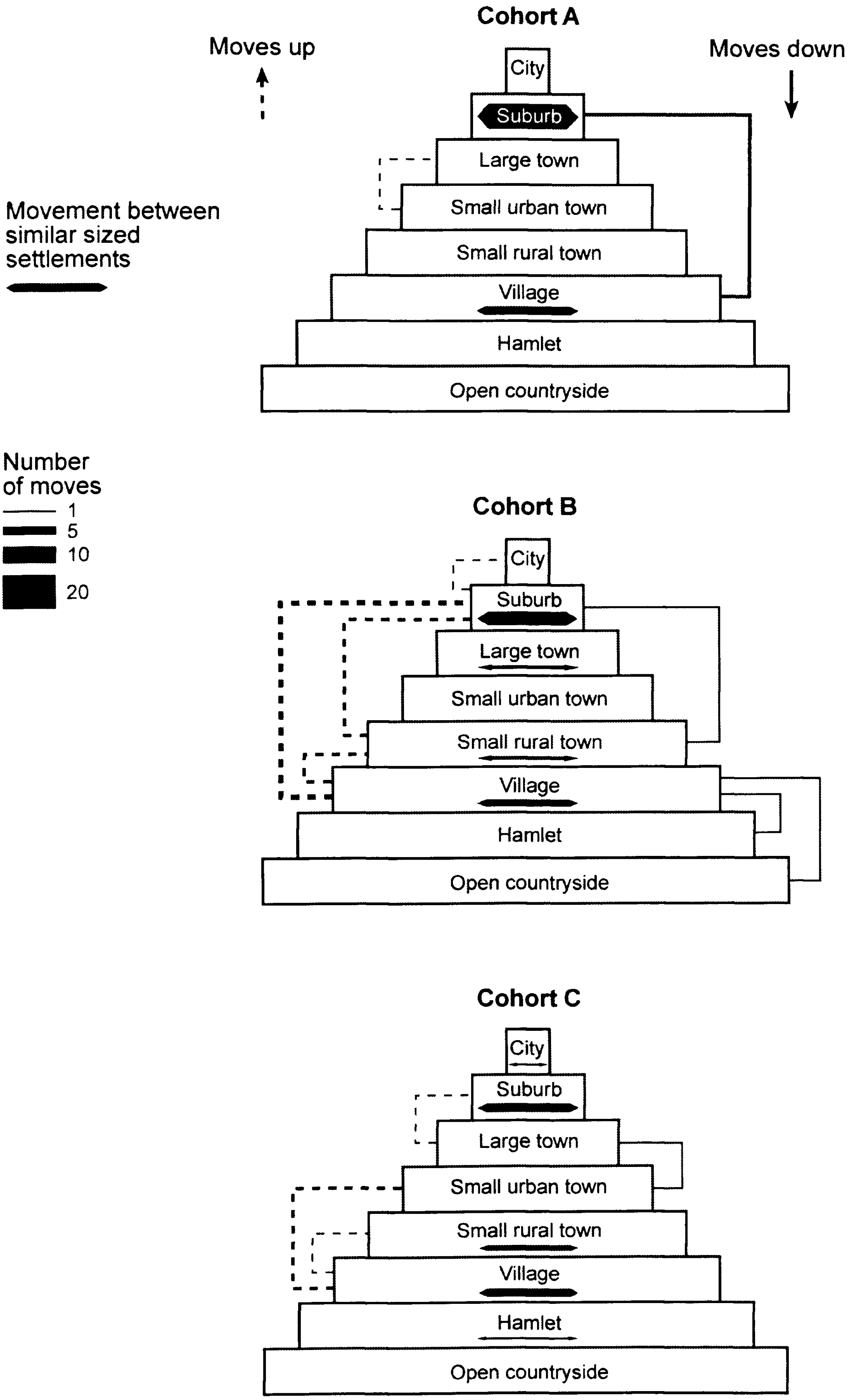
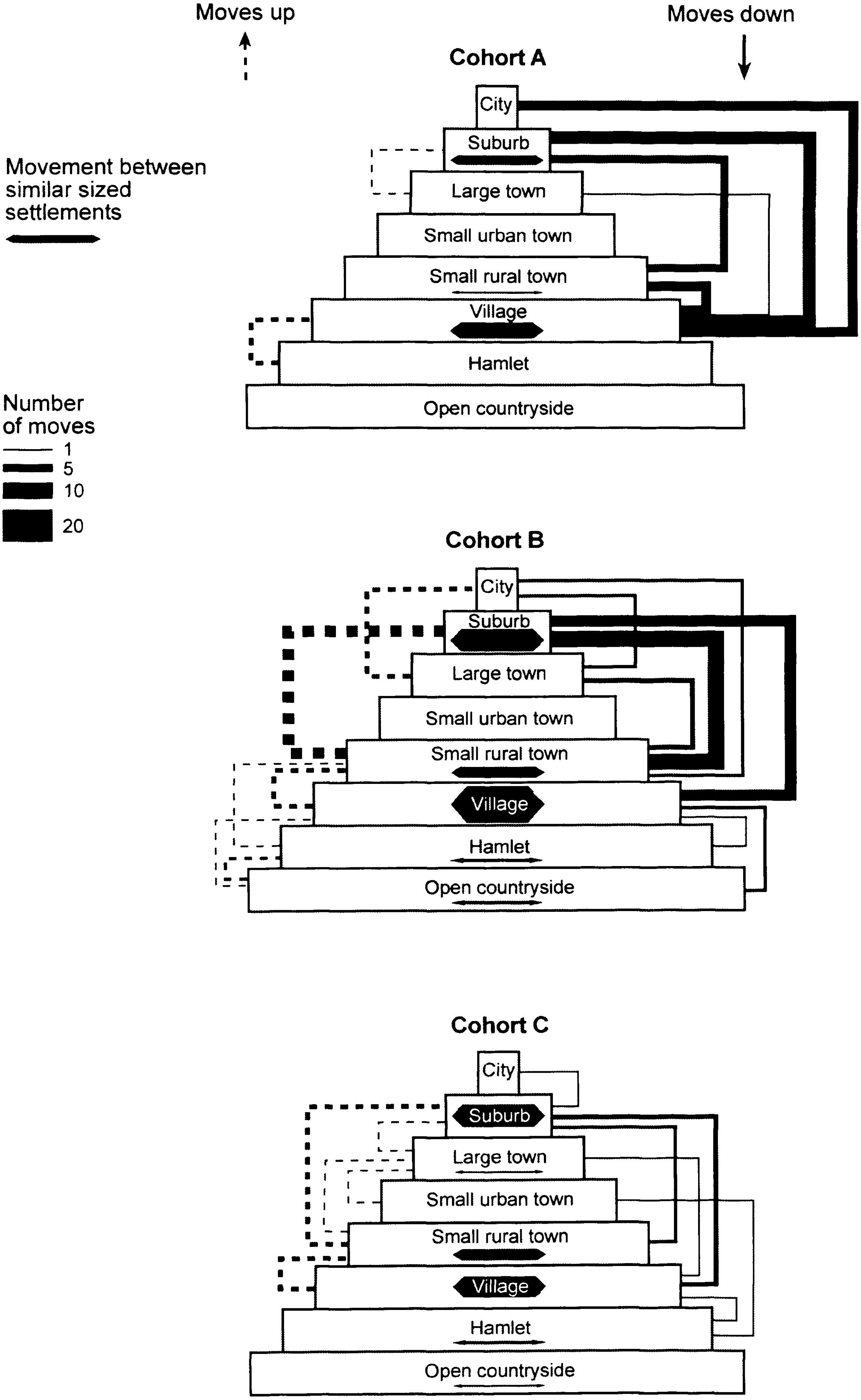

Cohort A
Moves up
Moves down
Movement between similar sized settlements
Number of moves
1
5
10
20
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort B
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort C
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

Figure 5.8b Moves along the settlement hierarchy in twenties


Moves up
Moves down
Movement between similar sized settlements
Number of moves
1
5
10
20
Cohort A
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort B
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort C
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

An analysis of the individual motives given for moving in their twenties and teens found a very much more diffuse picture than the reasons given for the first independent move (Figure 5.4a and b).

Figure 5.9a Reasons for moving in teens by age cohort

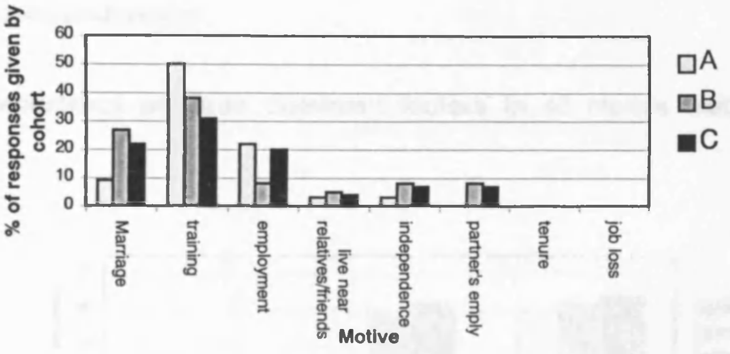
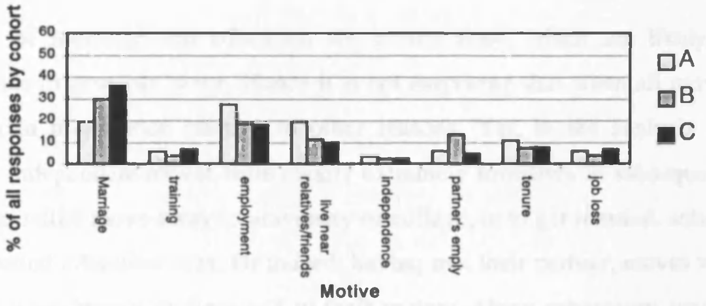


Figure 5.16b Reasons for moving in twenties by age cohort

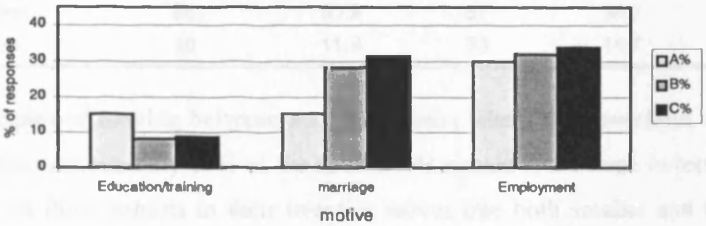


The picture appears to one of greater diversity between cohorts in their teens and greater similarities in their twenties (Figure 5.9a and b). Migrating for training or educational reasons, was by far the most dominant reason in the teens especially for Cohort A and B. Whilst Cohort C had roughly one third of moves made for education reasons, one third for own employment and one third for partner's employment. By the twenties, with a much larger number of moves being considered the picture was more diffuse when individual reasons were considered, in that a greater variety of reasons were cited but marriage and employment dominated. However, all three age cohorts appeared to be represented in the other categories in roughly similar proportions, with less than ten per cent difference between any of the three age cohorts.

Further examination of single variables, shows the three dominant reasons; marriage, education and employment as a percentage of total responses for all moves. All other single variables formed less than 10% of the total responses and therefore although issues such as housing (especially for Cohort C), tenure and the environment (Cohort A) were important for many making moves as a constituent of total responses they were less dominant than at first perceived.

Given the relatively smaller number of moves made in the teens, the differences should not be overstated. However, Figure 5.10 illustrates the diminishing importance of marriage through time as a reason for making moves, but the continued importance of employment for all three cohorts when the figures for teens and twenties are amalgamated.

Figure 5.10 Importance of three dominant factors in all moves made in teens and twenties



The two variables of marriage and education are clearly ones, which are likely to occur for most individuals only once or possibly twice. Hence it is not surprising that when all moves are incorporated that they diminish in importance relative to other reasons. Yet, in the analysis of whole residence histories these first independent moves were clearly extremely formative in subsequent moves. That is to say, after making an initial move away to university or college, or to get married, subsequent moves were often then made around a familiar area. Or indeed, having met their partner, moves were then negotiated between areas that were known to them and to their partner. Many subsequent long distance moves to unknown parts were rare, even when employment was given as a reason for moving. Thus although in terms of the absolute levels of migration the first independent move may tend to over-emphasize the increasing distances being moved, most subsequent migration is short distance with employment featuring most prominently as a reason for change. Yet, in constructing the residence histories there was the perception that many moves were being made to adjust to changing housing needs with the trigger of changing employment facilitating the move.

Although housing needs and changing tenure did not emerge as important as a reason for moving house the change in size of households was clearly evident in moves being undertaken, as were the numbers of households who were living in rented accommodation. This flexibility of being in rented accommodation must have been important in explaining the proliferation of short-term stays and yet it was rarely evident in in-depth interviews (Tables 5.16a and b). This notion of implicit factors not being voiced in decision-making is discussed in Chapter 9.

Table 5.16a Tenure for moves made in teens

	Cohort A	as a % of A moves	Cohort B	as a% of B moves	Cohort C	as a % of C moves
Owned (part-owned) accommodation	1	4	1	3	1	4
rented accommodation	23	82	27	87	12	43
Tied accommodation	4	14	3	10	15	54

Table 5.16b Tenure for moves made in twenties

	Cohort A	as a % of A moves	Cohort B	as a% of B moves	Cohort C	as a % of C moves
Owned (part-owned) accommodation	63	37.3	105	46.7	37	42.4
rented accommodation	86	50.9	87	38.7	53	35.2
Tied accommodation	20	11.8	33	14.7	20	13.3

There were few examples of moving between accommodation where the household did not change in size or form. In all three cohorts only 10% of the households remained the same in terms of size in both age times. Again for all three cohorts in their twenties moves into both smaller and larger households were roughly similar. Cohorts B and C had a greater proportion of moves into larger households – presumably reflecting the addition of children (and a small incidence of lodgers) whilst Cohort A had more examples of households becoming smaller (59%) as they moved out of shared accommodation into two person households. Clearly where moves were related to no-family households i.e. those sharing with friends, this is not really of significance. However, where those moves are being made with increases in the household size this may represent the need for more space as well as changing needs of the changing households. Although evidence for cohabitation was rarely given as a reason for first independent move, it then became more important in subsequent moves, accounting for 9% of all moves in the youngest cohort. This would suggest that whilst marriage may be diminishing in importance in general trends dual-headed households are still the predominant household arrangement. The growth of single person households nationally, appears to be reflected in Cohort A with 9% of their moves being into single person households. The older two cohorts contained no examples of people in their twenties living on their own.

The analysis of first independent move also stressed the importance of moves into shared accommodation, often institutional or into lodgings but most moves have still been made either in married couple families with or without dependents (Tables 5.17a and b). Whilst over 80% of the moves made by Cohort B in their twenties were in married couple families with or without children and 60% of Cohort C's moves were similar this has fallen to 37% for Cohort A.

Table 5.17 a Household type for moves made in teens

HH TYPE	Count A	as a % of all A moves	Count B	as a % of all b moves	Count C	as a % of all C moves
No family	25	89	22	71	22	79
Married couple family with dependents	0	0	0	0	1	4
Married couple family with others (with dependent children)	0	0	0	0	2	7
Cohabiting couple	1	4	2	6	0	
Married couple family with no dependents	2	7	7	23	3	11

Table 5.17b Household type for moves made in twenties

HH TYPE	Count A	as a % of all A moves	Count B	as a % of all b moves	Count C	as a % of all C moves
Married couple family with no dependents	49	29	104	46	49	45
No family	56	33	37	16	31	28
Married couple family with dependents	29	17	74	33	16	15
Cohabiting couple family, no dependents	16	9	4	2	0	0
Cohabiting couple family with dependents	2	3	0	0	0	0
Married couple family with others (with dependent children)		0	0	0	7	6
Lone parent families	1	1	4	2	2	2
Two or more families	1	1		0	4	4
Single person	15	9	1	0		0

Having presented the results of the findings of the research for moves made in the younger years the following section attempts to relate these findings to other research and assess their importance.

5.5 Summary of Findings

Against a background of frequent movers and a period of increased volume of migration, there were nevertheless elements of stability in some respondent's lives during the younger years. Most respondents moved at least once, with only 3% of the sample never moving at all. However, most respondents moved infrequently as children. Patterns of length of stay follow other age-migration schedules, which show a trough of mobility between ages 3 and 13 (Pooley and Turnbull 1998). In this study the period of greatest immobility appeared between the ages 11 and 15 which coincided with crucial periods of schooling. So too, after the first move into the first independent home, over 50% of Cohort A's moves had involved stays of over 10 years, rising to 60% for Cohort B and C. This figure broadly concurs with other research findings that immobile segments of the population are an important feature of migration research. For example, Warnes (1986) found that a third of a sample of married couples had never moved out of their first married home.

Over the last two decades research using cross-sectional census data included in the OPCS Longitudinal Survey suggested an increase in age at leaving home (Grundy 1989b), a trend which the Labour Force Survey data suggested continued in the 1980s (Murphy 1991). This has been attributed to the contraction of the supply of rented accommodation, increases in youth unemployment and changes in marriage patterns. A class and gender difference in leaving ages was found in this sample but these results indicated a lowering of age at leaving home. This contradictory evidence is partially the result of the different definitions used in that Census data included those who were temporarily away at university as being part of the households, whereas in this survey they were deemed to have left home. So too the specific sub-sample being investigated had a high proportion of those who had entered further education at a fairly uniform age of 18 or 19. Investigation of leaving ages is fraught with difficulty, as mean-leaving ages seemed misleading with the distribution of leaving ages being considerable. Examples of young men in Cohort C left home relatively young to take part in the Second World War but then returned home, whilst others resided at home much longer since social norms in the immediate post-war period did not expect unmarried men to find independent accommodation. This study re-emphasizes the difficulty of comparing the age at which people leave home through time. Not only are definitions difficult to make comparable but there are huge variations between individuals within the same age cohort dependent upon the circumstances of the time, together with differences in gender and class dimensions too. It is argued here, that 'leaving home' is indeed more of a phase than a final event, with young adults leaving for education, but then returning, and leaving to enter a relationship but returning when this fails. Thus age predictors are not very useful when referring to broad changes in this phase.

The study has confirmed other evidence of migration involving steadily increasing lengths (Clarke 1989, Pooley and Turnbull 1998) in that the youngest cohort clearly had undertaken a greater proportion of moves to a different region in their first move away from home. However, when all their moves in their younger years were taken into consideration the picture is more complicated. As a proportion of all moves made in this their twenties, the youngest cohort had the greatest proportion of short distance moves and only between 7 and 9 per cent more long distance moves. This would seem to suggest that whilst a greater proportion of the youngest cohort initially made long distance moves, that thereafter the pattern of short distance moves were not dissimilar to their older counterparts. This underlies the importance of investigating the first independent move but placing it in the context of other moves made in earlier years. It is argued here that as a result of simply concentrating upon the first independent move there has been a tendency to exaggerate increasing mobility and lengthening migration distance. On the other hand, the study did find a high incidence of multiple movers within the younger two cohorts. Caution must be applied when discussing these findings as it could be argued that the higher incidence of short distance moves have been found in the youngest cohort because for them those were recent moves and each was seen as important and subsequently recorded. The older cohort in relating their residence histories may have omitted short-term stays during this younger time. This is discussed in chapter eight in greater detail.

A few studies have focussed on the decisions of young adults to leave the parental home, in particular the role of marriage, employment and higher education (Grundy 1989; Keirnan 1989, Keirnan 1991). This study has illustrated the importance of marriage in determining the first independent moves, accounting for between 50% and 60% of all first independent moves for Cohorts B and C, but only 20 % for the youngest cohort. This findings concurs with Kiernan's (1991) study which found that half of the sample of women and two-fifths of the sample of men who had left home by 1981 said they had done so to marry or cohabit. However, recent increases at least in Germany and the USA in the proportion of young people leaving home for reasons other than marriage have been found by Mayer and Shwrarz (1989).

However, results from Tynedale and Rutland found distinct differences between reasons for leaving home between different social classes. For those non- professionals leaving home, marriage or cohabitation was by far the most important reason. The fact that marriage appeared to have become less important might well be a feature of this particular sub sample many of whom have entered higher education. In subsequent moves marriage was still an important factor after leaving home to enter higher education. Whilst the institution of marriage accounted for only 19 per cent of Cohort A's move, it rose to 30 per cent for Cohort B and 36 per cent of all reasons given by Cohort C.

The second most prevalent reason for leaving home was to enter higher education. All surveys are agreed that the higher educational level reached the greater propensity to migrate (Coleman and Salt 1992: 402). Friedlander and Rosher (1966) found that the grammar school educated were twice as mobile as those who were not; 71 per cent of those with a university education in Harris and Clausens (1967) sample had moved in the previous ten years compared with less than 50 per cent of those with no higher education. It is argued here that the importance of it entrance into higher education is not simply a matter of being able to describe single flows of migrants between different parts of the country. Of more importance is the fact that the relationship that is then established between the destination place and subsequent moves are crucial. This link has been explored in an international context but has not been investigated in this country (Li et al (1996), Hugo 1994 and Selleck 1994). Results from Tynedale and Rutland found that many subsequent short distance moves were made in and around the area which had been moved to initially and often after one further long distance move, often within the same region as the higher education establishment.

Whilst employment was given by only a few respondents in Cohort C as a reason for their first independent move, it accounted for the majority of subsequent moves in the younger years. These moves for employment reasons were often short distance ones. The lack of importance seemingly attached to change of tenure and housing needs in the evidence gathered in part one of the surveys became more apparent in the longer interviews. Employment had often been given as the reason for a local move, but in many cases this enabled a household to be able to fulfil other housing ambitions. For example, a new job or promotion facilitated a relatively short or medium distance move but it had the effect that a household could also be able to buy a property, or buy a larger property with a garden. Thus the study helped reinforce the importance of the multiple reasons and different levels of consciousness identified (Halfacree and Boyle 1993).

From this brief summary there is clearly justification for concentrating upon first independent move. Although in terms of absolute levels of migration the proportion of moves is quite small, their importance shapes the subsequent migration histories- certainly in terms of who they met, meeting of partners, job opportunities etc. So having considered the characteristics of the migrants and the sorts of moves they have made the following section considers the decision-making process of the three age cohorts.

5.6 Issues in the Decision-Making Process

A consideration of age, motives, distance, changes in tenure and household structure of those making their first independent move provide a useful series of indicators of the circumstances in which respondents were making those decisions. The findings of the previous section revealed several features that set each cohort apart. A consideration of the more general circumstances in which moves were undertaken revealed differences in which similar factors operated in the three different periods of time. The summary of findings was combined with material from interviews in an attempt to unravel how the particular circumstances in time and space effected and affected decisions to move. Here, it was decided to focus upon the first independent move only, as it is argued that this has the greatest impact upon subsequent moves. Three key themes emerged as particularly important in providing an explanation of the different variables discussed in the previous section; marriage and cohabitation, education, and employment.

5.6.1 The Role of Marriage and cohabitation

The mechanism for making the first independent move appeared overwhelmingly to be a result of marriage. Cohabitation amongst all three cohorts was rare. Despite the increase in cohabitation amongst younger generations today there were few people who mentioned it. This was inevitably intertwined with general opinions and social attitudes at the time. In a couple of cases as the interviews progressed and confidence between the interviewee and interviewer increased it sometimes became clear that couples had lived together before being married particularly in the youngest cohort. However, the relationship between marriage, cohabitation and independent households is not a simple one and varies between all three cohorts.

Cohort C: Marriage and making first independent moves during the 1930s and 1940s

Although marriage often coincided with an independent household this was not always the case. There were virtually no incidents of individuals moving out simply for their own independence, members generally remained as part of the main household until and sometimes after marriage. Although implicit was the logical reason that people could not afford to move out financially, because it was probably assumed it was never discussed directly as a contributory reason. Yet, the impact of the war was enormous upon this cohort. Many women got engaged and lost their fiancées or husbands in the war. Others married and while their husbands were away lived with either their husband's family or continued to live at home. They saved money until they could afford to put a deposit down on a house or until accommodation became available. There was a contradiction in whether it was commonplace to live with the bride or the groom's parents. In the two study areas conflicting opinions were given.

> "Oh yes always the bride's mother you know. And I said he says I'm not going to try and get a house until I have enough money down, he was another bit like my mother. I would take a chance and if it didn't work out I could start again. But he couldn't he was really very cautious so however, we lived in two and half years."
> (C31 female non-professional 70-74)

> "Oh, we got engaged during the war but my husband spent a lot of time abroad. .... He had spent a lot of years away from home you know. Well we went into live with my in-laws.. um.. think for about 8 months ..Then we found, we kept looking round which you do and we found a house this type of house, a big house we got the upstairs let. It hadn't been let before but we sort of knew someone who knew the lady you know and managed to get it. Living with your in-laws while you were

> looking, a lot of people did because they'd stopped building during the war and there weren't any extra houses and a lot of people had to wait along for along time before they got their own house"
> (C 68 female professional)

> "We got married 10th March 1945 so still in the middle of the war. It was M. It was my parents they took us in you see we didn't have a house then. When we moved to L. That was only rented. We bought their house... but it's a rather complicated story because they kept coming back... They were meant to go and live in the Isle of Man... they kept coming back because my mother was difficult to please [they laugh] she didn't like the places my father picked."
> (C75 Female Professional)

Although, respondents often married people they had met locally, wartime was one of the few times that both women and men from the non-professional class met others from distant places. There were several examples of women who had joined the land army and met locals in the areas they had been posted to and remained there. There was even one example of a local Rutland girl marrying a German POW who had been held at a local camp.

> "It was quite a dangerous place to be there were three aerodromes. I worked there until I got called up in February 1942 that was when I went to C. and got married in the September it was a whirl wind romance. She was here in the land army. She had to go into the WAFs or something or go into the land army and she chose to go into the land army. When she finished she went to lodge with her sister in Uppingham who was married to a policeman. It was all tied in. She was originally from Kettering you can tell she hasn't got the local dialect."
> (L11 Male Non-professional 75-79)

Another interviewee described how he married his wife in order that she should not be called up into the services, instead she stayed in the same village living with her new husband's family.

> Male: "So you see as my wife said she was under 21, only 19, so we needed a special license. Got the license on Tuesday and got married on Saturday to everybody's annoyance. But you see all unmarried women had to go into the services - there was an edict that all unmarried women under the age of 21 had to go into the services and I didn't want my wife to go in. I knew I had to go in and my brothers were already in. So we did a hurried job. They (her parents) were as happy as any other parent would be about under age marriage. But they gave us somewhere to live...
> Female: Ghastly I wouldn't recommend it to anyone, anybody ever. But in war time it was common."
> (P21 Male and Female Professionals 70-74)

Re-marriage and chance meetings were common in the aftermath of the war and this often meant that households expanded to cater for children of other marriages and chance meetings were not uncommon.

> "1950 we got married. Well now you're getting into dangerous ground... (Laughter).... It's rather peculiar... yes I met her in the house. She's my stepsister... Well now when I was in the army my father was widowed and married, remarried and this was the daughter so she never changed her name really ... because he adopted her to make her the name the same as everyone else in the house ...so she was already named Gibbons" (A28 Male Non-professional)

However, the war aside among the professionals and non-professionals, it was very common for marriages to be between people who lived in close proximity. This meant that when appropriate accommodation had been found, employment was often local and therefore moves were inevitably local. Therefore the war had a profound effect upon chance meetings and situation appropriate for both men and women to meet and marry. Amongst men and women from rural backgrounds the in-flux of evacuees meant that this provided an opportunity to meet others from very different backgrounds. Several mentioned the fact that they had met future husbands or wives when one of the couple had been evacuated to the countryside.

Even when enough money had been saved it was not always easy to find property and after the war ex-servicemen were given first priority in terms of housing available. It seemed that to find independent accommodation depended upon personal contacts and local knowledge.

> "We weren't the only names but you see the servicemen coming out got a little bit of preference and if we are to be perfectly honest my father used to work on the council I think he had a little bit of sway on the council...anyway we got one"
> (L11 Male Non-professional)

If you were not lucky enough to have contacts and relied upon newspaper adverts there seemed to be a bit of a scramble.

> "It was one of these big huge terrace houses which was divided into flats. In fact it was rather funny because there was a wool shortage and there were no carpets being made and you can imagine the size of the rooms and we got this tiny little carpets and we had to stain the rest of the house. I was rather funny I was talking to somebody the other day who had got married at the same time and they'd gone through exactly the same process.... Eventually it dawned on us that every time we followed up the evening paper we missed it and J. said I think they bring out a dinner time edition of the paper. I said "do they?" so he went out one lunch time and sure enough found this particular one and followed it up and by the skin of our teeth there was someone about ten minutes after us. So it was all quite hairy." (C12 Female professional)

In general, few couples married and entered owned accommodation although there were several couples who had either built or intended to build their own properties. They remained with their parents until they had saved enough money to put a deposit down or until the plans had been passed.

> "It was at that time you used to be allowed to build pretty much anywhere but you had to build to that amount of money. They would say restrictions on materials and for a two-bedroom bungalow, which we wanted you had to build it for a £1000. There were restrictions on building materials - no wood floors. I used as a guidance a Ministry Housing Manual."
> (C75 Male Professional)

From the discussion in the previous section the mechanism by which both the majority of male and female professional and non-professionals made their first independent move was upon marriage. However, from the previous sections it can be seen that this was not necessarily an immediate route into independent accommodation.

Cohort B: Marriage, Cohabitation and moving in the 1960s and 1970s

Although an increasing number of both men and women were involved in first independent moves for educational reasons during the 1960s and 1970s, the most common reason for making a first independent move was still marriage. In general, across class and gender these tended to be local moves for people that had met within a small radius. Clearly, those who went away to college or university had a wider circle of friends and their subsequent moves associated with marriage were generally across much greater distances and often also associated with employment. For those engaged in local employment getting married was one of the few situations where leaving the family/household unit was acceptable. Very few individuals moved simply 'for independence' or even for 'personal reasons' such as falling out with other household members. For women, in particular those who did not have the opportunity to go to college or university, marriage was the only approved mechanism for leaving home. One woman described how she made her first independent move.

> "It didn't bother me it was a sign of the times I mean girls then were still supposed to go out and get married I mean if you weren't married before you were twenty you were on the shelf. It was a completely different outlook you were supposed to look after the family. I suppose it was coming from a working class family. It was peer pressure to get married not my parents."
> (L45 Female Non-professional 40-44)

Another female interviewee described how she had been working for several years and helping the family out and when asked about when she made her first independent move replied:

> "I moved out when I got married. Which was quite normal in those days for people that didn't go to university. Well it was in London anyhow."
> (L80 Female professional)

Class and gender seemed to have had little impact upon this process of making independent moves from the original household. However, what was noticeably different between this cohort and the younger one was the combination of women from both professional and manual classes getting married and moving upon their husband's change of employment. Thus, moving out of the main household, change of husband's employment to a different area and marriage occurred concurrently. It sometimes appeared as if the change of employment had been the trigger, very often when both had been living along side of one another. One female interviewee had trained to teach at the same training college as her prospective husband. She had been living at home whilst he had been attending college away from home and living in separate accommodation. When asked about how and where they decided to move to Sunderland, she felt very strongly that there had never been much discussion:

> "I moved because we got married and that's where his job was and I went without a job. I felt pretty sure I'd get a job ...and I got three jobs in the first year to tide me over and then got the one I wanted so I was never out of work longer than I wanted. I had a little while getting married and getting the house settled I didn't want anything straight away."
> (L83 Professional Female)

With some regrets, one female interviewee remembered living at home whilst attending college locally. She compared her experience to that of some of her friends. But her first independent move was made upon marriage and her husband's career, although she had attended a higher education establishment too.

> "Now I'm looking back that was 1960 with late 80's thoughts, but they shared a flat together and I went home. About a week before my 21st birthday I got engaged and he went to work and he was teaching that's where it all got coloured because if I go home to live it's cheaper and I can save up to get married and that's what I cringe at now. I mean I say that to my daughter now Caroline is 21 and I say I was engaged at your age; 'how stupid' I mean I'm happily married but I didn't do anything else.... I had the world at my feet really. We were going to get married in the north of London and then he went to do a postgraduate course in Manchester so we lived for 6 months quite close to Stockport.
> (L74 Female Professional)

Cohort A: marriage, cohabitation and moving in the 1980s

Amongst the youngest cohort, there was a distinct difference in the reasons given between the professional and non-professional classes. Only a quarter of those in the professional class gave marriage as the reason for making their first independent move and several times this was associated with employment. Educational reasons far outweighed moving upon marriage. Yet amongst the non-professional female class 11/13 moved either to cohabit or upon marriage, whilst the males moved either for employment or independence. Thus, amongst the youngest cohort, a shift in motives was seen.

> "We met at university in our second years and were both trying to get jobs so I guess we needed to know whether we were going to be together. We'd talked about it for a while and decided we wanted our own place proper. You see we'd got married but had stayed in this shared house for a while, it was ok but we just wanted our own space." (C35 Male professional)

The role of marriage and cohabitation in triggering moves away from the main household unit was being replaced by moves into further education amongst the professional class. Yet, amongst the non-professional class, traditional reasons still emanated.

> "Well I was 23 when I left home. I'd been going with Tom since I was 19. I was working in the same office and we both knew that we wanted to be together but my parents are old-fashioned and so it seemed like the right thing. He'd had this promotion and we found we could actually afford to, moved straight away – a friend had told use about this cottage and it was a terraced cottage just the thing we were after." (L66 Female non professional)

As mentioned earlier, cohabitation was an area about which interviewees tended not to discuss particularly in relation to moving. As a motive given for moving it was relatively unimportant, even in the youngest cohort and often only emerged when a new household was formed. For example, many cohabiting couples had shared accommodation with others before moving into their own household. Thus cohabitation was not always a distinct action in time, like marriage, thus as a motive it was often not given as a reason to move. Yet the fact that the couple wanted to have their own privacy was clearly important. This illustrates the complexity of determining motives for moving at one distinct point in time.

5.6.2 The Role of Education

Education played a key part in moulding first independent moves in terms of whether an individual was likely to move and to some extent *where* they were likely to move to. Differences and similarities between and within cohorts in terms of leaving ages, type of tenure and household together with length of first residence can be explained to a large extent by the role of education. Parental and peer expectations dominated, in terms of whether interviewees attended particular types of school or then went onto attend university or college. This had a profound impact upon individuals' first moves in shaping whether and where moves were undertaken and indeed subsequent moves.

It could be argued that the quality and length of education received as a child determines to a great extent the opportunities that are available to that child in later life with regard to employment and hence migration. Kiernan (1980) in an investigation of educational attainment and migration levels showed that between the ages of 17 and 26, 89% of her sample had moved at least once and 30 per cent had moved three or more times. Whilst only 12% had moved without qualifications, the proportion rose to half for those with one or more A Levels and three quarters of graduates had moved inter-regionally, but these moves clearly included temporary moves back home. However, it is not realistic to view such relationship as simple cause and effect. On the one hand, it could be hypothesised, that the longer the child is in education, the more qualifications he or she will receive and therefore, the more likely that they will possess both the knowledge of employment opportunities in alternative locations and the means to move. Contradicting this is the idea that those with limited education and skills, and no employment, will be forced to undertake moves to where they can earn a living. In this discussion it is impossible to deal adequately with this specific aspect of migration but the importance of education as an influencing feature in migrations undertaken by individuals cannot be under-estimated. In this study, the role of education had two particular facets. Firstly, the school itself provided a particularly formative environment in which peers, teachers, parents as well as the individuals themselves influenced the array of choices available. Secondly, both the knowledge bases of parents, teachers and friends together with practical issues created a more limited number of choices of college or training institute with regard to where particular individuals moved. These educational attainments will now be discussed with reference to each of the three age cohorts.

Cohort C: Education in the late 1930s and 1940s

Many interviewees revealed what they regarded as a strong correlation between their schooling in terms of the type of school they went to, the opportunities they were given and where they were living today. These ideas seemed most prevalent amongst the oldest cohort where there was greatest diversity amongst the cohort as a whole. Fewer men and women made their first independent move for education in the oldest cohort. Moves to different regions of Britain to university were limited to a small minority in the professional class and accounted for a greater proportion of the men than women. This is reflected somewhat in the huge range in ages of the first independent move found in the oldest cohort. However, this could also be an indicative of the sampling base.

Amongst the oldest cohort, the type of school attended was mentioned on many occasions. The school experience of the older cohort had in general been at school in the late 1930's and 1940s before the advent of changes to the newer secondary system. Prior to the abolition of the 11+, at a relatively early age children would be 'streamed' into a two tier educational system with the brighter children going to the local grammar school and the less able going to the local school. In theory, the brighter children were given the opportunity to be in an environment where the chances of them entering further education or getting a professional job were higher than for those who continued at the local school. The segregation of children at this age seemed to have quite a profound affect on some of those interviewed in that those who had the opportunity to go to the grammar school were 'labelled' by their peers as 'different' from the outset. Parent and peer pressure was exerted on those selected for the grammar to maximise their opportunities, which included going away to college or taking jobs outside the local area. One female interviewee described how she was set apart from her counterparts and subsequently moved away from the village and then the area, as a result of her education.

> "I was always looked on as odd anyway because it was a fairly small village school and only one person per year went to the grammar school and I was the lucky one in my year (laughs)... so I was always a bit odd... we were talking about villages with different social structures and R....., where there is a hill and the people with money lived on the hill and their children went to boarding school or expensive private school the village school children left at 14 or the odd one went to the grammar school and that happened to be me. I didn't mind being an only one I'd got used to being different and doing things my own way..."
> (C12 Female professional Cohort C)

Whilst another interviewee also described the process of being treated differently which then went on to have different expectations of career aspirations and opportunities to move away from the area.

> "Very few people passed the 11+ so yes you were exceptional once you passed the 11+ you lost the friends you had at primary school. But once at the grammar school it was normal to go on to sixth from and college or further education. Out of 80 children there were only 10 that passed. ...But at 11 but you didn't tend to mix with the children then at grammar school because you had more work to do anyway, so it was a break."
> (L80 Female professional 60-64)

Whilst those who didn't pass the 11+ were deemed more likely to take local jobs as they did not have the means or qualifications to consider jobs at any distance. Some of those that hadn't been able to attend the grammar school viewed this retrospectively as a whole range of opportunities extinguished and tended not to move far away from the place they grew up. Others viewed their schooling simply as a necessary but brief part of their life before working which provided income for the family household. Local jobs were sought because the individuals would continue to live at home and contribute to the family income.

One interviewee made the point that this was an attitude particularly prevalent in the countryside where education, although useful, delayed the onset of work. The man concerned married someone who had been to university and subsequently they made moves on account of her finding employment elsewhere. However, the last few moves they made they ended up returning to the region in which the male had grown up.

> "He left school with no qualifications. He took his eleven plus and that was it and was keen to get a job and that was what you did in a rural area. Not like me. He did his mechanics apprenticeship... I mean it was the way to get a job but erm he's been working all his life."
> (C43 Professional Female Cohort C)

In several cases individuals were denied the opportunity to go to the Grammar school either because of lack of money within the household to buy uniform, pay for transport or simply that it was not deemed useful. In the case of the non-professional class this seemed in the minds of the interviewees to be what set them apart from those who had moved away. One of the female interviewees had recently been re-united with her twin sister whom she had never known. Born out of wedlock the sisters had been adopted in Grimsby by two very different families. Fifty years later they recounted their different experiences. Although both had attended local schools neither had known of each other's existence. One twin was adopted by progressive parents with an interest in education who sent their daughter to grammar school. She subsequently worked locally in commerce and was married. She had a very stable family home with a comfortable standard of living and then retired to Spain. The other, denied the opportunity to go to the grammar school, went into service for a family and lost contact with her foster parents. She married during the war and her husband's work involved the closure of various army bases. Hence, she moved round Britain at frequent intervals during the post-war years, finally moving to the countryside. They regarded the difference in opportunities at the early stages in their life as being primarily responsible for how they had met their husbands and the type of employment and hence, migration that ensued.

> "We both won the scholarship to the local secondary school and my foster parents always encouraged me to read and I used to read all the time and then Ds' mother wouldn't buy the uniform would she?" (To the other sister) "Wouldn't let me go you know I got the letter to say that I'd passed and the things that I would need... tennis racket, hockey stick....No way she said if you think I'm spending money on things like that. I went to another family to start work."
> (C32 Female non-professional)

This became compounded in the case of girls continuing within education. It was often perceived as a waste as they would simply go on to marry in due course and therefore it was unnecessary. However, there were exceptions where parents had more long-term views. For example one interviewee in Lyddington described in great detail how her father's attitude had given her very different opportunities to that of her peers, going to a grammar school and subsequently onto university. Her father worked for the local steel works at Corby but had a different attitude to many of his peers. She vividly described how several of her peers had gone straight into employment because of ample local employment opportunity and prevailing opinions at the time. Many families moved to Corby to work in the steel works from all over Britain, but in particular from Scotland and Ireland.

> "You had to have a scholarship and I had to go to Kettering. We were quite refined, my father and mother were strong conservatives.... and yet they were very contradictory ...... I came from this council house... it wasn't like a council house. I'm trying to be truly objective about it. But we all learnt to play the piano I went to Brownies, my elder brother was in the army cadets we all went to Sunday school. My sister used to go to church fellowship, which was a very middle class attitude. So they had very aspiring life style. My husband's family was from East Carlton, which was the

> management village from Stewarts and Lloyds.... all the managers lived out of Corby. But J's house was the biggest.. Now J. went to cubs and scouts and learnt to play the piano but they didn't go to church but I think in many ways we were more middle class in attitude than he was and yet they had much more money than we had. There was no question (about going to grammar school). My dad had 6 kids in his family 6 children but he was the one who passed for the grammar school but they couldn't buy the uniform and he had to go to work but he was the cleverest of his family. Education was all in our house. There was no dispute about it, if we passed the exam there might be some form of escape (from Corby). It was ... in my family we were expected to stay at school. There were people who came from Scotland, we went to school with them who were much cleverer than us.. they were Oxford and Cambridge types but they were very rough round the edges....I could barely understand and they had to leave to go to work. They went to Stewarts and Lloyds...I've got a friend in Corby and her husband went to school with us and he was easily as bright as us and people who were going to university and he left school at 16 and went and became mechanic.
> (L74 Female Professional)

There were several cases where within the same family opportunities had been disparate, the girls being expected to stay closer to home and not sent away to boarding school. In one particular case this was compounded by the fact that the family moved frequently due to the father being in the forces. The experience of her brothers was quite different. They all attended boarding school, university and they themselves moved relatively long distances several times.

> "She went to 13 schools in the course of gallivanting round the country and finished up in school in Middlesex, near Uxbridge and she didn't go onto university. She didn't take A levels and took up various secretarial job and worked as a private secretary ever since before and after she was married. I think she would have loved to have gone on but it was such a disruptive schooling she was always behind in everything because of these constant switches. My brother and I boarded and so it didn't affect us she stayed at home. I think she would have loved to go to university but it didn't really work out that way. I think my parents wanted her to be based at home and therefore not to be sent away and you couldn't do very much on an RAF salary and my brother got an exhibition and I got the same sort to thing to the schools I went to.
> (L4 Male professional talking about his sister).

At a later stage even when families might have sent their sons away to university, daughters continued to live at home and travel to complete their education. This attitude seemed to emerge amongst this cohort more strongly than in the two younger cohorts. However, once again this must be placed in context, many family members had been away during the war and perhaps family members had also been lost. So the complexity of whether it was a gender issue so much as a general desire amongst families to remain in close contact is difficult to ascertain.

> "After Matric. we were evacuated and I was originally going to go into teaching but Mummy and Daddy didn't like the idea of their one little ewe lamb being evacuated away and then perhaps going off to college and they wanted me back home again."
> (C12 Female professional)

In any discussion of reasons for making moves to university or college for the oldest cohort, the decision to go to college or university in many cases was interrupted or suspended due to the war, which in turn influenced moves, which may have otherwise taken place. For example, one male interviewee recounted his first move as prescribed rather than chosen:

> "The war was on and so that may have had an influence of whether people wanted to go the university or whether they could be employed locally and it was a town (Llandudno) catering for holiday makers and many of my fellow pupils were from families who ran shops and hotels in the town. I remember one whose father ran a golf club. I think rather than in London there was a tendency for children to go into their parent's business. Going to Cardiff *(university)* there wasn't a decision involved. During the war there was the Government decided that before the war there was a shortage of electrical mechanical engineers and metallurgists so they advised the secondary schools that state scholarships would be available to pupils who got high marks in maths, physics or chemistry. And if you got high marks in maths you were regarded as electrical engineer and this state bursary which was £140 a year which was quite a fair scholarships would be offered to you and the place where you could take up this was laid down. But if you decided not to take it you would be prevented from taking any other sort of scholarship this was war time Government and they could say that kind of thing"

> (L05 Male Professional)

Another explained why he had been relatively older going to university:

> "While I was doing my military service I got my entrance examination to Oxford so I knew when I went back that the next three years after being de-mobbed were going to be University".
> (L06 Male professional)

The age at which some students attended university and the fact that this very often was not the first independent move was often related to the impact of the War.

> "Well he went to university, he took A levels in '40, went to university and they had only done a year before he went to join the army and he was commissioned in the army and as I say he got when they had their tests he came out top and they sent him to the army radio school at P. and he was there and he always felt like he never got the chance to go abroad. Anyway, then after the war he came back and went to university, took his degree and then came to Sunderland so that's why there was a gap. "
> (C12 Female professional talking about her husband's experience.)

A shortage of men also gave opportunities for women to undertake tasks and training, which perhaps might not have been open to them in other circumstances. This in turn meant that after gaining these professional qualifications they were more likely to move away from their families in search of further training or other opportunities. This was true of two interviewees who trained as pharmacists whose career paths and hence moves were altered radically by the onset of war.

> "It was during the war so things weren't normal there was plenty of work. So I did locums to find out what I really wanted to do and decided hospital work was it so started to apply for jobs in hospitals and by this time war was over and the men were coming back and it was quickly born in on me that as a woman I wasn't going to get very far. So I thought what I need is a higher qualification. So in those days you could take a higher qualification, and a job came vacant at Sunderland where you could half study, half teach and I applied for that and got that job. So of course instead of taking me the one year it took two because it wasn't full time that was when I took my Ph.D."
> (C10 Female Professional)

> "My work was in S. to start off with and then when I was 21 they used to send us out on relief, you know and we got called out to different places, Durham, Middlesborough, Stockton you know roundabouts ...when people were on holiday and during the war. Well of course when I first was appointed into his position they said you had to be willing to go wherever they sent you, you know. And they did that for so long and then sort of put you into a permanent position in one of the branches. Well, the dispenser was called up you see, the airforce and that's how it was I went back to S."
> (C68 Female Professional)

Although there was a smaller contingent involved in going to university or college the type of living arrangement they entered was also often different to their younger counterparts. Moves made upon education in the oldest cohort generally involved individuals staying in college accommodation or lodging. In both cases, first independent residences were rented or tied accommodation but in general, few groups of students lived together in groups in private accommodation. It was more common to lodge with a family or lodge in a private household. This arrangement could account for the higher number of households coded as married couple families with dependent children and others and the lower number of households containing no families of 2 or more persons.

When the origins of those entering education for their first move are analysed there were members from both urban and rural areas. A number of retired professionals living in the countryside attributed their schooling as the main reason to explain the difference in their migration history and that of other less skilled workers. Several interviewees had been brought up in rural areas as children and had gone to grammar schools and subsequently gone away to university or college often with large periods of living outwith the region in urban areas. Although they had been brought up in the country and had often spent as much time in rural areas as their counterparts who had moved from the country to the nearest local urban centres they still considered themselves less acceptable as a someone with claimed to be rural. Several felt that because their work had never been directly related to agriculture or mining, or been involved in local commerce or industry that they had less claim to the countryside as a home. The stigma attached to being a 'grammar school kid' was still in evidence. Even the location of their houses within the village was important: prime sites on hills being viewed as prestige or status symbols.

Cohort B (born between 1936 and 1954) The role of education in the 1960s and early 1970s

The middle cohort had a larger number of both men and women making their first independent moves for education or training than their older counterpart. The leaving ages of Cohort B were more uniform with most of the professional cohort leaving aged between 19 and 22 years old. This took place in the early 1960s and 1970s coinciding with the expansion of higher education and raised school leaving age. Although it involved equal numbers in terms of men and women making their first move upon education or training, there was still a greater proportion of the sample of professional men who made moves to different regions. Expectations and peer pressure certainly contributed to the lack of long-distance moves made by women. Many of the females interviewed felt that they had gone into secretarial jobs because this is what had been expected and in some cases seemed quite bitter about not being given the opportunity to go to college or university. The pervading sense of unfairness emerged amongst this cohort in the sometimes very strong opinions they held about unequal opportunities. To redress the balance they felt that their children, in particular their daughters should be given the same opportunities to go to university or college. It often meant that although women had already finished school and started working they did not leave home upon completing their education. Other interviewees cited their lack of career advice and knowledge for the main reason why they did not go onto university and remained at home with their parents until they left at a later age upon marriage. One female interviewee described how she had left school to attend a secretarial college at the age of 16 but not left home.

> "My parents weren't very clued up about what children did when they left school so they automatically assumed I would leave school although the school said I should go on and take A levels and go on to university which has resulted in me having to go to university in this late stage in my life it wasn't that I wasn't capable of doing it. But it did have a major effect - moving that year had a major effect - it wouldn't have now because parents are much more clued up, but it did then. I knew then at the age of 16 I couldn't ask my stepfather for any more school fees, which is really what it boiled down to"
> (L30 Female Non-professional)

The expectation that to have secretarial skills was more than adequate amongst all social classes:

> "The secretarial thing was assumed that part of the package school till you leave school whenever, a year abroad and then a nice secretarial course which has stood me in good stead, I have managed to earn a good living but it wasn't very ambitious. In hindsight it's a pity that there weren't things as teacher -parent evenings in my day."
> (L32 Female non-professional)

Whilst another interviewee described how her brother had gone away to college but she had entered employment directly and contributed to the household income.

> "I left at 16 most of us left at 15 but I stopped on to take 'O' levels. I didn't stay on to take 'A' levels because my mother was very ill at the time there were four children and I wanted to go to college but she said she couldn't afford to send me so I had to go to work. I wanted to be a beautician. I got a job as a junior typist and all my wages went into the house. I walked to work. It was the growing family my father took my mother to a private nursing home and there wasn't a lot of cash. My sister left school and went to work in an office and my brother went to college and took his City and Guilds and became a tool maker. He managed to leave then."
> (L45 Female non-professional)

Another could see that the knowledge gap amongst her peers and family meant that she entered secretarial college and remained at home.

> "I had a provisional place at Durham University but I didn't get high enough in geography...so in those days you had no help with careers advice or higher education advice I suppose what I should have done was re-sit A level because you didn't have the clearing business I didn't I just went and did a secretarial course. Durham suggested I did teaching but I couldn't face the thought of teaching young children I don't really like young children."
> (L80 Female Professional)

Amongst those men and women who did go onto university the momentum to enter the teaching profession was certainly greater than the previous generation. Entering into the profession also assured a certain amount of job security.

> "F: Well it was an expanding profession during the '60s. A lot of money put into teaching, a lot of new schools, a lot of buildings and teaching was an expanding profession. I mean when I look back at our sixth form small as it was. The quality of the teaching - Bob, Marie-Anne.... I mean they all went into teaching eventually ah, no a couple of lads went - became lecturers at a horticultural college. But you know they all moved into education.
> M: Ah yeah, job for life... teaching
> F: It was one of the professions that you went into, like nursing, banking.. I mean you progressed up the scale. Professional jobs... secure for life."
> (C07 Male and Female Professionals)

Along with the older cohort amongst those who moved away to college or university in the younger cohort many moved into lodgings or university or college owned accommodation. There was some evidence of shared accommodation.

Cohort A The role of education in the early 1970s and 1980s

The impact of education upon first independent moves was keenly felt amongst the youngest cohort, particularly amongst the professional class. It seemed not to be access to higher education that was the issue but rather a choice of where to move to. Amongst the majority of those that had attended university or some form of higher education the notion of expectation amongst their family, school and peers was paramount, almost as if there was a 'lack of choice' in the actual decision to move way. The options the respondent's considered were what they would study and where they would move.

> "I suppose I always knew that if everything worked out I would go to university, it was what my family expected. They didn't sort of sit me down and say one evening, well son, I just didn't ever think about anything else. It was really just what I wanted to do... I'd always quite fancied doing veterinary but I don't think I would have made it so it just seemed like a good alternative." (L18 male professional)

If distances and motives are both taken into consideration it is clear why educational reasons account for the majority of 'distance' moves. This incorporates moves made to different regions or to Scotland or outside Great Britain. However, this relationship differs subtly between the three cohorts. In Cohort A, of the 25 respondents who made 'distance moves' 13 of those were for education or training. In other words 12 individuals made relatively long distance moves for other reasons. However, when one considered all those moves where education or training was mentioned 6 members moved within the county that accounts for one third of all moves made for education. This compares to the middle cohort where 19 out of 37 of the 'distance' moves were made for educational reasons but only one of the moves made for educational reasons was made locally. In C, of the 21 respondents who made 'distance' moves, training or education accounted for only 8 of those. Yet in terms of moves away for education or training eight of nine were distance moves. This subtle shift through time in the distance individuals moved shows that in the 1980s people were choosing to attend relatively local colleges or universities but moved out of their family home concurrently.

> "There was quite a choice, (*of university*) but I suppose I really only considered those that were reasonably close, my brothers were still at home and I didn't want to have to spend a lot coming back and forwards, missing out on things, so I thought well Bristol had a good department and some how I managed to scrape in" (L59 Female professional)

Wider access to higher education have resulted in many more people entering higher education but it was also found that a volatile employment market also appeared to have encouraged a higher number of respondents into higher education. This has not, unlike the other two cohorts, always involved moves outwith the region but has often involved shorter distance moves for independence as well as for their education.

> "My dad kept on at me, saying that it wasn't the right time to be going into business and I should get some qualifications first. I didn't want to but eventually sort of gave in and when I was there (at college) I loved it, I was only in Newcastle not that far away, but far enough and I suppose looking back he was right. After all that 's where I met Andrew!" (C29 Female professional)

Amongst the older cohort moves to college or university were relatively rare amongst the population as a whole and they were almost inevitably associated with a long distance moves, particularly amongst males. There were incidents of women attending university or under-going professional training locally whilst living with their parents but these were not common. In the middle cohort the importance of education and training in initialising long-distance moves was increasing but making short distance moves i.e. local moves for either education or independence was rare. Again, there was a tendency for women to train locally rather than be sent away to university or college. This pattern shifts slightly in the younger cohort when more respondents were giving education or training as reasons for first independent moves but were moving either to a neighbouring district or within the county. Respondents were still making the move away from home to avoid travel costs and to enjoy their independence when older generations would have had to remain at home. There was a notable increase in the number of women making long distance moves associated with the expansion of higher education and changing attitudes to gender roles. Nevertheless, peer and family expectations were still very much in evidence.

5.6.3 The Role of Employment

Clearly, although in this study changes in employment did not emerge as the most dominant reason for the first independent move this does not mean that it was not an important variable. Indeed care must be made not to under-emphasize the considerable importance availability of local employment played upon retaining the population and to some extent facilitating local marriages. Notable in its absence was the need to move to find work amongst all three cohorts. This was combined with the increase in those entering higher educational establishments in the youngest cohort, which perhaps masked the situation of relatively high unemployment together with an expanded access to higher education. Thus employment motives are still inextricably linked to the need or desire to enter higher education.

Cohort C – Employment and moving in the 1930s and 1940s

Circumstances for employment during the 1930s and 1940s were very different. One female interviewee who had started work in the early 1930s re-called how difficult it had been to find work. However, she continued to live at home until she got married. Yet, two of her sisters had gone to London to work for families in service. This was one of the few occasions when young women moved long distances such as from Newcastle to London. Casual employment, as in hotels, also resulted in women moving long distances. But by and large the search for employment outwith the immediate area for those that had not qualified or trained at college was not common.

> "You just went out to work.. not a career or anything like you're doing now, you just went out to earn a living. In a factory.. of course there was no work there was a recession as there is now. There was a factory at the top called and I think it made tins I think it was. The first factory that I worked in was upholstery and that was under Byker bridge.. It's down now. Faiths they called it was owned by some Jewish people. And you know you slaved for six shillings a week which is 30p." (C32 Female non-professional)

She described how she dressed up to apply for her first job in clothes that her sister had given her.

> "Well when I got there, as it happened I had nice clothes because not because my parents could afford them but one of me oldest sisters worked for a lord and lady down in London and they had a little girl my age so I got some beautiful clothes sent up she used to always come with these and every time I had them on I had to have my photo taken"
> (C31 Female non-professional 70-74)

A male non-professional described how his employment had been interrupted by the war but he had not moved away from home until he was called up.

> "I left school at 14 and was working with me father in the factory where he worked which was called the Thermal Syndicate at Wallsend - it used to produce silica from quartz for.....About two and a half three years... and then I went to work for a contractor in Newcastle who did houses you know, well any general electrical work. I was then what you would term an improver. I was halfway through my time. From there I was called up I was in the army for about three and a half years."
> (A28 Male Non-professional)

In rural areas, both men and women from the non-professional class tended to continue working locally either on farms or in local services. Indeed even those who might have studied away from home attempted to get local employment. One female respondent described how she had entered the pharmaceutical trade. Her father's business had recently collapsed and the need to contribute towards the household income was obviously a pressing matter:

> "Oh well I hadn't any idea of it at the time but the local chemist sent to the headmistress and asked if there would be any suitable girls who would be interested in starting work in his chemist shop.. And I said I was interested ...and went to see him and started, you see I hadn't...any idea what I wanted to do really and of course I suppose with in those days with my father's business having failed it was a case of getting a job as quickly as you could. (C68 Female Professional)

One male interviewee, who grew up in Rutland described how he entered employment upon leaving school, the choice was between local jobs and he didn't actually make a move form his former home until he got married.

> "I left school in Xmas 1934 and started work on the house just across the road in January 1935 mixing concrete and that. I was working for carpenter by trade from Yorkshire. My headmaster said when I left school I have a job for you if you want it in the GPO at Oakham but you have to cycle to Thorpe *(about two miles away)* but my dad said if I went to work for him he would give me a bit more money *(in the building trade)*. The I went on to work as a boot boy after that at Uppingham

> cleaning all the boots and shoes for the school boys and then later I went out and helped in the garden."
> (L11 Male Non-professional)

The opening of a steel works in Corby in the mid 1930s provided a great deal of employment for those living in Rutland. The creation of the steel works also generated associated employment with the construction of reservoirs and providing additional housing. The main source of labour for those new works was Scotland and Ireland. The additional local employment available to local young at this time appears to have been important in retaining the population in place. The importance of the two public schools in Rutland, Uppingham and Oakham also have provided employment which has acted as retainers.

> " From being a village where everyone worked on the farms when they opened the steel works and they moved Stewart and Lloyds I think they moved down from the Motherwell area of Scotland and began building hundreds of new houses and moving them down and everyone here had a second chance of work and that's why the reservoir was built to supply water for the steel making works."
> (L11 Male Non-professional)

When asking one respondent the circumstances, in which he had left school and found work, he mentioned that because he had had elder brothers already working he already had a route into employment, he began work and continued to live at home. He married just as war broke out and then came home to live with his parents and his new bride and his son when he returned form the war.

> "I didn't much like it I was never a big head for school at the time and I joined an electrical manufacturing company as an apprentice. Don't really know how others found it. Difficult to say because with my brothers I had an intro to this particular company but that was as far as it went. I made tea, swept floors had my ears boxed."
> (P8 Male professional)

Cohort B Employment and the first independent move in the 1960s and 1970s

Job security was not something that had not concerned members when they applied for their first job. Employment seemed plentiful and it was not necessary to go far to find employment. For example one female interviewee living in Newcastle recalled getting her first job. She stayed with same company continuing to live at home until she moved upon getting married to a different District within the same County.

> "Straight away. I worked for C and A's in Newcastle. You left work on the Friday night and you get could get a job by a Monday morning. I mean you opened the Evening Chronicle and there was page after page after page of jobs you went to a job... nobody hardly ever went to a job centre but if you did, there was boards with literally columns of jobs in you could I mean well, that was what I wanted and I got that job straight away and I stuck at it and I got and I was well paid. I mean even when I was getting married the boss offered me more money to keep me there to train somebody up until you know, and I said I would stay as long as I could. I mean I had a good wage, what more did I want I worked, I started as a junior and I finished as head of the dispatch department."
> (A80 Female Non-professional)

One of the few members of this cohort to move out of their family home before getting married recalled the ease of getting employment. So in a sense she had decided to move to central London from Surrey more or less before she had secured a job. In this sense, the ease in which employment was available made individuals much more flexible in deciding whether and where to move.

> "It was very easy I just rolled up and applied for a job in London and went up on a train and got offered it there and then. I remember it all worked really well I only had a weekend off between jobs and with this redundancy package. I worked for the chairman of an engineering company.
> (L45 Female Non-professional)

Cohort A Employment and the first independent move in the 1980s

As mentioned earlier, entering employment and making first independent moves were still relatively unusual amongst this cohort. But, the increase of moves into further education could well have been a reflection of the circumstances of the 1980s and the need to qualify to obtain jobs. Of the non-professional males who entered employment upon making their first independent move, two went abroad upon joining the forces, another's father had lost his job and so had been forced into looking for employment in London. Few seemed to be a direct result of moving because employment prospects were particularly good elsewhere it was more a case of being pushed into moving in the search for work. One employee in an engineering factory in Tyneside described his experience.

> "Well we thought it couldn't be much worse than here. We got laid off on the Friday, I suppose we knew it was coming and I said to me mam that I was going to have to start looking further and she knew it too. Me and me brother bought tickets and went to London. We just got on that train and went, not knowing a soul, apart from our Kenny's brother who had been there for a year or so. I hated it down there but it was work." (C03 Male non professional)

Those professionals who moved to find employment also described it as a process by which they had gained their independence. The only examples of this were males and both had continued to stay at home when they entered the job market. It was only when they felt that they had sufficient financial backing were they able to make the move into owner occupied accommodation, that is upon a job promotion. So in this sense although first independent moves were made due to new jobs these were in conjunction with wanting independence and their own property.

> "It was the job...yes. I'd been working for a while and then when I was given the job of support manager I could afford to move out. I'd been saving for a while, so had the deposit and moved out in December '85, my first house. I had been paying mum something towards but I still had a bit put away. I liked home, don't get me wrong but it was good to be able to do your own thing.' (A29 Male professional)

5.7 The similarities in the role of marriage, education and employment

Having pointed to three of the most influential factors in determining the first independent moves and highlighted differences between the three age cohorts, the following section will consider the similarities between the 'same' mechanisms operating in each time period. For example what features have remained important throughout time? The first section discusses features of first independent moves, which appear to have been common to all cohorts and the second discusses subsequent moves in the younger years.

Firstly, the institution of marriage amongst all three-age cohorts had certainly prompted the majority of first independent moves undertaken by this sample. Moving and getting married overwhelmingly involved short distances. However, some long distance moves associated with marriage and employment were common to the two earlier time periods among the professional class, but seemingly for largely different reasons. For Cohort C the aftermath of the war meant that people had met partners in extreme circumstances, often being much further afield than would ordinarily have occurred. For Cohort B, employment triggered the need to get married as both members, although living locally wanted to live together and for this to be acceptable marriage was seen as logical. However, the role of marriage in migration has diminished in importance through time. In Cohort C, although marriage did not necessarily mean forming immediate independent households, it was the beginning of the process that initiated moving. The influence of post war conditions with the shortage of housing and general social attitudes were very important in determining the timing and distance of moves made. For Cohort B, marriage also played a key role in women leaving their family home in the 1960s, although there appeared an awareness of other opportunities to move, this was still the most prevalent reasons for moves out of the family home. This was true of women who had also had professional jobs. Marriage seemed less important amongst the youngest cohort particularly amongst the professionals in this sample, as most had left home to go to college. For Cohort A, it appeared that whilst cohabitation as a reason for moving house did occur, it was relatively rare and was not a process that had simply replaced marriage. The relative unimportance of cohabitation could be a function of the research design or could have been truly reflective of this specific sub set of the population.

Secondly the importance of the childhood environment in terms of the diverse opportunities and knowledge seems to have which have prevailed through time within all three cohorts. The range of opportunities was obviously a function of the specific time, but the common theme of family and peer expectation was found amongst all. These expectations and social norms were often highly gendered. The choice of further education and training seemed to be limited to the peculiar knowledge and experience of teachers and family. Indeed the role specific teachers played in the choice of further educational establishment emerged quite strongly. The breadth and depth of knowledge of key individuals have often resulted in very specific moves being undertaken. The choice of college or university for many interviewees was very dependent upon those who were around them at the time.

> "It was always assumed that I would be a teacher .. and that I would be a home economics teacher and I don't know it just seemed to build up and build up and I never thought about doing anything else than being a home economics teacher.. and so .. this cousin of mine was quite influenced by the fact that she'd lost three children and so.. I was she took me under her wing as it were and I used to go and stay with her a lot. But she more or less suggested unbeknown to me; that when I applied to college, there was a college in Newcastle and there was a college in Hexham. And we lived at Newcastle and she had had a word with the Principal and said I think it would be better if she went to Hexham and away from home because my parents were very elderly. ..So I went to Hexham."
> (C07 Female Professional Cohort B)

This was perhaps felt more keenly in rural areas where there were fewer individuals with specific interest and knowledge of the university system. One female respondent, who originated from a mining village in County Durham, went to Cambridge and then went on to have an extremely successful career in teaching which involved several moves between Cambridge, Lancashire and Cumbria before returning to Northumberland. When asked about how she had made her first move she replied:

> "That arose largely by chance I knew I wanted to go to university it just so happened that the minister who had been a Cambridge man himself suggested that I might try for open scholarships and I may say my headmaster was bitterly opposed to that he didn't approve of Cambridge he didn't believe in scholarships of any kind so he made things rather difficult I'm afraid. My parents were quite determined that if I could manage it I should go"
> (C19 Female professional 75-79)

Another female respondent from a village in Merseyside recounted the start of her career and how she had avoided going off to college to train to teach through a chance conversation of her parents with their friends.

> "And it was they were just talking to friends one night and one of them said has she thought about going into pharmacy because she could come home and start an apprenticeship and I had always been keen on the science side of things anyway and my best results were on that side. So I was

> shown a local shop, a hospital a large shop in Liverpool and generally taken round and got quite grabbed by the idea and I've never regretted it...let me hastily say that"
> (C12 Female Professional Cohort C)

Thirdly, evidence from all three cohorts emerged regarding the timing of moves during their early years. Some recounted crucial points where their schooling had been disrupted either because their family had moved or the school itself had changed. In all three cohorts there were examples of interviewees whose father had been in the armed services and although they themselves seemed more adept at moving they did not want their children to experience the disruption with respect to their schooling.

> "This was really disruptive I was there, everybody in my school was sitting the 11+ and grammar school scholarship which I got and I had to leave. We left there just at my eleventh birthday but the school wouldn't let me go into the senior part the grammar school because they knew I was going to leave and I was going to be taking up a place. So that year, this is where actually moving around had a major affect on my life that year I had been top of the class...in the primary class the year we did our scholarship and I still wasn't allowed to go up and I went to 4 different schools that year doing it all again. Because I had a September birthday, I could be either old or young so I did all that year again. So I didn't go to boarding school until I was just 12 and I had already done that year twice"
> (L30 Female Non-professional 45-49)

There was a strong feeling that they would attempt to protect their children from their own negative experiences. This often meant that household moves were not undertaken as a direct result of the individual's past experience in education. This negative feedback was also evident when knowledge of friend's children's experiences emerged. It is clear that for the most part education and training had an important effect upon non-professional class at an early age. When children could not attend the grammar school or the equivalent secondary school, they immediately lost the opportunity to go to college or university and in turn tended to move into local jobs, which rarely initiated moves. This seems to have been true of the whole sample and not a specific function of the time or place in which decisions were made.

5.8 Conclusions

As a proportion of the total volume of migration the younger years is clearly an important period within people's lives. In England and Wales, the migration of young people has a major influence on national migration patterns with 20 % of all movements between United Kingdom Family Practitioner Committee Areas in the 1980s made by 20-24 years olds (Stillwell, Rees and Boden 1992). Results from Tynedale and Rutland also found a large volume of moves made by the sample in their younger years and that this has increased through time; the mean number of moves made by those in their twenties increased from under 1.8 moves by the oldest Cohort to over 3 by the youngest cohort. Although there were differences between the three cohorts in the process of leaving home, subsequent moves were surprisingly similar with respect to distance being moved and length of stay.

This chapter has shown that there are small but important differences between the first independent move and all moves in the teens and twenties. There appears to be greatest difference in the first single move away from home, thereafter moves made in their twenties are broadly similar. Among the oldest cohort the influence of the second world war was extremely important in determining not only the initial independent move but often led to longer distance moves than might otherwise have been made. The general circumstances in those post-war years of housing shortages, planning measures and financial constraints led to respondents remaining in more crowded households for longer than their younger counterparts. For the younger two cohorts the main difference in first moves was determined by whether respondents moved away for further education. The growing importance of further education appears to be replacing marriage as the traditional reasons for leaving home. The importance of further education in subsequent moves was clearly indicated; many of those frequent movers were ones whom had been away to university, many had met their future partners there and the resultant household had two sets of ties to two areas and families. Thus the effect of a changing dispersal mechanism has great implications for the future. An increasing number of respondents had left home to go to university and although some returned to their home area many did not. However, they did not appear to continue to make the same long distance moves that might have been expected, rather that once entering owner-occupied accommodation or started families, their migration behaviour was remarkably similar to their older counter-parts.

Subsequent moves in the younger years following the first independent move appear to be more similar. The broadly held view by Rossi (1955) that individuals adjust to housing needs has been questioned by this study. It is argued here, that although this is a logical assumption there was little evidence those individuals were able simply to move when their housing requirements changed. The sheer cost of moving in both financial and psychological terms precluded moves being made, unless triggered by other factors. In reality whilst adjustment were made to suit changing housing needs upon moving, this was not the factor that led to moves being initiated. The high proportion of work-related moves in those younger years would seem to suggest that moves were in fact being enabled by a change in employment. Many of these moves were in fact within the same district, so were relatively short distance moves but in order to move for example, into owned accommodation or into a house with a garden this required some other change in the household circumstances.

While this study found a relatively high proportion of the sample were very mobile in their younger years within these younger years there were also periods of stability, for example, few respondents moved as children after the age of five. So too, although some respondents moved frequently in their younger years a surprising number moved only once; half of the respondents in Cohort C and one quarter and one-thirds of respondents respectively in Cohorts B and A. Thus this study confirms the need to remember the diversity in the population when considering migration trends.

Chapter 6: The Middle Years

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate those moves made by respondents during their thirties and forties, the so-called 'middle years' which means that for members of Cohort C, those aged sixty and over that these moves occurred in the late 1950s and 1960s and for Cohort B, currently in their forties and fifties, these moves were undertaken in the 1970s and early 1980s (Figure 1.2). In the case of the youngest cohort, currently under 40 years old, concern will only be with moves made in their thirties, which occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The two age-time-periods are dealt with comparatively and therefore any trends over time will be identified as well as any significant differences among the various sectors of the population. The first section includes a summary of those migrants involved and a description of moves they undertook in their thirties and forties. This will be followed by a discussion of the migration process as witnessed by the respondents in terms of the principal factors involved including the role of employment, household change and lifestyle preferences. The chapter concludes with an analysis of those influences on decisions to move in a respondent's middle years as revealed by in-depth interviews.

6.2 Migration during the thirties and forties

Table 6.1 shows the original sample of respondents and Table 6.2 illustrate the characteristics of those respondents who had moved in their thirties and their forties.

Table 6.1. Original sample

Cohort	Sample size	No. Profs.	No. non-profs	% Prof	% nonprofs	No. Rutland	No. Tynedale	% Rutland	% Tynedale
A	40	32	8	80	20	19	21	48	52
B	104	82	22	79	21	65	39	63	37
C	82	51	31	62	38	33	51	40	60

Table 6.2 Migrants by age and origin

Cohort	Total migrants	No. Profs.	No.Non - profs	% Prof	% nonprofs	No. Rutland	No. Tynedale	% Rutland	% Tynedale
				Moves in thirties					
A	20	15	5	75	25	10	10	50	50
B	68	58	10	85	15	45	23	66	34
C	52	35	17	67	33	23	29	44	56
				Moves in forties					
B	45	42	3	93	7	30	15	67	33
C	34	25	9	74	26	13	21	38	62

In all subgroups with less than four per cent difference between the original sample and the migrant sample, there was no appreciable difference between the two case study areas or age cohorts in terms of the proportions of migrants who had moved in their thirties and forties (Table 6.1 and 6.2). Similarly, the social class of those migrants reflected the social class of the sample, namely that over two thirds of all three cohorts were classified as professionals and less than one-third non-professionals. A higher number of professionals compared to non-professionals emerged as migrants and this difference is more noticeable in their forties than their thirties. For example, only three of the 22 non-professionals made moves in their forties compared to 42 of the 82 professionals in Cohort B. The numbers of migrants and their characteristics does not lend itself to statistical analysis but the migrant sample does seem to reflect the characteristics of the main sample in general. Thus within this age-time, migration does not appear to be more prevalent in either of the study areas nor exclusive to any specific social class.

Table 6.3 Migration of respondents in their thirties and forties

Cohort	Total moves	Total migrants	% Migrants	Mult.movers (2)	Mult. movers (3)	Mult. movers (4+)	% multiple movers	Mean no. moves
					Thirties			
A	31	20	50	4	3	0	35	1.55
B	112	68	65	18	9	2	43	1.65
C	70	52	63	12	2	1	29	1.35
					Forties			
B	61	45	43	8	4	0	26.7	1.36
C	49	34	41	8	1	1	29.4	1.44

A total of 140 migrants from the sample of 226, equivalent to 62%, moved in their thirties, which declined to 50% for the younger cohort (Table 6.3). This could be a reflection of the small sample size, or the fact that Cohort A are under 40 years old and may move again before they reach 40. Compared to the previous decade the forties was a period of greater stability for most individuals with only just over 40% of the sample having moved.

Certain respondents accounted for a relatively large number of moves, these migrants can be termed 'multiple movers'. Within each cohort the percentage of moves accounted for by individuals who had moved more than once in the ten year period varied between 29% for Cohort C and 43% for Cohort B with Cohort A having a mid-value of 35% (Table 6.3). A mean number of moves gave an indication of the level of mobility for each decade, members of the older cohort were less likely to move as often in their thirties than both the younger cohorts. By their forties, the number of multiple movers had decreased slightly to just under one third of the sample but the actual migrants involved were comparatively few. Multiple movers were from all social classes and a consideration of the types of employment and motives for frequent moves are discussed in section 6.3.

Some interesting trends were also evident among the three cohorts in the timing and sequencing of their moves during their thirties and forties (Table 6.4.)

Table 6.4 Move sequence in Thirties and Forties

Cohort	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
					Thirties					
A	2	1	1	5	8	8	4	0	1	0
B	4	24	20	16	15	14	12	6	2	1
C	8	16	16	16	7	6	1	1	0	0
					Forties					
B	0	2	11	13	10	11	5	7	2	1
C	2	8	8	5	11	10	6	3	1	0

Moves undertaken in their thirties were second or third moves for Cohorts B and C, whilst for A they were more often fifth or sixth moves. This indicates that the youngest cohort have made more moves than their older counterparts by the time they reached thirty. This apparent difference may simply be that Cohort A are younger and have given a more complete record of all addresses. Memories of short-term moves in their twenties were fresher or seemed to have more importance and thus recorded them. Whereas in their residence history as whole, short-term, transitory moves for the oldest cohort may not have deemed to have been of importance and been omitted. By their forties the pattern of moves was broadly similar for Cohorts B and C with most moves in their forties representing the fourth, fifth or sixth move (Table 6.4)

In their thirties most moves undertaken were relatively local; nearly 50% of moves made by Cohorts A and B, rising to 66% of Cohort C's moves made were within the same county (Table 6.5a). Long distance moves, those to a different region or abroad, were relatively uncommon, ranging between 25 % for Cohort A to 30% for Cohort C. Surprisingly, only 13% of Cohort B had moved between regions or from Scotland and none had moved from abroad. Thus Cohort C have been involved in more long distance moves in their thirties compared to the younger two cohorts. Similarly, by their forties most moves were still within the same county; accounting for 56% of Cohort B's moves and over 67% of those made by Cohort C (Table 6.5b). However, unlike the previous decade the proportion of long distance moves made by the younger Cohort B was slightly greater compared to the older cohort, accounting for 33% of all moves in their forties compared to 26% of moves made by Cohort C. A closer inspection of those who had made long distance moves in all three cohorts shows a wide range of reasons for making those moves and interestingly these moves involved both professionals and non-professionals. Overall there was a noticeable difference between the number of moves undertaken in people's thirties and forties; with a far greater number of moves undertaken in people' thirties compared to their forties. The limited migration during individual's forties indicated the importance of ties, known housing stock or social networks and family living close by, this reluctance to move features prominently in narratives discussed in Section 6.4.3.

Table 6.5a Distance of Moves in thirties

		Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
Distance	Type	Count	as a %	count	as a %	Count	as a %
within wards	1	8	25.8	32	28.6	28	40.0
between wards same district	2	4	12.9	20	17.9	14	20.0
between districts same county	3	4	12.9	11	9.8	4	5.7
between counties within regions	4	0	0.0	26	23.2	1	1.4
between regions or from Scotland	5	6	19.4	15	13.4	17	24.3
outside Great Britain	6	2	6.5	0	0.0	4	5.7
between neighbouring districts	7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4
between neighbouring counties	8	7	22.6	8	7.1	1	1.4
		31		112		70	

Table 6.5b Distance of Moves in forties

		Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
Distance	Type	Count	as a %	count	as a %	count	as a %
within wards	1	*	*	17	27.9	18	36.7
between wards same district	2	*	*	11	18.0	9	18.4
between districts same county	3	*	*	6	9.9	6	12.2
between counties within regions	4	*	*	0	0.0	1	2.0
between regions or from Scotland	5	*	*	15	24.6	8	16.3
outside Great Britain	6	*	*	4	6.6	5	10.2
between neighbouring districts	7	*	*	0	0.0	0	0.0
between neighbouring counties	8	*	*	8	13.1	2	4.1
				61			49

Within the context of lifetime moves it would be expected that compared with the younger years those in their middle years would be more likely to remain in the same locality and this would become more evident in their forties (Rossi 1955, Stapleton 1980). However, only limited comparison can be made due to the different ages of the cohorts. Nevertheless, comparing the length of stay of the sample indicated that the middle years were indeed a period when moves were relatively infrequent and stays were long (Table 6.6). Given the relatively young age of Cohort A, the high proportion of short stays of 97% was fairly predictable. In their thirties, 30% of all those in Cohort C that moved stayed in that residence for over 20 years and 46% stayed in that residence for at least ten years. This stability was echoed with slightly lower figures in Cohort B with 26% of all moves that were made in their thirties resulted in a stay of over 10 years. Moves made in their forties resulted in just under 40% of stays of Cohort C remaining there for over 10 years. The figures for Cohort B indicate a similar stability despite the relatively younger age.

Table 6.6 Length of stay for moves in thirties and forties

Length stay (years)	A	as a %	B	as a %	C	as a %
		Thirties				
1-5	30	97	55	49	24	34
6-10	1	3	28	25	14	20
11-15	0	0	15	13	7	10
16-20	0	0	11	10	4	6
21-25	0	0	3	3	7	10
over 25	0	0	0	0	14	20
Total	31		112		70	
		Forties				
1-5	*	*	36	59	20	41
6-10	*	*	20	33	10	20
11-15	*	*	4	7	7	14
16-20	*	*	1	2	8	16
21-25	*	*	0	0	2	4
over 25	*	*	0	0	2	4
Total moves	*	*	61		49	

During the thirties and forties it would be expected that many households would be growing and relatively stable in their structures (Stapleton 1980). But over the age-time of the three cohorts household form has changed significantly (Champion 1992; Grundy 1989) and the sample from Rutland and Tynedale were monitored to ascertain the level of these changes. Being a dynamic variable the fixed point in time was taken to be the actual household size and form upon moving into the new home.

Table 6.7 Household size for moves made in respondents' thirties and forties

	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
Household size	Count	as a % of all moves by A	Count	as a % of all moves by B	Count	as a % of all moves by C
			Thirties			
1	1	3.2	0	0.0	4	5.7
2	8	25.8	19	17.0	18	25.7
3	7	22.6	23	20.5	18	25.7
4	14	45.2	53	47.3	16	22.9
5	1	3.2	15	13.4	6	8.6
6	0	0	2	1.8	8	11.4
			Forties			
1	/	/	2	3.3	2	4.1
2	/	/	16	26.2	7	14.3
3	/	/	8	13.1	14	28.6
4	/	/	21	34.4	12	24.5
5	/	/	12	19.7	8	16.3
6	/	/	2	3.3	5	10.2
7	/	/	0	0.0	0	0.0
8	/	/	0	0.0	1	2.0

Unexpectedly, the oldest cohort contained a greater proportion of smaller households moving in their thirties and forties compared to its younger counterparts (Table 6.7). This partially contradicts notions of decreasing household size through time. However it must be reiterated that only those households that were moving were included in this analysis, not the entire sample and therefore the migration process was probably selective. Thus it could be only the smaller households moved perhaps because their costs were lower and conflicting contributing factors fewer than the relatively larger size of households.

However, of more importance than size was the actual composition of those households moving in their thirties and forties (Table 6.8). Primarily, the main flows were between married couples without dependants to married couples with dependants or single person households to married person households without dependants. The most common household structure likely to move both in their thirties and forties amongst all three cohorts were married couple families with dependants (Table 6.8). This was highest for the oldest cohort in their forties accounting for 80% of all households that moved. The second most common household form to move amongst all three cohorts were married couple family with no dependants – the highest proportion contained in Cohort A at 26% in their thirties and the lowest in Cohort C being 10% during their forties. Households moving in their thirties and forties consisting of single person households were extremely rare. This survey found that the majority of respondents making moves in their thirties were in a traditional married couple relationship with children. Single parent households with dependants and divorcees were rare in the sample as a whole, although there was a noticeable difference between Cohorts B and C. There were 7 lone parent families which made moves in their thirties in Cohort B but none in Cohort C. Very few examples of 'alternative' household forms were in evidence even in the youngest cohort; only two households contained in Cohort A moving in their thirties contained cohabiting couples with or without children. Thus, of those households who have chosen to live and stay in the study areas the majority who made moves in their thirties and forties had progressed through fairly traditional household forms.

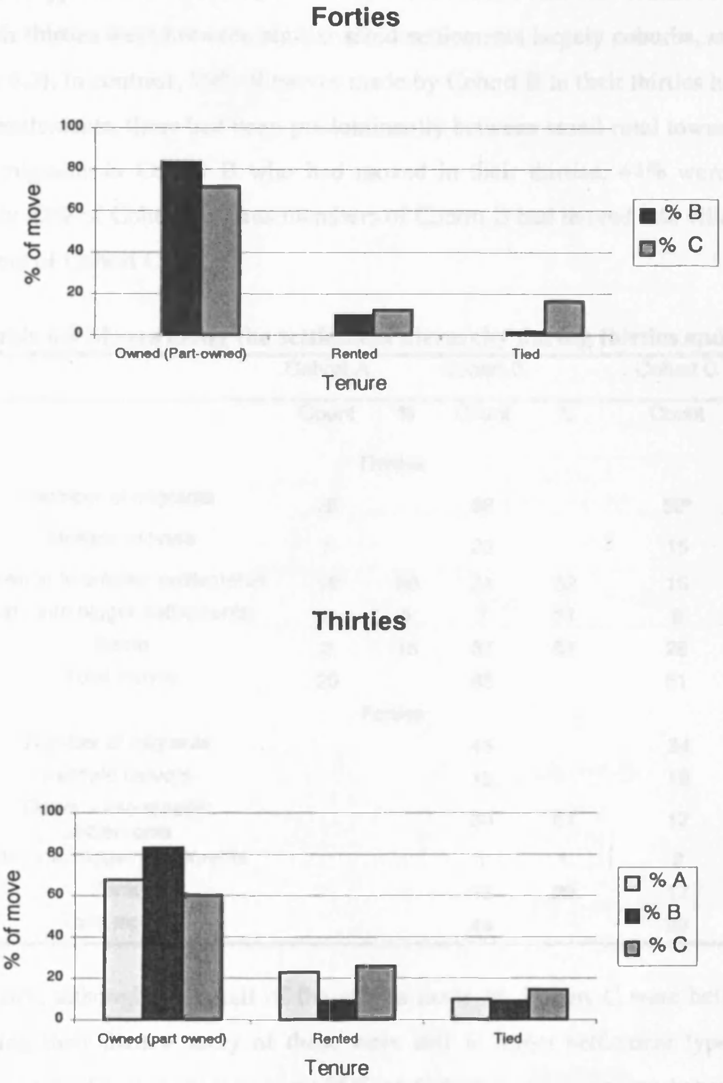
One of the key variables determining migration opportunities is the availability and access to housing of the appropriate tenure. By the 1990s the proportion of those living in owner-occupied property in England and Wales was as high as 67% (Lynch 2001). When respondents were in their thirties and forties particularly those in the oldest cohort, it would be expected that there would have been a higher proportion of those entering rented accommodation and perhaps greater differences between cohorts. However, that there were surprising similarities between Cohort A and C the moves undertaken in their thirties (Figure 6.1). Both contained about one quarter entering rented accommodation when making moves in their thirties.

Table 6.8 Household type for moves made in thirties and forties

	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
Household Type	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Thirties						
No family	0	0.0	1	0.9	0	0
Married couple with dependents	18	58.1	83	74.1	47	67.1
Married couple with children (with others)	1	3.2	2	1.8	2	2.9
Cohabiting couple family –no children	2	6.5	0	0.0	0	0
Lone parent family with no children	1	3.2	7	6.3	0	0
Lone parent family with dependent children	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4
Single	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4
Single -divorced	1	3.2	0	0.0	0	0
Single widowed	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.9
Married couple family-no dependents below pensionable age	8	25.8	18	16.1	16	22.9
Forties						
No family			2	3.3	1	2.0
Married couple with dependents			35	57.4	39	79.6
Married couple with children (with others)			3	4.9	1	2.0
Cohabiting couple family –no children			1	1.6	0	0.0
Lone parent family with no children			2	3.3	0	0.0
Lone parent family with dependent children			1	1.6	0	0.0
Single			0	0.0	1	2.0
Single -divorced			1	1.6	0	0.0
Single widowed			1	1.6	1	2.0
Married couple family-no dependents below pensionable age			12	19.7	5	10.2

Conversely by the late 1980s and early 1990s for some in Cohort C high house prices will have deterred and prevented many from entering the owner occupied market and hence forced them into a rented property as was found among several households in Rutland. The majority of those moving in their forties moved into owned or part-owned accommodation. Noticeable, is the relatively low level of movement in the rental sector in all three cohorts. This could reflect the current situation in many rural areas in that a lack of available affordable rented housing has caused those who may have wanted to stay in the villages to move into urban centres. Hence the majority of those interviewed were those able to enter owned accommodation, those who could not afford to do so had already left the study areas.

Figure 6.1 Tenure of accommodation of moves



Of the moves undertaken during their thirties and forties the recent trend of moves into the countryside and smaller places should be more evident among the younger cohort compared with the older ones. As in Chapter 5, the interviewee's own perception was the basis of determining rurality and size of place. There was a greater similarity between the two oldest cohorts in terms of moves they had undertaken in their thirties, with just over half of the moves between similarly sized settlements and one third of moves to smaller settlements (Table 6.9). A decade later, by their forties there was a greater difference between Cohorts B and C; whilst roughly half of those moves made by Cohort C continued to be between similarly sized settlements, for Cohort B this was reduced to less than one third of all moves with a corresponding increase in moves down the settlement hierarchy. As members of Cohort A were currently in their thirties the moves being described were their most recent and so all had moved into the study villages and the majority, over 75%, had moved down the settlement hierarchy from suburbs and some from rural towns (Figure 6.2).

This broad distinction between respondents moving up, down or between similarly sized settlements does not reveal the types of settlement that have been the focus of moves. Whilst 55% of moves made by Cohort C in their thirties were between similar sized settlements largely suburbs, small towns as well as villages (Figure 6.2). In contrast, 55% of moves made by Cohort B in their thirties had also been between similarly sizes settlements, these had been predominantly between small rural towns and villages (Figure 6.2). Of those migrants in Cohort B who had moved in their thirties, 44% were already in villages, compared to only 22% of Cohort C. Thus members of Cohort B had moved into villages at a younger age than had members of Cohort C.

Table 6.9 Moves along the settlement hierarchy during thirties and forties

	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
	Thirties					
Number of migrants	20		68		52*	
Multiple movers	7		29		15	
Down in to smaller settlements	16	80	21	32	15	29
Up - into bigger settlements	1	5	7	11	8	16
Same	3	15	37	57	28	55
Total moves	20		65		51	
	Forties					
Number of migrants			45		34	
multiple movers			12		10	
Down - into smaller settlements			30	67	12	36
Up - into bigger settlements			1	1	2	1
Same			13	29	17	51
Total moves			44		33	

As with the forties, although over half of the moves made by Cohort C were between similarly sized settlements during their forties many of these were still in larger settlement types than compared to Cohort B (Figure 6.3). By their forties, over 85% of Cohort B were moving between rural settlements whether they be small towns, hamlets, open countryside or villages. Whilst only 62% of Cohort C that made moves during their forties were within rural settlements. Thus of the types of places moved between during their thirties and forties, the younger cohorts moved within a rural area earlier than their older counterparts.

Figure 6.2 Moves along the settlement hierarchy during thirties

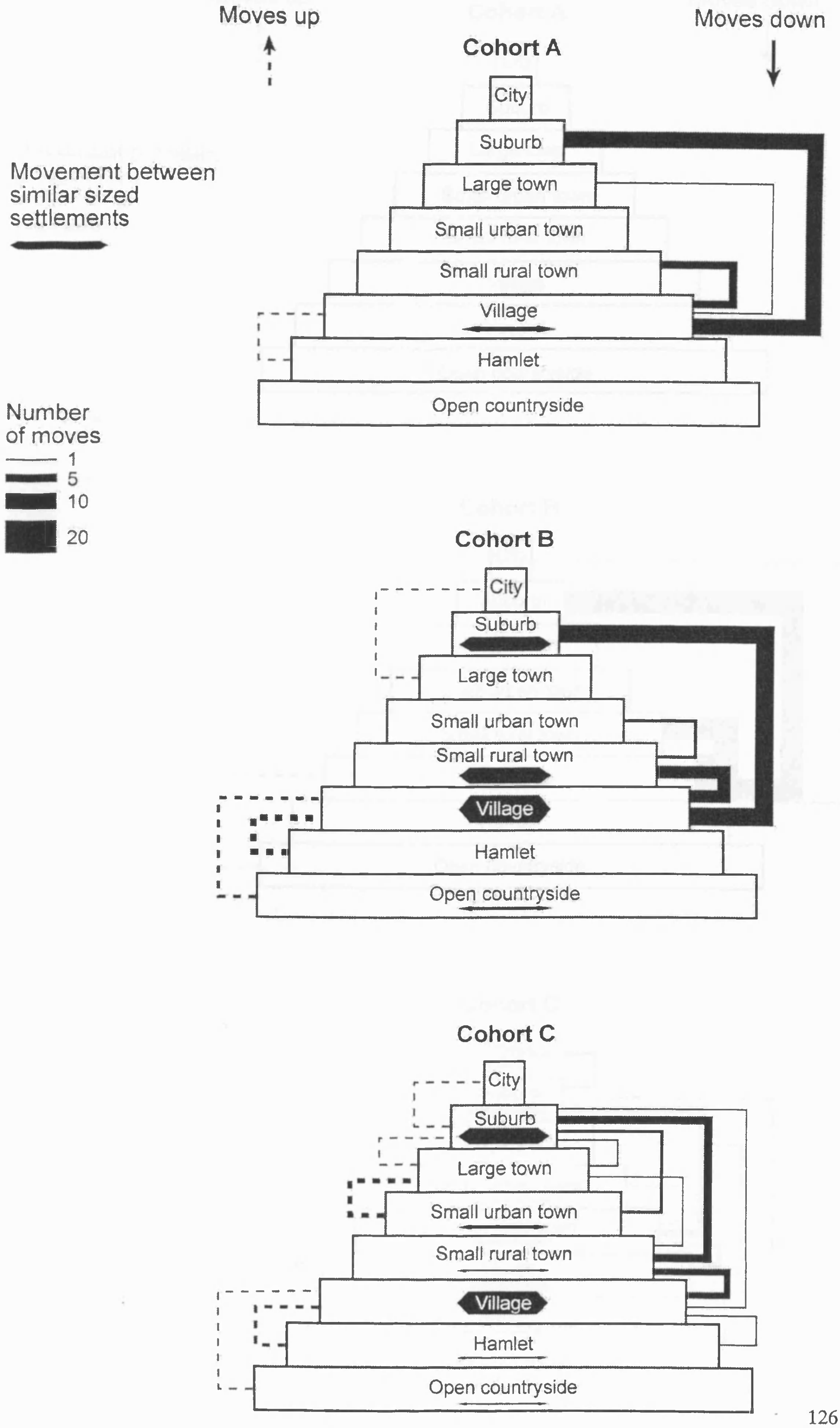
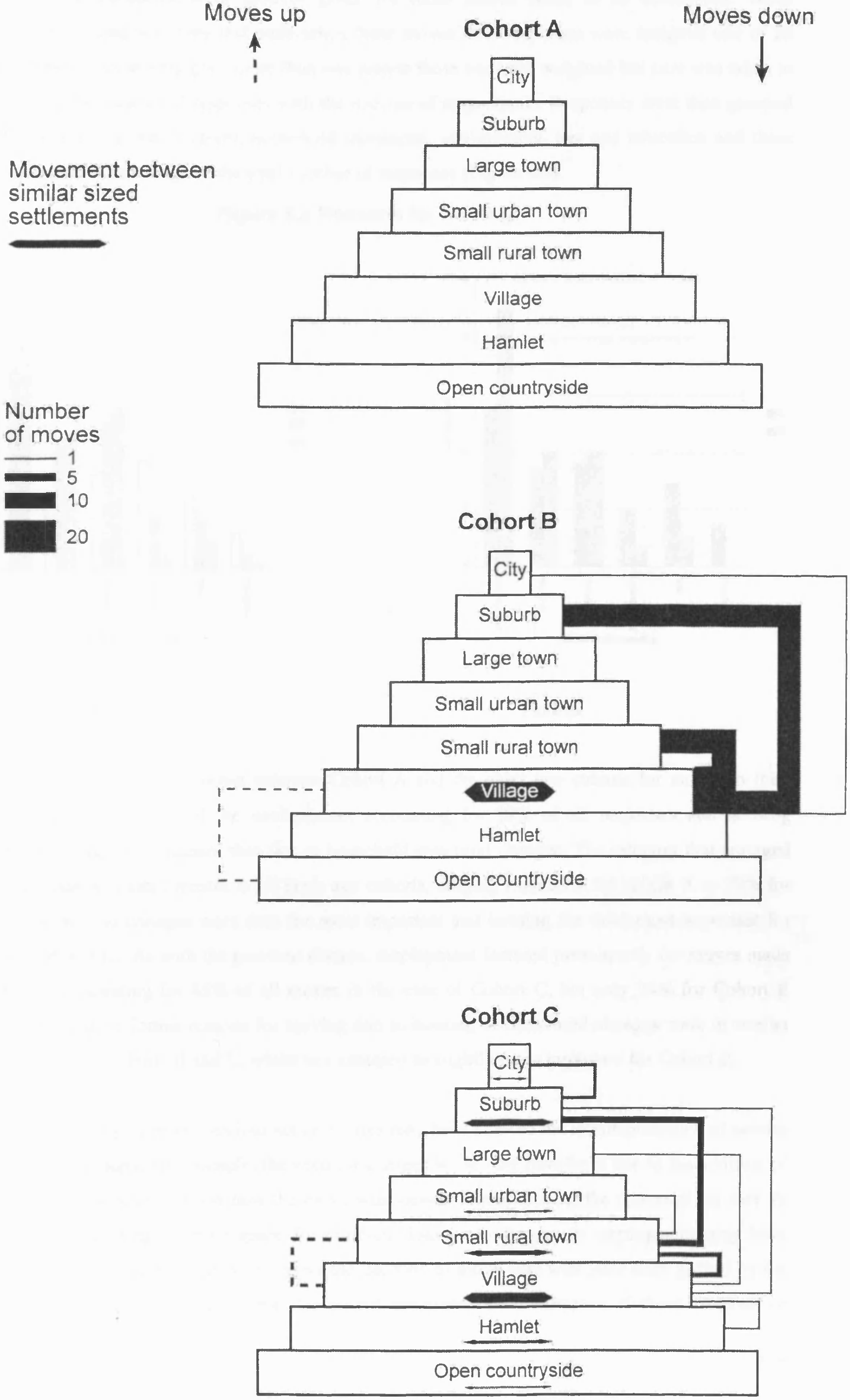
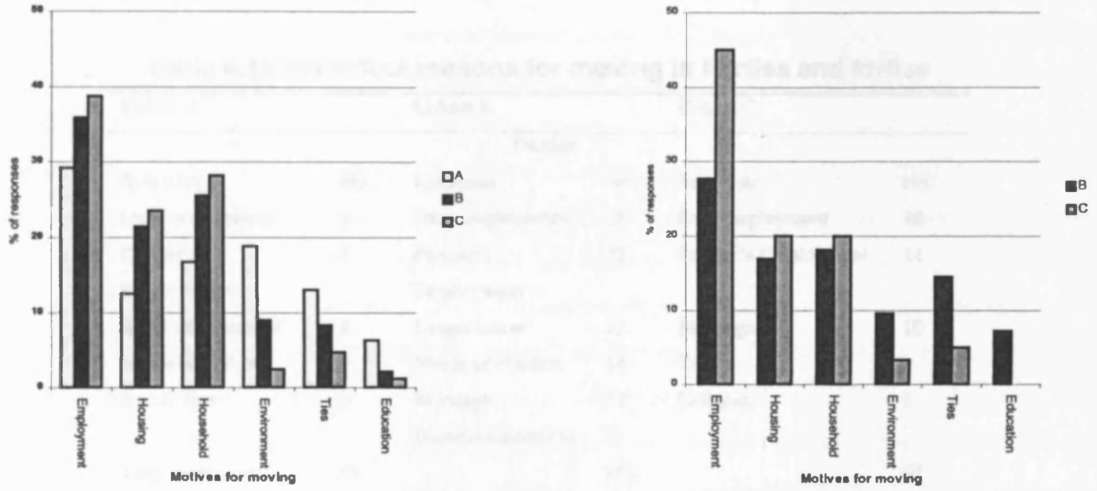

Moves up
Moves down
Movement between similar sized settlements
Number of moves
1
5
10
20
Cohort A
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort B
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort C
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

Figure 6.3 Moves along the settlement hierarchy during forties


Moves up
Cohort A
Moves down
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Movement between similar sized settlements
Number of moves
1
5
10
20
Cohort B
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort C
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

In order to make sense of the types of moves undertaken by those respondents in terms of distances and type of places, a consideration of motives given for those moves needs to be considered. When respondents were asked why they had undertaken these moves their responses were assigned one of 28 categories. Where respondents gave more than one reason these were not weighted but care was taken to avoid confusing the number of responses with the number of respondents. Responses were then grouped into six types; housing, employment, household transitions, environment, ties and education and these were illustrated as a percentage of the total number of responses (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4 Reasons for moving



Thirties **Forties**

Figure 6.4a shows a notable contrast between Cohort A and the older two cohorts for moves in their thirties, with the importance of the environment accounting for 19% of all responses and housing considerations being less dominant than ties or household structural changes. The category that emerged as most important was employment in all three age cohorts, ranging from 29% for cohort A to 39% for Cohort C. Household changes were then the most important and housing the third most important for both Cohorts B and C. As with the previous decade, employment featured prominently for moves made in their forties accounting for 45% of all moves in the case of Cohort C, but only 28% for Cohort B (Figure 6.4b). By their forties reasons for moving due to housing or household changes were in similar proportions for both Cohorts B and C, whilst ties emerged as slightly more important for Cohort B.

However, the grouping of responses into six categories may have masked the interdependence of several factors within the groups. For example, the need for a larger house may have been due to the addition of more children and depending upon how the move was viewed retrospectively the reason given may fit either into larger housing or more space for children. Likewise, changes in employment may have afforded an opportunity to move financially but the decision to move may well have been guided by the ability to afford a property within a specific school catchment area. However, if those frequent or multiple movers are taken into account, many of those who had moved because of 'tied' employment then the picture might well be less dominated by employment factors.

An analysis of individual responses for moves made in their thirties gave a more revealing picture of the motivating factors involved and their complexity (Table 6.10). For all three cohorts, own employment or partner's employment were the two dominant reasons for moving. However, over half of the responses in each cohort given as employment were attributed to multiple movers (for Cohort A 7/13, Cohort B 29/47 and 15/28 for Cohort C). Thus although employment was an important reason for moving in general terms, the number of migrants moving for reasons other than employment should not be overshadowed by those migrants who moved frequently for employment reasons.

Table 6.10 Individual reasons for moving in thirties and forties

Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
		Thirties			
Response	No.	Response	No.	Response	No.
Own employment	8	Own employment	28	Own employment	18
Partner's Employment	5	Partner's Employment	22	Partner's Employment	14
Rural environment	6	Larger house	15	Marriage	10
Needs of children	5	Needs of children	14	Tenure	9
Social Ties	5	Marriage	12	Children	7
		Divorce/separation	7		
Total responses	48		151		60
		Forties			
		Own employment	11	Own employment	20
		Partner's Employment	10	Partner's Employment	16
		Larger house	8	Larger house	7
		Education	6	Needs of children	5
		Ties -relatives	6		
			83		60

A consideration of the remaining responses left a more complex picture with households adjusting to changing requirements in slightly different ways. For Cohort A, over one fifth of respondents cited wanting to move into a 'rural area' specifically as an environment in which they wanted to live. The second most important reason was making a move due to the needs of their children, the rural environment being seen as one which was preferable for children. The third most important reason was that of ties to the area due to friends having lived there before or currently living there.

Grouped motives for Cohorts B and C followed a broadly similar trend and yet a closer inspection of individual responses revealed a different picture in their thirties. Amongst Cohort B, after employment the next most important reasons for moving were the requirements of larger houses, children's needs and marriage. Unlike the other two cohorts among Cohort B's responses, there were also mentions of divorce and separation at this stage. Apart from employment important reasons for moving given by Cohort C in their thirties were marriage and tenure. By their forties employment emerged as an even more important reason for moving for this cohort accounting for as many as 60% of all responses, compared with only 25% of Cohort B's moves. But as with the thirties, about half of those employment moves for both cohorts were attributed to those individuals who moved more than once. So whilst employment emerged as the most important reason for moving amongst Cohort C during their forties, amongst Cohort B reasons were more diverse (Table 6.10).

Thus it would appear that there was evidence of marked difference in the motives for moving between the three cohorts during their middle years. Although employment changes clearly accounted for many of the precipitating factors the direction in which the moves was made was defined by other motives. Cohort A and to some extent Cohort B have been more driven by 'lifestyle' requirements such as moving to a cleaner, more peaceful rural environment with needs of their children being mentioned. Whilst for the oldest Cohort C moves in their thirties were mainly in response to changes of tenure and upon marriage. Even despite the move into the rural arena for many of Cohort C in their thirties and forties no mention was made of this when asked about their motives. Two possible explanations are given; firstly, given their age and the length of time respondents had spent in a rural area they had become so used to the rural environment that they had forgotten its importance at the time they moved into it. Secondly, that the rural environment and issues of 'lifestyle' weren't as important when they made their decision. One of the difficulties of residence histories is post-rationalisation in particular, prioritising of motives – and the complexity of justifying decisions. Evidence from the more detailed interviews seems to point to the fact that respondents were rarely in a financial position to make radical choices about their lifestyle and viable opportunities to commute to work would have limited the choice of residence.

In both their thirties and forties, analysis of motives for different social classes, long-distance movers and for those multiple movers found remarkable homogeneity amongst all three cohorts. Non-professionals in all three cohorts made fewer long-distance moves. Those that had made long distance moves were generally as a result of crisis whether it was financial (inability to pay debts, mine closure) or personal (deaths or separation). However, tied employment prompted most of the multiple movers across both social classes in diverse employment such as; the police force, armed services, private schools, housekeeping and farming.

6.3 Summary of Findings

Evidence from this survey has found that during respondent's thirties, over half of the sample had moved at least once and over one third had moved more than once. By their forties, this had fallen to just over 40% of the sample having made one move and less than one third having moved more than once. However, the majority of these moves corresponded to short distance moves within the district, with the proportion of short distance moves increasing for all in their forties. Surprisingly, the main reason amongst all three cohorts given for making these moves, including short distance moves was employment. This is the converse of many studies that have found short distance moves being made to adjust to housing needs (Rossi 1955; McCarthy 1976). The main difference between the age cohorts was the oldest cohort contained more members who had made long distance moves during their thirties, whereas Cohort B contained a higher proportion of long distance movers in their forties.

There was surprising lack of diversity in terms of moves undertaken in the thirties and forties. The types of household moving in their thirties and forties were predominantly married couple families, with young children. Both professionals and non-professionals made long distance moves and multiple movers came from all social classes but the reasons behind the moves seemed to emphasise for the lower social classes a lack of choice, rather than new opportunities. It was this difference in decision-making that seemed to underlie differences between the three cohorts. The younger two cohorts moved into the countryside earlier than the oldest cohort, not necessarily into the specific study village and moved within the district. The opportunity to commute to work place in private transport, afforded households the choice of living in a rural area which would not have been possible for their older counterparts.

6.4 Issues in the Decision-Making Process

In order to provide greater depth of understanding of the context and decisions made during their thirties and forties detailed responses were elicited from a subset of the sample. From the evidence contained in the questionnaire survey it appeared that three major motives dominated moves made in the middle years; employment, household transitions and lifestyle preferences. Their impact upon each cohort will be considered in turn and the similarities between all three cohorts considered in summary.

6.4.1 The role of employment

Clearly in terms of the volume of migration undertaken by respondents in their thirties and forties, employment changes were the dominant influence for all three cohorts (Figure 6.4). However, as mentioned earlier, the volume of migration undertaken by fewer multiple migrants should not overshadow the experience of the majority. Moves induced by employment, although in general accounted for more of the distance movers were not restricted to long distance moves. There were subtle differences in the way in which those employment influences have effected migration in each cohort. A consideration of those multiple movers revealed well over 50% of all employment moves in both thirty and forty year olds were undertaken by multiple movers. Thus the types of employment described below are responsible for the majority of moves made by frequent movers.

Cohort C The role of employment in the late 1950s and early 1960s

The types of employment among Cohort C which prompted most multiple moves were those who were part of the armed forces, in the police force or publicans associated with breweries and those in agricultural labouring jobs. For those in the police force in Cohort C, although moves were encountered on a regular basis every four to six years, these moves were generally within the same region. Where accommodation was sometimes provided the decision to make moves seemed to involve all household members deciding whether the area of a prospective post was desirable. In other cases the lack of involvement or passivity in decisions was quite stark, more revealing of the ways in which family decisions were made. One widow had moved round the suburbs of Newcastle (Walker, West Chapel House) with her husband as he changed posts in the police force and seemed accepting of both influences as determinates of where she lived. But, these moves did not disrupt existing social networks in the same way as those who moved to different regions.

> "We didn't feel worried, thought they'd always take care of you if anything happened (The police force) things were different then....
> He always made the decisions. I meant I looked after the money on a day to day thing but he more or less took over. We had a car by then... but you know he'd like to surprise us.. I think the bungalow we were helped with by the police but it was dearer but it was worth it. Walker was all right but I was only about a quarter of a mile from where I used to live. In those days there was nobody there (West Chapel House) but I knew the area well and it meant you settled in canny well. When we were in Chapel house it was one of the few to be detached. Oh yes I did feel like we'd made it quite the smart ones.." (Catton C05 Cohort C)

There were a few respondents particularly those who were in the Tynedale sample who had made many moves even into their thirties, as agricultural labourers. This particular type of tied employment seemed to generate moves within the same region and appeared largely to occur by vacancies being passed on by word of mouth. For those involved without the means to visit their families often the relatively short distances were felt to be much greater and the sense of being isolated from their families most noticeable. This type of tied employment although it provided accommodation at the time in later life it seemed to be the source of stress with respondents feeling vulnerable and uncertain about the accommodation available for them upon retirement.

> "Robbie left to go and work on another farm because there wasn't enough work for all the boys. A big family he had; 6 brothers and two sisters. So he went to work as a shepherd, farm steward cowman and then farm manager but he never had his own farm he always worked for others. .I also came from a farming household but my father died so we had to lose accommodation so my mother moved to be housekeeper for Lord Allendale and got a better cottage." ." (Catton C34 Male Cohort C)

This household, having moved several times within Northumberland, returned to tied accommodation provided by the farming landlord upon being made redundant.

> " Not very much choice of where to live.... He sold the farm to try and raise the money in the early 80s. ...We've never been very far away though it sometimes felt like it. We just always felt that this was our base." (Catton C34 Male Cohort C)

Indeed one of the impacts of living in tied property was the desire to see their own children avoid the insecurity that they had endured. Several of those in tied accommodation were very proud of the fact that their own children had bought housing and in this sense were free from the uncertainty they had experienced.

Employment-induced moves did not always equate to frequency of moves, instead one long distance move was followed by a relatively long period of stability even in a previously unknown area. For examples those employed in health and education particularly in Cohort C were typical examples of this trend. However, even though economic motives may have precipitated a move among the professionals, the destination was overwhelmingly a result of ties, 'chance encounters' and other nebulous factors.

> "That arose largely by chance. One of my college friends had been at Croydon high School with Peter who was Head and she moved to Bristol and she was looking for a head of English so she wrote to me and said why not have a go" (Lyddinton L04) Male Cohort C))

> "Neither of us knew it at all. I suppose she must have come up to see it fairly soon but she was a Londoner although she had been at boarding school out of London for a great deal of her life. We came to Preston and had to look for houses there were new plots of land at Little Casterton we bought one of those and had one built. We didn't ever consider living in Stamford. Ruth didn't like the idea of Stamford I liked it and still do very much but she was very keen on getting a new house built and we had that done within about six months. That was in 1964..."(Preston P08 Professional Cohort C)

Certainly the timing of 'employment moves' in the aftermath of the Second World War led people to view 'choice' in employment with distinct derision.

> "It was the type of work. I don't think in those days particularly because of the circumstances of the time people thought of actually going round and being interviewed for a large number of jobs we didn't have milk rounds, a war had just happened and people were terribly busy." (Lyddington L05 Male Cohort C)

On the other hand, for the non-professional sectors that had made long distance moves to work, this generally involved work in large houses as maids or handymen. But as with those in agriculture this tied employment often left respondents with a legacy of uncertain tenure and insecurity. A number of these long distance moves resulted in return migration.

Cohort B The role of employment in the late 1960s and 1970s

Multiple movers among members of Cohort B were common particularly in their thirties. Typical examples were those in the armed services for whom accommodation was provided. Although this removed the stress of finding a house it did, however, involve long distance moves, often frequently and, at times abroad. One household that had left the army and finally moved back to the Northeast where they had grown up, recollected the experience of making army moves.

> F: You joined February 74 and we didn't get accommodation together until March the next year. Even though we were married.
> M: We wouldn't have got it unless you were expecting a baby...Stan just joined.. it was special circumstances. It was just lucky, the accommodation was condemned but we were told if we wanted to live in ...
> F It was very, very rough..
> M: It wasn't dangerous or anything it was just all the paint and paper was coming down....run down
> F ... a bit damp..
> MH: when you moved around did you get any choice?
> F: None at all.
> M: But it was a great life...lots of excitement. There was tremendous support with the children. The wives didn't have to go but she just followed us round (laughs). Tremendous. A lot of friendship with the other wives. I enjoyed it. Yes I did...
> F; Well we only had.... his whole service was six years...and we moved to Staines with no children. We moved to Windsor with one child, we had another child. We moved from Windsor to Londonderry with two children.. So actually in six years it was a lot (Catton C43Cohort B Female and Male)

The experience of those involved in the armed forces varied from acceptance and enjoyment of change to feelings of resentment and tiredness and often resulted in making a strategic plan to change employment, in order to remove the inevitable moves which they found disruptive. But sometimes, the inability to settle in a place and the habit of moving frequently created problems later in life.

Infrequent but relatively long distance moves followed by a long stay were common amongst professionals and managerial in Cohort B.

> "I had the choice of going to various other locations. It could have been Bristol, Leicester or Hull there was a number of options. At the time I didn't mind as long as it wasn't Birmingham! But I can't imagine living anywhere but Rutland now." (Lyddinton L43 Female Cohort B)

Surprisingly, there were few examples of individuals moving with companies even in the two younger cohorts. Despite the perception of increased level of migration due to globalisation, the direct link between where a company chose to relocate and the movement of their staff was not always clear-cut. Some spoke of the experience of moving to places they knew nothing about, for example:

> "If you'd said Scotland it would probably have been as alien to me, I didn't know a thing about it and when we first moved there. I was extremely unhappy I didn't know anyone but it wasn't until I got my job that I started looking around. My husband just knew six months in advance that we were going to have to relocate.

> But it's always happened that the house has always come up just in time. We came down most weekends because we didn't know the area at all it was completely different. We hadn't found anything so the company paid our mortgage and we found a cottage to rent and then when we found a buyer we sold the house"
> (Lyddington L45 –Cohort B Non professional)

Whilst for most of those involved with companies that were re-locating between regions, the respondents appeared to have been given a greater range of choice and the respondents often had previous knowledge of the areas they were moving to through their employment. There were several examples of respondents who chose to move to different companies once company relocation had occurred. Whilst others have retrospectively seen their career history as one of chance where situations have worked out well for them.

> "Don't think we're self satisfied we've been very fortunate the companies I have worked for have been tough to say the least, been uncaring to some extent but things have just turned out well for me.. There have been many redundancies but I was just lucky. The one company that made me redundant did me a favour, have since been bought and sold several times. Each time they patted my head and said you carry on and I've just been damn lucky." (Preston P21 Male Professional Cohort B)

Another indirect result of companies relocating was the growth of peripatetic residences and a growth in commuting. The impact of restructuring and consequential job changes have varied through time being significant in the mid 1970s and early 1980s but also for those involved the impact was very different at different points in their lives. For example; as a young couple with no dependants the loss of a job in the 1970s was not very grave.

> "But you see jobs in those days were plentiful and you didn't worry you were young it didn't matter. We just went on holiday enjoyed ourselves and came back and looked for a job. When we first moved here the shock ... if you've spent your life working it was very difficult to cope with. A job came up in Yorkshire but we didn't want to move up because we felt that job was not secure and the children were all settled in schools. The same thing could have happened again, could have lost his job and the children could have been uprooted again. So he decided to take a flat during the week but that was quite hard on the finances. We were very grateful to find a job here. Still better than being out of work." (Lyddington L80 female Cohort B)

> "Well it was a generous redundancy package and it was the late 70's and you know we didn't worry about it I don't think it was a simple you didn't just leave one job and go into another one I think it took him August, September October to find something three months" (L60 Female professional Cohort B)

In Rutland quite a number of respondents had chosen to reside there as a compromise between employment opportunities and lifestyle requirements for growing families. Also, the lure of the public schools in the county was also a strong deciding factor for a number of families and often once the move had been made future moves were not made despite company restructuring.

> "Oh yes well Calor moved to Slough and we decided we would start in Slough and then moved outwards until we could afford to buy a house – because he decided to buy a house. We wouldn't rent anymore and Calor would give you a zero percent loan and up to £1000. Then we moved to a detached one with four bedrooms it was a huge mansion and it was at this point that Calor said they could lend us £12000 rather than taking out a huge mortgage.... Then Calor decided to restructure one guy did the south and the one did the entire north. But they decided to cut the country in half. Mark was at this point boarding at Oakham which I thought was terrible . Jo had moved north and went to Nottingham. In preparation for this move Caroline had also gone to board but hated it so we looked for somewhere close enough not to interfere with our son's life but near enough that Caroline could go daily. But the restructuring never came off and nine months after they sent him back to Slough but we never went back 'cos we liked it here. So for 5/6 years he lived away so when they offered him early retirement he thought it was great." (Lyddington L74 Cohort B)

Cohort A The role of employment in the 1980s and 1990s

For many members of this cohort moves made in their thirties, corresponded to their most recent move and relatively few had moved into rural settlements directly for employment reasons. A fuller discussion of motives for moving revealed that many had in fact moved to a new region for employment, mostly in a dual-headed household, with both working but then had chosen to move to a village for some other reasons. In discussion with several respondents it was apparent that although employment reasons were given for moving very few alluded to the precise nature of how employment had triggered the move. Among the Rutland sample, there were several examples of households where members were able to work from home or only worked part time, so that commuting was not seen as a major hardship. For others who worked in London, an important reason for choosing Rutland was the reasonable rail connections with the capital. The employment of both was not related to the area in which they lived. For example, a self-employed chartered accountant and her husband commuted to London.

> "It was piece of luck. We both wanted to live in the countryside but not a ridiculous distance from London (it's only 50 minutes from Kettering). I liked the area, I knew it from when my first husband's parents lived here. I was able to work part time with two days at home so we started to look in all the villages round Kettering that we liked and then this one came up" (Lyddington L02 Female Professional Cohort A)

For several of the younger migrants in Tynedale, rather than accessibility to Newcastle the choice of destination was more of a perceived lifestyle choice. For example;

> "It was a natural career break. We hated Dunston, it was so dirty and polluted and we wanted a change so when I changed companies we were looking for somewhere out in the countryside. My wife still commutes into Newcastle every day" (Catton C03 male Non-professional Cohort A)

> "I got a better job and fancied living in the countryside" (moving between urban Leeds and rural Tynedale where the job was still 20 miles away (C35 Male professional Cohort A)

6.4.2 The role of Household Transitions

The overlap between reasons for moving meant that it was difficult to unravel whether it was a specific household change which precipitated a move or whether it was a general pre-empting of a household's perceived future needs. Overall, moves due to different housing requirements and household changes were extremely important in all three cohorts. Short distance moves to accommodate more children or acquire a garden were common amongst all three cohorts, yet there were subtle differences between the three cohorts.

Cohort C Household Transitions in the late 1950s and 1960s

The relationship between moving short distances to improve housing conditions appears to underpin much of the literature (Coleman and Salt 1992). However, it is argued here that whilst improvement in housing may be the motivating factor for moving it is not in general the facilitator. Increased income or increased job security effect household circumstances such that they appear to trigger a move. Not exclusive to Cohort C, but seemingly more common was the very short distance move within an area simply to adjust to changing housing needs, thus the environment being more or less constant and social ties being maintained.

> "Oh yes we needed more room.. That was just down the road from the previous one. We needed a bigger garden but we liked the area and we had made lots of friends it was really just more space...." (Catton C12 Female Professional – Cohort C).

Whilst for Cohort C, there were fewer moves by this stage into a rural environment, the nature of the place was very important, in particular more moves occurred between different suburbs of larger settlements. However, the nature of the suburb and the type of place involved a great deal of influence on a number of respondents.

> "Well my son was born in '49 in this two bedroom and when he got to toddling and wanting to be out that Andy said we're out of here. My husband was studying and climbing you know in his job. And he said I'm not having him here, we're going to have to make a move and we applied for a permit to build [not granted] Then we went up to Melton park you know where that is... really posh houses we could have gone up to £4000. But Andy says if we live next door to some big director and their kids are horse-riding and ours aren't

> then I wouldn't like that for my kids. I'd rather live somewhere where people can look up to me Andy says I want a garden for her we're going to have to move. I had my eye on that house – it was a corner house with a big green garden and a garage and things were rationed skirting boards like this but because this house belonged to the guy who had built the estate they were like that (indicates thickness) so you know it was all those little extras. It was for us it was out of this world and we were there for 29 years" (Catton C31 Female Non professional Cohort C)

Members of Cohort C also appeared less likely to move even given the fact that households had undergone an expansion in size. Differences between expectations were certainly evident in terms of conditions tolerated compared to the younger cohorts. Other secondary sources document larger household and more shared facilities in the past compared to today (Coleman and Salt 1992). Evidence from Rutland and Tynedale showed too that unless financial circumstances changed markedly within a household, with associated increments in pay there was a greater propensity to stay in the same house. A move would be made early on in the expansion of a family and then a greater period of stability prevailed. This could have been due to the cost of moving preventing households moving or simply those older households were less accustomed to moving and were less likely to consider it unless precipitated by economic reasons.

> 'Aye well you just kind of got used to it, all three girls shared a room and we just sort of mucked in. It didn't bother us like as that was the way things were then, not like now with their fancy en-suites let alone sharing bedrooms" (Catton C68 Female widower non professional Cohort C)

Cohort B Household Transitions in the late 1960s and 1970s

The household transitions most common for moves made in the early thirties were marriage and the addition of children in a household. With the expansion of a household many respondents cited the need for more space; sometimes larger houses with more bedrooms or houses with reasonable sized gardens or proximity to good schools. However, as shown earlier often moves were over very short distances in order to maintain an existing social network. It was evident that many professionals and managerial members of Cohort B living in Rutland were much more affluent than those in Tynedale and moves undertaken in their thirties had been very different from those experienced by the same subgroup but without the same financial assets. Consequently, although moves did not appear to be made more frequently, there was certainly less perceived stress involved to relocate the household. The financial ease of moving house was in stark contrast to others interviewed in Tynedale.

> "Because we didn't have to sell our house in order to buy this one we stayed in the house until this one was completely ready. It was all done, ready and decorated so it was all very easy. There wasn't any hassle in moving. They all continued to go to the same schools so it wasn't a massive disruption just a change of wallpaper really." (L44 Female married professional Cohort B)

> "When we moved here we had a disastrous time...just after we moved here...interest rates went up, petrol...there was the oil crisis..and don't forget we had oil heating...three lots of extra strain on the finances. So we decided because we had this house there was scope for doing bed and breakfast. So we got a grant from the tourist board; we put an extra bedroom and shower room on and we had to have wash basins in the rooms We did B&B for four years. It was very up and down" (C19 Catton Male professional Cohort B)

Rural areas were perceived as being healthier, cleaner and safer for their children, but there were differing experiences in terms of why they wanted to move. Some moves were made so that children could pursue hobbies and activities associated with rural areas such as horse riding. In Rutland, several respondents specifically required housing with paddocks for horses.

> "The children had to come to school on Saturday mornings which left me with nothing to do so I spent my time driving round and looking in the estate agents. By that time we had two ponies and we were keen to find some land because we hadn't had any land in Lincolnshire because the farmers there didn't like horses.

> It caused us a lot of problems trying transporting my daughter backwards and forwards as well as driving them to school. So we were looking for a house with land basically" (Lyddington L37 Female professional Cohort B)

The notion of smaller settlements being a much better place to bring children up, particularly among Cohort B, prevailed, with interviewees recounting that the other households in the village were 'their other eyes and ears and you would always know what your children were up to'. This reinforcement of community acting as an extra safety device with regard to their children seemed to be an important factor in their decision to move to the countryside. This led to a direct link between a specific size and a choice of settlement.

> "There were about 6 villages which were the right sort of size and had the right kind of feel and it was just a matter of finding a house in one of those" (Lyddington L43 Female professional Cohort B)

There was some evidence that marriage breakdown, separation and divorce had taken place for a small number of respondents in Cohort B in particular, but it was difficult to gauge the full extent that this had occurred. It became clear in the secondary interviews that household changes had sometimes occurred but had not been mentioned when initial replies were given. The stigma attached to marriage breakdown and the intensely personal nature of the information made it perhaps unsuited to this type of research. Certainly in follow-up interviews respondents were much more forthcoming about the difficulties of making moves upon separations particularly when children were involved. Overall, although household changes had occurred, there was often a delay before moves took place particularly when children's schooling was involved. A divorcee moved within the same village trading a large, modern family house for a smaller cottage-style property. The move appeared to have been triggered by inside knowledge of the housing stock as much as prevailing market conditions or the change in household circumstances.

> "[I moved] More or less...when they were all 18 they had all gone. My move coincided with James finishing..yes... I had been on my own for about 4 years on and off I should, I stayed there until the children had more or less finished their education. This particular house had been taken off the market. The only reason I got it was I approached the people privately because at that time there weren't any small houses for sale. I sold the other property in 1994 but the reason I sold it so quickly was that someone in the village bought it they were moving from a larger stone house. Their children had all left home and they wanted a more modern house.
> (Lyddington L37 Female divorcee – Cohort B professional)

Cohort A Household Transitions in the 1980s and early 1990s

Not surprisingly, of the motives mentioned for moving during their thirties by members of Cohort A only 16% had migrated due to household changes. Though marriage and cohabitation were often mentioned, a notable feature was individuals joining another household usually for a short period of time. In certain cases this took the form of a 'return migration'. Interestingly, some members of Cohort A, though now resident in the countryside had already lived there during their early years;

> "My husband had always lived in the village and always wanted to come back, it just seem the right time as we needed more space with another littlun on the way.. we had been in the town for long enough" (Catton C48 Female, professional Cohort A)

Another households had moved within suburbs of London for space and financial reasons;

> "That was again opportunist but by then I was expecting our third child and we really needed more space .... for a playroom. Again the third house we bought in Chiswick had a huge garden and being nice and run down inside so we could afford it and do it up slowly, that was also...that was definitely where we intended spending the foreseeable future more so than either of the other two I mean it had six bedrooms... I mean we never need to move for more space." [Lyddington L09 Female Professional Cohort A)

6.4.3 Locational Ties and Lifestyle Preferences

Whilst some situations may pre-empt moving, one of the overriding features of examining residence histories was the discovery that there were many factors which acted as traditional stimulants to staying, these have been termed generally, locational ties. The concept of Location Specific Capital in the decision-making process was introduced by Da Vanzo and Morrison (1978: 5300) " a generic term denoting any or all of the diverse factors that 'tie' a person to a particular place. When a person who has migrated, moves again, he or she should favour some place of residence as the destination because the person has location specific capital there. From this, Williams and McMillen (1980: 203) asserted that specific capital thus determined the direction of migration. Furthermore, evidence from in-depth interviews in Tynedale and Rutland illustrated that specific locational capital also delayed and prevented moves occurring at all.

In this study two forms of 'ties' were perceived to exist, direct and indirect ties. Direct ties were associated with the previous knowledge of a place either through living there for sometime or due to relatives living there already, whereas indirect ties were due to more transitory situations visiting friends or a previous holiday destination. Both types of locational ties were evident among respondents in their middle years. Although 60% of households had moved in their thirties, correspondingly 40% of all those households sampled did not move in their 30s. By their forties the mobility of households had diminished, leaving over 70% of householders not moving. These 'locational ties' act in such a way as to determine not only the direction in which a move is made but also prevent moves from taking place. It was quite surprising that even by respondents' thirties that many people were reluctant to move; sometimes delaying moves, such that by the planned date these moves did not take place at all. In fact the timing of moves was more closely related to the ages and schooling of children than their own career aspirations. This demonstrated the negotiation involved in migration decisions between different household member's needs and aspirations. For all three cohorts, moves made early in a growing family were quite distinct from those made ten years later.

Cohort C The role of Locational Ties and Lifestyle preferences in the late 1950s and 1960s

The notion of ties does not remain exclusive to the idea of return migration. Ties can be made though both quality and length of time accrued in one place. This seemed to be of particular importance when households were starting out with families. Householders were reluctant to move due to the fact that relationships had been forged whilst children were growing up and also that they did not want schooling to be disrupted.

> A: Oh it wasn't too bad the thing that gets you friends is having children. Your social life develops mothers gather to meet their children from school and the whole thing just triggers. I got involved in parent's associations with teachers/cubs/brownies we knew everyone and had a good social life. We came here not knowing a soul and have made a lot of friends.
> (Cohort C 75 Female professional Cohort C)

This was particularly prevalent amongst the professional and managerial cohorts who had been mobile in early years but then subsequent 'retirement moves' were made within the region they had come to know. Various respondents who were not originally from an area decided to remain in places they had moved into in the middle years of their lives as they developed strong social ties. For example, one respondent who had moved from Liverpool to Sunderland remained there for over thirty years and retired within the region;

> "Well we got used to it, that's where the children knew as home, my mother had come up to live near by and there was no one back in Lancashire that would remember me so it became home too.." (C12 Female Widow, Professional Cohort C)

Cohort B: The role of locational ties and lifestyle preferences in the 1970s

Moves made in the middle years in households with young children in general were more child-centred. This applied both to those who were financially advantaged and those involved in making shorter distance employment-led moves. The example below shows a number of factors came into play, timing of schools, ease of selling property in London and ties to the area having had a holiday cottage relatively close by.

> " It starts with the education of the children... when my daughter was changing schools at 11 she got into all the top London private schools but we also had been up to see Oakham and we thought it was rather nice school and she was very keen to board. So, she ended up choosing Oakham. We at that time had a cottage near Oundle which is why we looked at Oakham in the first place and when she was settled here and the second one also wanted to follow her. We thought if we're going to move from London, now is the time to do it and it also made sense and it obviously made sense for us to be near the school (pauses)Well the real reason was that it was a fundamental supposition on both our parts that we would at some time in our lives end up living in the country.. Because that's what we'd both been used to we'd always had access to homes in the country it's where we'd both grown up." (Lyddington L31 Female professional Cohort B)

Again as a factor within a combination of other reasons the timing of a move coincided with specific schooling requirements and their own experience shaped the goals for their children.

> "We moved for two reasons first of all because of the schooling because they still had 11+ in Lincolnshire and we felt that the schooling would be better than in Suffolk. where the children automatically went on the Minster school. There was some query at that time whether it was going to become comprehensive rather than a grammar school which it did. We felt they would be better educated at a grammar school because we had been educated at a grammar school. The other reason was the larger house. We lived there about 8 years it was only three-quarters of an hour from the other house. I didn't have any transport we only had public transport" (Lyddinton L43 Female professionals Cohort B)

Another female respondent discounted future moves despite prospective promotion for her husband on the grounds of it being too disruptive.

> "We could have been moved elsewhere We knew anyway we might have to turn the next one down because Daniel would be coming up to nine and would be coming up to secondary school and depending when they moved him we wouldn't disrupt either of them for their final education at secondary school so by the time he got to his fourth year , year 10 now James would have had to consider moving on his own and getting a flat which is what we considered until both the children had finished really it was as concrete as that or using the caravan depending on how it worked" (Lyddington L83 Professional Female Cohort B)

One respondent discussed at length the impact of moving a child at what she later decided was a formative point. However, she seemed to feel very responsible for the effect it had upon her two children, one of who reacted badly and the other who had faired much better. Her account of the move appeared to be as much a justification for the move as an appraisal of events.

> "My eldest was 16 and he was devastated when he had move He was told by the tutor he would get straight 'B's and when he knew we were going to be moving away he'd got a lot of friends his life just went to pieces, he gave up school. I think his father being away from home as well. It was the end of the world he's very tenacious and he doesn't like change. But I've *a*lways put my husband's career first I've felt that he had gifts and if he didn't he would probably resent not using things in later life. My son's young and I knew he would make a new life and he's really happy now we've been here for 18 months and he made some fabulous friends. He's going to college he wants to. He feels more confident. My youngest son was happy to get away he was very unhappy in the last year. We chose Uppingham. College here, because it wasn't a school and he is very happy it's a marvellous place." (Lyddington L43 female non-professional Cohort B)

Cohort A The role of locational ties and lifestyle preferences in the 1980s and 1990s

The majority of the members of Cohort A who had moved for locational ties and lifestyle preferences during their thirties, might be referred to as a typical rural in-migrant in that in general this younger cohort had indeed spent their most recent past in urban areas, generally in professional or managerial jobs. Their decisions to move into the countryside concurred with survey findings of being attracted by the rural idyll and appeared to be very much part of their strategic plans. Several referred to the timing of the moves as seeming to be 'the right time'. Others described their move as making a 'real move' into the countryside requiring a property that looked like a country cottage. This subgroup of migrants, particularly in Rutland contained relatively affluent respondents. A recently married couple was typical of this sbugroup;

> "I suppose what we were in search of was peace of mind we were laying roots for a different lifestyle or a different way of living..we had lived in so many different grotty flats and worked all hours we wanted to create a different way of living ' (Lyddington L09 Female Professional Cohort A)

However, although both members had moved from Leicester, they had both been brought up in the countryside and saw this opportunity to re-create some of the positive attributes of rural living they had experienced as children. Some households did not have children at time of moving but in their discussion of motives the plan to have children was implicit. For several in the Rutland sample this was strategic even in that locations were being selected so that links to cultural activities together with employment in London could still be entered into. In moving from London to Rutland in 1989, one female professional respondent recalled the circumstances at the time.

> "We were hoping to have children but at that stage we didn't know if would be able to at that stage if we were going to have our own or what was going to happen. But we could see that you could start a family there. Whereas the other one we could have done it but we would have been very pushed for space. Here you can still go to the theatre at the weekend or for the evening and yet go out and breathe the fresh air and go for a walk outside your backdoor." (Lyddington L14 Professional Cohort A)

However although there were examples of these types of migrant in both areas their significance must not be over-emphasised since they formed only a fraction of the total migration process.

6.5 Processes in common

Although there were many similarities between the three age cohorts in the level of mobility experienced in their middle years, evidence from the in-depth interviews revealed differences between the type of long distance moves being made by the three cohorts. Frequent movers from Cohort C were part of the armed forces, police force or agricultural labourers with very little evidence of business restructuring generating frequent moves. Most long distance moves were accounted for by both non-professionals and professionals in responses to crisis situations or professional workers at the beginning of their careers. Whereas although there were several frequent movers in Cohort B who had been part of the armed forces there were no frequent movers who had been part of the police force or who had been involved in agricultural labouring. The absence of agricultural workers was probably related to a shrinking proportion of agricultural workers involved in farming. Cohort B seemed to be dominated by frequent movers who had made perhaps one or two moves for employment reasons and then subsequent moves were made for other reasons. Whilst those frequent movers and long distance movers in Cohort A were dominated by professional workers who had lived in suburbs of cities and had then the financial means and employment opportunities to buy property in a rural area. Even those moves that were prompted by economic restructuring and were nominally employment-led were often tailored according to family needs; acquiring a particular lifestyle seemed to be more importance than employment for those interviewed.

Discussion of these moves with householders gave an insight into the different perspectives each household member had upon the moves they had made and what they perceived as important. Although no statistical evidence was provided it was quite noticeable that there were gender differences in the way decisions had been reached. It became clear that if two members of the same household were asked about the same moves that had occurred, whilst some of the motives would have concurred there would have been very different interpretations of the importance of various factors. In terms of employment-led moves, the propensity for employment to become more prominent was often a direct result of asking a male respondent rather than a female respondent in that household, particularly amongst the older two cohorts. There were several examples of a male respondent citing only employment reasons whereas when a female household member was present there was more emphasis on the needs of all household members. This could have been simply the questions being interpreted in different ways and the pre-empting of the research agenda by those being interviewed or it could reveal a difference in gender accounts of the moves made.

Moving for reasons of changing household appears to be one of the more complex areas and indeed one of the areas where there was greatest difference between the three cohorts. Whilst changing household structure has precipitated moves through time, the relationship is not cause and effect. The simple analysis of 'requirement of space', was not sufficient in most cases, to necessitate a move directly. Other factors would enable changes to be made; for example a change of employment might enable the household to afford a larger house. Although it appears there was some evidence that the youngest cohort have moved more frequently to adjust to very specific housing needs, such as an extra bedroom or garden, these moves have coincided with a strategy to adjust their whole lifestyles – often with accompanying moves into the countryside.

6.6 Conclusions

For many, the 'middle years' was indeed a period of relative stability for all three cohorts, but there was a distinct difference between moves made by people in their thirties compared to their forties; with a greater number of moves undertaken in people's thirties compared to their forties. Interestingly, there was very little difference in the volume of migration experienced during their thirties between the three different age cohorts, social classes or origin. However, by their forties the relative immobility of the lower social classes compared to the mobility of the professionals group within the sample was evident particularly among Cohort B. Movement between similarly sized settlements was dominant during respondent's thirties among the two older cohorts but interestingly many in Cohort C were still moving within the urban environment whilst C members of Cohort B had already moved into rural areas.

The relationship between moving short distances to improve housing conditions appears to underpin much of the literature (Coleman and Salt 1992).

> "...Economic factors are not as significant as labour economists would like us to believe. Rather, economic factors such as employment and wages, tend to be of greater significance in determining long-distance migration, whereas social motives such as family housing, slum clearance etc, are of greater relevance in explaining short-distance migration (Lewis's 1982: 125).

Yet, in this study although the majority of all moves during their thirties were short distance moves, employment was the most frequently cited reason for having undertaken moves. Surprisingly, among both older cohorts employment was more prominent as a motivating factor in respondent' forties compared to their thirties but many of those employment-precipitated moves were undertaken by the same migrants. Beyond the resulting broad patterns there were however, noticeable differences evident between the experiences of the three age cohorts. Although employment changes accounted for many of the precipitating factors in making a move, the direction in which moves were made were defined by other motives. Cohort A and to some extent Cohort B made moves to improve their lifestyle moving to more advantageous environments for their households, whilst among the oldest cohort moves were determined by entering owner-occupied property or upon marriage. It is argued here that whilst an improvement in housing or environment may be one of the motivating factors in moving it is not in general the facilitator. A change of employment with associated increased income or increased job security effected household circumstances such that this appeared to trigger a move. In effect the distinction between long distance moves for economic reasons and short distance moves for housing reasons would appear to be more complex than previously thought.

Chapter 7: The Later Years

7.1 Introduction

This aim of this chapter is to investigate those moves made by respondents during their 'later life'. In order to simplify the temporal framework this incorporates all those individuals who undertook moves whilst they were aged in their fifties and sixties and beyond. For those aged sixty and over, Cohort C, a sample of 82 potential migrants those moves had occurred in the late 1980s. In the case of Cohort B, 49 of the respondents had not reached their fifties at the time of the survey and therefore were discounted from this analysis. This left a sample of 55 potential migrants in Cohort B whose moves were made in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Of course it must be emphasised that moves made in respondent's sixties and beyond incorporated only those in Cohort C and all members of Cohort A were excluded from the analysis since they were under 40 years of age at the time of survey.

A comparison is initially made between mobility of respondents in Cohorts B and C in their fifties and then moves made by Cohort C in their sixties and beyond were then compared to 'intended moves' of those in their fifties. The final section discusses the migration process in terms of the four processes deemed most significant in determining the moves.

7.2 Migration during the fifties, sixties and beyond

Of the members of Cohort B and C, 137 were involved in migration during their fifties, equivalent to 37% of the total sample (Table 7.2). By their sixties and beyond only 26% of Cohort C had made moves and there were no examples of respondents having made moves into their eighties. The sample size of moves made in later life was relatively small - members of Cohort C made only 4 moves in their seventies so this can not really be regarded as a study of mobility among the elderly. Intended moves of those currently in their sixties into larger local settlements provided some explanation as to why there was there was an absence of elderly migrants within the study villages, those older migrants had already moved away into larger settlements than those villages incorporated in the study. Cohort B were slightly less mobile in their fifties compared to their older counterparts but this could reflect that some of those members were in their early fifties and could still make further moves in the future. Considered separately, members of Cohort C were slightly more mobile in their fifties and sixties in Tynedale compared to Rutland, but the number of moves involved was relatively small (Tables 7.1 and 7.2)

Table 7.1 Original sample

Cohort	Sample size	No. of profs	No. non profs	%Prof	% nonprofs	No. Rutland	No. Tynedale	% Rutland	% Tynedale
B	55	41	14	75	25	39	16	71	29
C	82	51	31	62	38	33	51	40	60

Table 7.2 Migrants by social class and origin

Cohort	Total migrants	No. Prof.	No. Non profs	%Prof	% nonprofs	No. Rutland	No. Tynedale	% Rutland	% Tynedale
				Fifties					
B	16	11	5	69	31	10	6	63	38
C	35	31	4	89	17	11	26	30	70
				Sixties and beyond					
C	22	16	6	73	27	7	15	32	68

Notably, during their later years those of the professional classes were more likely to have moved than non-professionals (Table 7.2). During the fifties, there was an over-representation of professional movers among Cohort C resident in Tynedale. Similarly, during the sixties and beyond there was a larger proportion of professionals compared to non-professionals moving (Table 7.2). Bearing in mind the relatively small number of migrants involved it seems however, that class was a determinant of migratory potential during the later years.

Unlike the previous decades, there were few multiple movers in either cohort, equating to only 20% of the sample (Table 7.3). However, these multiple movers were again amongst all social classes. A mean number of moves gave a rough indicator of the level of mobility in each decade. Cohort C had a slightly lower figure of 1.2 moves per migrant compared to 1.4 moves for Cohort B. However, given the small number of migrants involved these figures should only be used as a guide to differences between each decade. Thus migration appears to have involved fewer respondents by their fifties compared to previous age times and those moving were more likely to move once only.

Table 7.3 Migration of respondents in their fifties, sixties and seventies

Cohort	Total moves	Total migrants	% Migrants	Movers (1)	Mult.movers (2)	Mult. movers (3)	Mult. movers (4+)	% multiple movers	mean no. moves
					Fifties				
B	20	16	25	11	3	0	0	21.4	1.4
C	45	35	45	29	8	0	0	22	1.2
					Sixties and seventies				
C	23	21	26	21	1	0	0	4.5	1.0

Members of the older Cohort C appear to have made fewer moves before their fifties compared to those in Cohort B. For example, for nine members of Cohort C (25% of the sample) the move they made in their fifties was only the first or second move they had ever made in their lives (Table 7.4). This reflects that those in Cohort B who had moved in their fifties were more likely to have made more moves earlier in their lives than their counterparts.

Table 7.4 Move sequence in fifties and sixties

Cohort	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
					Fifties					
B	0	2	4	5	3	2	2	0	1	1
C	3	6	9	8	4	2	5	3	4	1
					Sixties					
C	2	2	3	4	1	7	0	1	1	2

Relatively short distance moves within the same district accounted for nearly 38% of all Cohort C moves during their fifties whilst Cohort B had a slightly lower figure of 30% (Table 7.5). Also in their fifties, long distance moves between regions or from abroad accounted for 35% of Cohort B's moves and 21% of Cohort C's moves. However, once again these percentages should not be overstated given the relatively small number of moves involved (despite a higher percentage of total moves being involved for Cohort B, the actual number of moves involved was less). Yet it would appear that of those migrants who made moves in their fifties, proportionally those in Cohort B made a relatively larger number of long distance moves. A closer inspection of those who made long distance moves showed that no non-professionals made long distance moves in their fifties among Cohort B and only 4 non-professionals in Cohort C. By the sixties and beyond, the majority of moves were within wards and more specifically within the same village, only three moves had been between regions or from Scotland. This contrasts clearly with the popular notion of retirement migration involving large numbers of retired households moving long distances.

Table 7.5 Distance of Moves in fifties

Type moves	Type moves	Cohort B	as %	Cohort C	as %
within wards	1	4	20	11	26
between wards same district	2	2	10	5	12
between districts same county	3	3	15	13	31
between counties within regions	4	0	0	0	0
between regions or from Scotland	5	7	35	9	21
outside Great Britain	6	0	0	1	2
between neighboring districts	7	0	0	1	2
between neighboring counties	8	4	20	2	5
		20		42	

Table 7.6 Distance of Moves in sixties and seventies

Type moves	Type moves	Cohort B	As %	count	as %
within wards	1	/		9	45
between wards same district	2	/	/	1	5
between districts same county	3	/	/	3	15
between counties within regions	4	/	/	0	0
between regions or from Scotland	5	/	/	3	15
outside Great Britain	6	/	/	0	0
between neighboring districts	7	/	/	1	5
between neighboring counties	8	/	/	3	15
				20	

The most common household size moving in their later years amongst both cohorts consisted of two members (Table 7.7). However, as might be expected, there were also quite a number of single people households, in particular among Cohort C.

Table 7.7 Household size of migrants in fifties and sixties

Household size	Cohort B	as %	Cohort C	as a %
		Fifties		
1	4	20	11	27
2	12	60	23	56
3	1	5	4	10
4	2	10	3	7
5	1	5		
6	0	0		
		Sixties		
1	/	/	5	25
2	/	/	14	70
3	/	/	1	5
4	/	/	0	0
5	/	/	0	0
6	/	/	0	0

The dominant household structure for moves made by respondents during their fifties and sixties was a married person household with no dependants and under pensionable age which accounted for over half of all moving households amongst both cohorts (Table 7.8). Both cohorts show remarkably similar proportions of each household types moving in their fifties; both had 15% married couple families with dependent children accounting for those larger households and 15% widow(er)s accounting for most of the single person households. As would be expected moves made by households during their sixties was markedly reduced in size and involved either married couples with no dependants or single person households. The slight increases in the number of single-person households were due mostly to single person households who had never married rather than widow(er)s moving. This surprising finding suggests that rather than widow(er)s making up the majority of single person household migrants in this sample most had never been married. Given the relatively small sample involved there appear to have been no marked differences between Cohorts B and C in the types of household moving in their fifties.

Table 7.8 Household type of migrants in their fifties, sixties and seventies

Household Type	Cohort B	As a %	Cohort C	As a %
	Fifties			
No family	0	0	2	5
Married couple with dependents	3	15	6	15
Lone parent family with no children	0	0	1	2
Single –never married	3	15	6	15
Single -divorced	1	5	1	2
Single widowed	0	0	4	10
Married couple family-no dependents below pensionable age	12	60	20	49
Married couple with children (with others)	1	5	1	2
	Sixties			
Lone parent family with no children			1	5
Single-never married			3	15
Single widowed			1	5
Married couple family-no dependents above pensionable age			15	75

By their fifties over 95% of those in Cohort B and 90% of those in Cohort C who made moves did so into owner occupied property (Table 7.9). Only 4 respondents out of both cohorts made moves into rented accommodation at this time and only one respondent was in tied accommodation. By their sixties there was a similarly low proportion of moves into rented accommodation - four moves in total. Two of those were made in response to 'crisis situations' – a redundancy and an inability to afford property once they had sold their house. The lack of availability of rented accommodation in rural areas is clearly reflected in these figures. Of the 5 households in tied or rented accommodation two of those moves were within suburban locations. This low figure reinforces the notion that those in rented accommodation in rural areas did not move during their later years.

Table 7.9 Tenure of Moves in fifties and sixties

	Cohort B	% B	Cohort C	% C
		Fifties		
Owned or part owned accommodation	19	95.0	37	90.2
Rented accommodation	1	5.0	3	7.3
Tied accommodation	0	0.0	1	2.4
		Sixties and beyond		
Owned or part owned accommodation			18	78
Rented accommodation			4	17
Tied accommodation			1	4

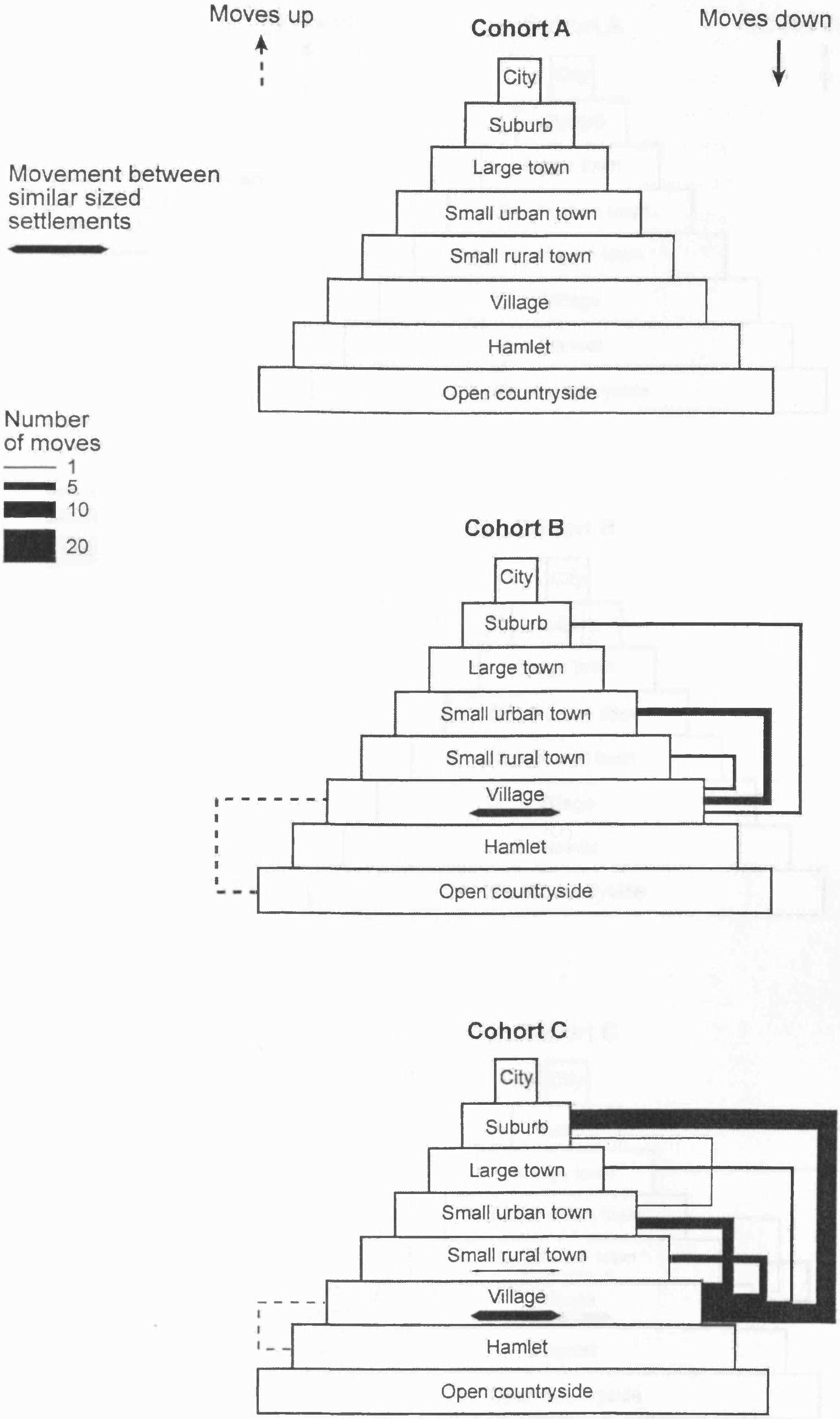
Of the moves undertaken by Cohorts B and C during their fifties and sixties the dominant direction for the moves was into smaller settlements, it being particularly prevalent among the members of Cohort C (Table 7.10). This must, however, not be over-emphasised since up to a third had moved between settlements of the same size. Notably closer inspection of these respondents revealed three counts of moves between villages and rural towns, which were still within the rural arena. By their sixties the trend of moving down the settlement hierarchy was being superseded by some movement up the settlement hierarchy although this was mostly between rural settlements (Table 7.10 and Figure 7.1) The motives behind this reversal in the direction of movement within the countryside will be discussed later in 7.2

Table 7.10 Movement along the Settlement hierarchy in fifties and sixties

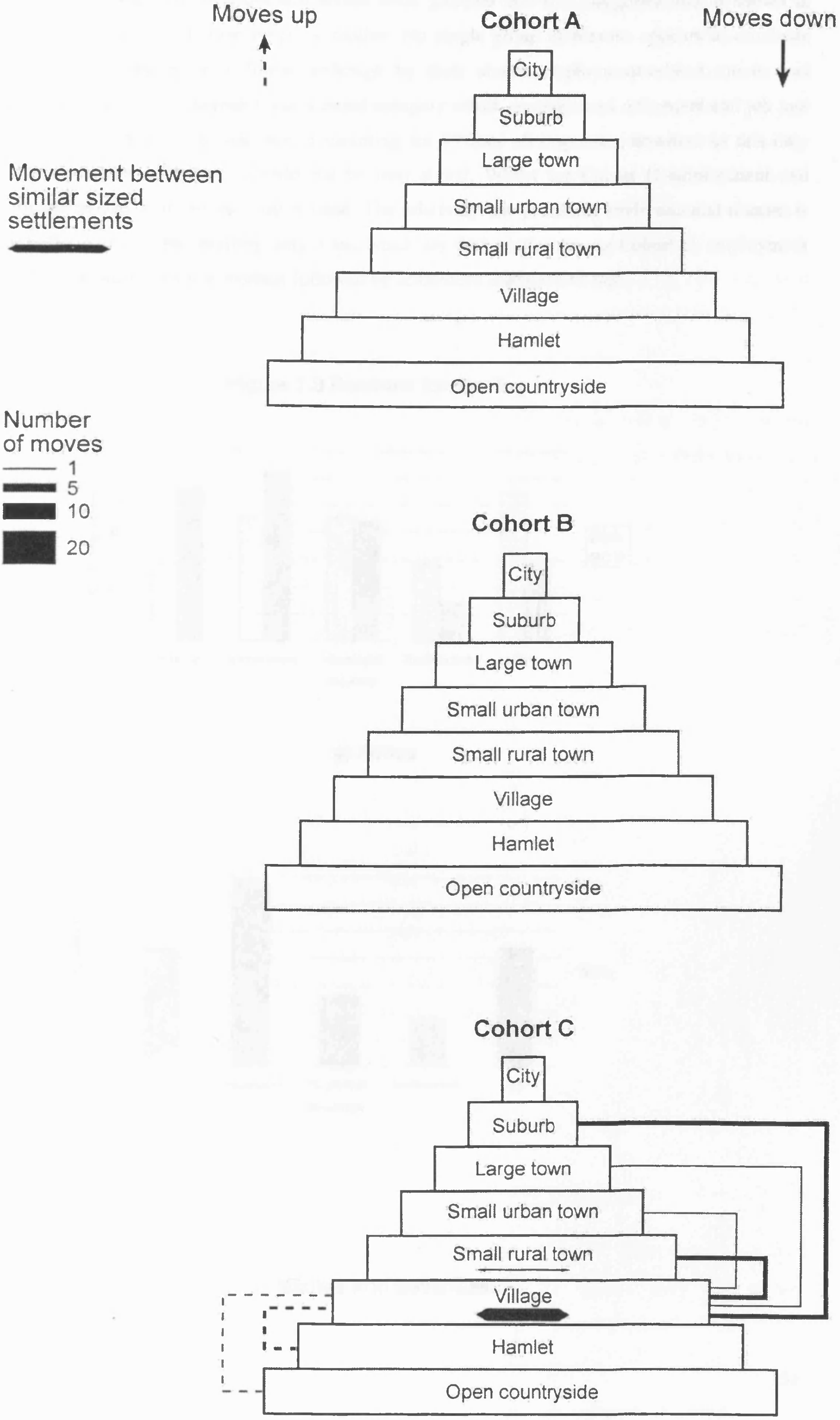
	Cohort B	% B	Cohort C	%C
Fifties				
Number of movers	16		35	
multiple movers	3		7	
Down - into smaller settlements	9	56	27	77
Up – into bigger settlements	2	13	1	3
same	5	31	7	20
Sixties				
Number of movers	/	/	20	
multiple movers	/	/		
Down - into smaller settlements	/	/	11	55
Up - into bigger settlements	/	/	4	20
same	/	/	5	25

As Cohort B are currently in their forties and fifties, moves in the respondent's fifties will clearly form for the most part their most recent move, therefore, the final settlement for all 16 movers was a village, and of those, only 2 had come from suburbs (Figure 7.1). On the other hand, among the older Cohort over 62% of the migrants had originated in urban centres.

Figure 7.1 Movement along the settlement hierarchy during the fifties


Moves up
Cohort A
Moves down
Movement between similar sized settlements
Number of moves
1
5
10
20
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort B
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort C
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

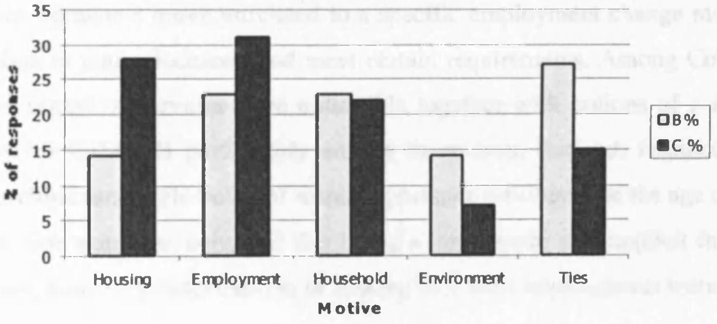
7.2 Movement along the settlement hierarchy during the sixties and seventies


Moves up
Cohort A
Moves down
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Movement between similar sized settlements
Number of moves
1
5
10
20
Cohort B
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside
Cohort C
City
Suburb
Large town
Small urban town
Small rural town
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

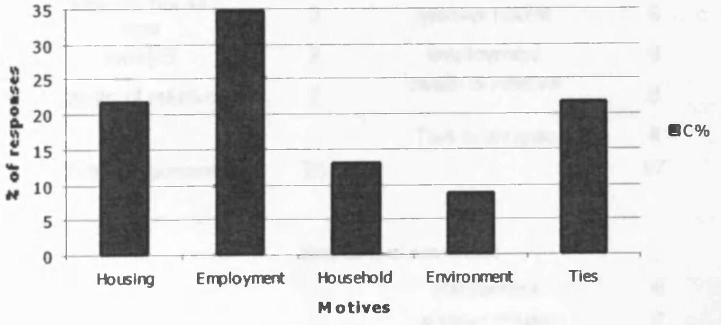
7.3 Reasons for moving

The reasons for moving in their fifties and sixties were grouped into five categories and as shown in Figure 7.3 illustrate quite a diverse range of motive. No single group of reasons appears to dominate moves made in the respondent's fifties, although by their sixties employment-related moves had increased proportionally. Employment was a broad category which encompassed retirement and job loss For Cohort B the largest group was 'ties' accounting for 27% of all responses, however as this only represents 6 responses differences should not be over stated. Whilst for Cohort C employment and housing considerations were the most often cited. The relatively low profile of environmental reasons is notable in both older cohorts, totalling only 8 responses. By their sixties among Cohort C, employment changes still remained the most important followed by household changes and ties.

Figure 7.3 Reasons for Moving



a) Fifties



b) Sixties and Seventies

Given the widespread range of motives for movement during the respondent's fifties, sixties and seventies, a closer inspection of individual responses indicates a more revealing picture (Table 7.11). In Cohort C, 8 out of 34, just under one quarter of interviewees gave retirement as the motivating factor in their fifties whilst no respondents currently in their fifties in Cohort B had made moves for retirement. A further 7 interviewees from Cohort C, both professionals and non-professionals cited redundancy and change in employment as the prime reason for moving. Whilst among Cohort B employment-led moves were only carried out by professionals and all those respondents or their partners were employed by large companies. By their sixties and seventies, 6 out of the 22 migrants in Cohort C, cited retirement as a motivating factor, but also gave multiple reasons for making these 'retirement moves', often as a result of interviewees having spent parts of their childhood in the area either on holiday or as evacuees. This suggests that retirement among those surveyed in Rutland and Tynedale was less important than would be expected in determining moves into the countryside in later life.

Housing requirements were fairly specific at this stage and rose in prominence during the later years. This may have been because a move unrelated to a specific employment change meant that respondents could take more time to make decisions and meet certain requirements. Among Cohort C, requirements for bungalows and access to services were noticeable together with notions of a specific cottage-style property. Whereas for Cohort B particularly among those from Rutland, farmhouses were clearly in demand with the architectural style being of some importance whether it be the age of the property or the type of stone used. For many the notion of this being a 'last' move was implicit in the way they spoke about their decisions, hence a greater caution in making sure their requirements were met.

Table 7.11 –Individual responses for moves made in fifties, sixties and seventies

	Cohort B		Cohort C
		Fifties	
Partner's job	3	Retirement	8
Ties - to area	3	redundancy	7
specific house type	2	smaller house	6
own job	2	employment	6
death of relative	2	death of relative	6
		Ties to an area	6
Total responses	25		67
		Sixties and seventies	
		Retirement	6
		smaller house	2
		employment	2
		death of relative	2
		Total	23 responses

Household changes primarily involved bereavement particularly among Cohort C. Bereavement was also a common reason for undertaking a move in their fifties with all respondents being widows not widowers; this was true of both professional and non-professional classes. Again, the relationship between household change and migration was not a direct causal relationship. Often, there was a delay in a move actually taking place as an 'adjustment period' was experienced with few examples of moves being made immediately. Indeed, this factor may well be under represented in the statistics, since the in-depth interviews revealed its growing significance in later life (see 7.4).

Most interestingly another common reason for making a move in their fifties to the particular villages was due to locational ties with the area. Although this only accounted for 8 responses in total these were clearly very important reasons for these respondents choosing certain localities. Of these ties the most common was the incidence of relatives living close by, previous holiday experiences in the locality including the ownership of a second home in the area. The combination of specific factors being interrelated was interesting in that over half of those who gave retirement also gave tie as the reason for moving also indicated the significance of locational ties. Similarly, bereavement was closely related to ties in determining migration (Table 7.11). This suggest that 'retirement' is a trigger mechanism' to migration but in itself does not predict the movement but rather in combination with 'locational ties' it facilitates the action and the direction of the flow.

Generally, frequent moves among respondents during their fifties were relatively uncommon and of those that did move changes in household circumstances such as a divorce, or children leaving home were the principal motivations. Among Cohort C, both professionals and non-professional had undertaken multiple moves in their fifties (Table 7.3). Whilst, the three multiple movers in Cohort B were all professionals and two of those moved due to their husband's employment, the other required a specific type of house.

In the selected study villages there were very few moves made post retirement in their late sixties; yet in the questionnaire survey it was clear that 15% of those already in their sixties proposed to move and a further 18% were unsure (Table 7.12).

Table 7.12 Potential future moves (in the next 5 years)

Response	A No of respondents	% of cohort	B No of respondents	% of cohort	C No of respondents	% of cohort
no	31	56	75	74	55	67
unsure	9	16	12	12	15	18
yes	15	27	15	15	12	15

Some of the most recent moves made by Cohorts C and B in their fifties and sixties were linked to their longer term strategies of moves and was particularly true of those in Cohort B. When asked if they would consider moving in the next five to ten years just under three quarters of the sample replied negatively. Various respondents made jokes that their next move would be in a box, clearly illustrating their intention to make this their last move. Of the entire sample only two of those who had planned moves among Cohort A, 3 among Cohort B and 2 among Cohort C planned to move out of the immediate area. Most of those who were planning to move intended to move into accommodation in the immediate vicinity. Among the oldest Cohort most were planning to move into accommodation suited to the needs of elderly into the local towns of Allendale and Hexham in Tynedale and Uppingham or Oakham in Rutland. Whilst respondents among Cohort's B intended to move to smaller houses or for personal reasons. Cohort A's intended moves were for a wide range of reasons including to enter into the private housing market, increase space for children, move away from main roads, moving to become less isolated as well as 'disliking the property consultant's choice'! This strategy would concur with Warnes typology (1992) of short distance moves or medium moves among those over the age of seventy. However, rather than this being specifically due to bereavement or income collapse or indeed frailty or chronic illness it seemed that people anticipated this and move in advance of becoming more dependent upon others. As with retirement, there was evidence that several wanted to move to establish social networks before anticipated changes in their household needs. Thus once again the complexities of decision-making were exposed revealing far from a clear-cut link between life course transitions and moves.

7.4 Summary of Findings

Just over one third of the sample moved in their fifties and by their sixties this had fallen to just over one quarter. There were only very small differences between age cohorts and field areas in the propensity to move during these later years and most respondents that had moved during their fifties had done so only once. Compared to the forties there was a significant reduction in the number of multiple movers. Most migrating households consisted of married couple families with no dependent children moving into owner-occupied property, although there were still a surprising number of larger households. Most moves were over a relatively short distance, within the same county although Cohort B contained a greater number of long distance movers compared to Cohort C.

The greatest differences between age cohorts appeared to be in the motives behind the moves and types of places being moved between. By the later years reasons for moving were far more diverse than earlier in their lives. Whilst employment factors still accounted for the greatest proportion of reasons given among cohorts B and C, retirement and redundancy were only cited as important in the oldest cohort during the sixties. Although generally movement by members in both older cohorts was down the settlement hierarchy during their fifites there was still notable movement between similarly sized settlement and by their sixties there was some movement up the settlement hierarchy. More of the older cohort had originated in urban areas in moves they had made in their later life compared to Cohort B.

7.5 Issues in the Decision-Making Process

Once again from the in-depth interviews undertaken with a sample of the respondents an attempt was made to glean some of the processes involved in the migration decisions made by those in their fifties, sixties and beyond. From the evidence contained in the questionnaire survey discussed in 7.3, the factors paramount in determining these migrations included employment, family and local ties and household transitions. Of course it must be re-emphasised that given the relatively small number of respondents included in the questionnaire survey under consideration it is difficult to make too many generalisations about those moves in later years. For Cohort B only 20 moves made by 16 migrants were under consideration. The number involved was slightly higher for Cohort C, with 42 moves being made by 35 migrants. Nevertheless, there still does appear to be certain aspects of moves made in these later years which are important factors in both the retirement migration process and that of migration into rural areas.

7.5.1 The Role of Employment

The expectation that changing circumstances in employment would generate moves particularly in the fifties and even into the sixties was not as evident as might have been expected, accounting for only one fifth of moves in Cohort B and under one third for Cohort C. During the process of collating residence histories in Part One of the research, many respondents alluded to employment changes as a reason for moving particularly where one or both household members were retiring but only few gave it as a specific reason for moving. There were only two examples where it was cited solely as the reason for moving. This could be due to the fact that as a variable, once formal employment careers had terminated, it was no longer relevant in any search for a different property and/or location. However, for many there was also often a sizeable delay of between one or two years after retirement had occurred before a change of residence took place. Whilst others pre-empted retirement and seemed to need to enter a community with an employment role before retiring so adjustment was not too great on all fronts. In this case, it was sometimes that one household member had stopped working or simply that the respondent's workload had been reduced or travel had been diminished. These respondents appeared more strategic about future moves, having planned employment changes and pre-empted household needs.

Cohort B: the role of employment factors in the later 1980s and early 1990s

From the in-depth interviews of members of Cohort B who moved during the late 1980s and early 1990s confirmed the findings of the questionnaire survey that early retirement or employment-restructuring was relatively insignificant as a determinant of residential change. For example; of the 14 migrants interviewed among Cohort B only one member had moved at the time of early retirement. But when employment was directly cited as having been responsible for making moves during their fifties it was often heavily entwined with household needs dictating the location and was therefore similar to those moves made in their forties. A typical example was a respondent that had lived in the countryside for the first 37 years of this life and had recently taken early retirement. He was keen to return to live in the countryside but had specific criteria for the kind of property and location that was desired.

> "We went into the estate agents and said what properties have you got within a certain radius. We came up this way. In fact we went over to the windmill Estate in Allendale and drove on to the estate and saw these little bungalows cheek by jowl and said that's not where we want to live and came straight back and as we were passing through Catton we said that's the sort of place we want to live. Something that looked like a village at that time there was a shop which included a post office where I could collect my pension.. But unfortunately that has closed but it's not too far from Allendale"
> (Catton C10 – Male married Cohort B)

Clearly this reinforces the process that triggers to migration necessary pre-condition, but the actual outcome of a potential move being made was dependent upon other more diverse factors associated with the search. A significant number of moves appeared to be between different rural settlements in search of specific housing or for emotional reasons as described in section 7.3.2.

Cohort C: The role of employment in the 1970s and early 1980s.

The role of employment changes in decisions to move by Cohort C was much more explicit, both in their fifties and sixties. Retirement, redundancy and employment changes accounted for 30% of all reasons given for moves made during their fifties, sixties and beyond. For some, having to take early retirement was something that they did not want to discuss and focused instead upon the search for property. There were quite different moves being made by this age cohort compared to Cohort B. A high proportion of respondents had moved from urban areas, most frequently suburbs. For the Tynedale sample this was frequently moves from within Tyne and Wear, but also incorporated a series of regional moves. Several of these were forms of return migration enabled by the change of employment. Among both cohorts having made a decision to move, some household members had very specific ideas about where they wanted to live and therefore looked for property specifically within these geographically confined areas. For others having decided upon relatively local region (within the same district) the search was much wider. On the other hand, for some of the respondent the choice of village was much more a 'chance' element. For example, a couple originally from Lancashire but had worked in Tyneside for many years had a long-term desire to build their own property but had failed to do so because of family commitments. Retirement, however, provided the couple with an opportunity to achieve their ambition:

> "A: In the first place we had gone round various places trying to find a plot of land because we still had the plans for the original bungalow. We looked everywhere we could think of but at that time there just wasn't any land to be had .. there were restrictions and no one seemed to want to sell land anyway so eventually we just started looking for a bungalow somewhere.
> A: There weren't many.
> B: We went to Rothbury and around Hexham and this one just came up. I suppose we could have been somewhere quite different."
> (Catton C75 Female and Male Cohort C)

Clearly the choice of location was highly dependent upon the availability of land for building. Also from the in-depth interviews it was apparent that the kind of search undertaken was dependent upon whether the move was perceived as being the 'last' move or simply a 'short-term' measure. Generally, the former involved more lengthy detailed search unless the respondent had, prior to the move a connection with the locality on the other hand searching for what was viewed as a 'short stay was much more fragmentary and brief. Not surprisingly, by the age of sixty 'retirement moves' were more prominent with 8 members citing this as a reason for moving. These retirement moves were very much more related to long-term plans or goals than any other move. Many in Cohort C had strong links or emotional ties of the areas. This interdependence between employment change, migration strategies and locational ties are clearly illustrated in the next section

7.5.2 The Role of locational Ties

The role of locational ties has been discussed with respect to moves made during the middle years (section 6.4.3). In the later years the nature of those locational ties were re-emphasised. By drawing attention to migration per se, made individuals consider their position within the fabric of the local community and this became apparent in many forms. Some people would immediately defend their choice of residence with their knowledge of the area their level of contribution to the community. It may well have been the case that merely asking individuals about their roots made them feel the need to 'legitimise' their claim to this particular rural space (see 9.2). Thus any discussion of 'ties' should perhaps be considered with caution given the emotive nature of this relationship. Nevertheless the importance of ties for moves made in their later years appeared to be most prominent in the Cohort C, yet was still evident among respondents in Cohort B.

Cohort C The Role of Locational Ties in the late 1970s and early 1980s

Among the members of Cohort C the in-depth interviews revealed that among the Tynedale sample in particular moves in later life were determined by long-term locational ties. Many of those now resident in Catton and Allenheads had been evacuated to these and adjacent villages during the war or later stayed in the villages on holiday. A common feature in this part of England was a flow of households from the coast to the countryside on holiday and later this became residence. Not surprisingly therefore is that the small town of Allendale is known locally as 'Little Shields' because so many of them have moved there from North Shields in Newcastle.

> "You see I have connections with Allendale because my grandparents, my grandfather were brought up in Allendale and we used to visit here a lot when we were young...there were friends of ours, two girls we went to school with and they used to come up with. Lots of families I've heard of since, used to come and stay at Heather lee (*local hotel*) you know. A lot of children came up during the school holidays and of course children were evacuated here during the war. It's also a very popular route from Newcastle to come up to Allendale and go right through down back through to Weardale to Durham, to do a circular route. The elderly lady who lives two doors away she's over 80 now, and she used to come with her family when they were young." (C68 widower from Seaham)

> " As a little girl I was brought over to Allendale as an extra special treat by friends in the early 30's. We only came as day trippers what we did was take a picnic up to Weardale and then come back through Allendale" (C17 Female single)

From the discussion with the respondents it became evident that partners often had different ties to different areas which caused difficulties when attempting to choose a new locality or village (Seavers 1998). In several cases it was the husband's link to a place that prevailed in the residential decision-making. This is illustrated in the two cases cited below:

> "He spent a lot of time at Crook during the war, no rather, before the war in his young days because his relatives were there and he and his brother used to cycle in this area a lot...he knew it very well and always talked about coming to live here"
> (Catton C 17 Widower)

> "We both loved the countryside and as a boy Jim had spent nearly all his holidays with an aunt in Hexham so we've always loved this area."(C12 widow –from Lancashire)

However, this point must not be over-emphasised since:

> "our Mary says 'That's it we're going home'. So we came up to Allendale. We had got a job which meant that we alright as far as anyone went like you see we were off the breadline that was it .. but no ....I don't think she ever .. she always felt like her people were up this way. In a lot of cases she missed out on a quite a lot of things that were happening in the family." (A28 Male married)

Interestingly, it appeared that a desire to return to their place of youth was more prevalent among the lower social classes. For example; an ex-miner, having moved down to Sheffield for work then retired through ill-health came back to Allenheads.

> "Well I always imagined that I would have retired back here. Yes it's funny how it always works out at the finish. But these things happen and you think to yourself well I didn't expect things to happen in quite this way but we got here in the end"
> (A28 Male married)

Certainly among the older cohort childhood memories of holidays in the countryside and positive images associated with evacuation underpinned a great deal of their long term residential strategy. However, this may be an over-simplification since no doubt that during the discussions there was a tendency for several respondents to over-play the importance of ties as a means of explaining their actions. Yet, such a strategy gave their residence histories some coherence and structure.

Cohort B The Role of Locational Ties in the Late 1980s and early 1990s

Another dimension to 'ties' is that over time householders build up a great affinity for the place and a corresponding social network. This type of 'tie' is one that can be made by individuals who have moved long distances and in a sense have no 'roots' in the place as such. One respondent, whose family was from Lancashire and as a couple had subsequently moved to Northumberland described this process:

> "Well it was friendly but I was leaving all my family and friends behind and Linda .had grown up by then I think you make friends quicker when you have young children and we were wondering what it was going to be like. Well Ken was in working and he had to talk to the students. But actually when we did get to H. and there was lady who had come one door but next to us and she had come from Lancashire and she started to talk to us and introduced us to loads of people, all by their Christian names I might add...and we made more friends than...We knew more people than we had over twenty years and in any of the other places. .We're too committed around here now. I go way-marking on a..."
> (C75 Female married)

Among the Rutland sample, whose origins were much more disparate than those from Tynedale, many of the ties seemed to be ones associated with having moved into the area initially for employment but over time built up a strong sense of attachment to the area.

> "Henry was made a production manager in Leicester so we moved up this way. Were looking for something similar, we had got used to village life ...but I can't imagine being anywhere else now."
> (L06 Married female)

Significantly, it was evident that locational ties contributed to the retention of households in the countryside. For example, in Rutland the public schools of Oakham and Uppingham attracted families with school-aged children to the county and of course those employed in the schools and there was a strong tendency for them to remain within the are in later life.

> "We feel very attached to the area all our activities have been centred round Uppingham and Oakham and we have lots of friends and connections. Sometimes going to market day on a Friday I can't get along just keep stopping and meeting people and I look on Uppingham in an entirely different way having been retired from the school for six years. I can walk round the town it's happened quickly and I can walk round the town and I don't feel at all responsible for the naughty boys I can walk on quite happily."
> (P08 Male married moved from local market town to Preston)

Interestingly several retirement move in Rutland involved short distances between the small towns and the villages reflecting the strong affinity with this part of lowland England

> "Our friends are all there and I don't think we will suddenly move to London or the coast I can't see any reason for doing that we're very much Rutlanders now and we like Uppingham and Lyddington. It's the school which was the magnet we could well have been set for life in Sherborne in the west or Marlborough it wouldn't really have mattered it was where one wanted to teach." (L04 Male retired)

On the other hand, the effect of locational ties holding household to particular localities must not be over-emphasised because a number of cases felt that the close-knit nature of small village communities were too claustrophobic and so tended to move up the settlement hierarchy

> "I needed a change. Everyone was in each other's pockets – you couldn't move without someone knowing your business – it was well, too claustrophobic I suppose"
> (L06 Female- married)

7.5.3 The Role of Household Transitions

The questionnaire survey showed that households in both Cohorts B and C that moved in their fifties and sixties were generally one or two person households and few larger households moved at this time. This is not surprising given that by this age-time one might expect that the majority of households were becoming smaller as children left home. As mentioned earlier it would seem logical that households whose dependent children had left home might move because the need for space had declined. But this was not a clear-cut issue. The questionnaire survey revealed the changes in household structure between the time of the survey and when the move was made into the village. This showed that there were many households where changes had occurred either in household composition or size but no movement had taken place.

Cohort C The role of household transitions in the late 1970s and early 1980s

Among the respondents in Cohort C the importance of household transitions in influencing migration was unclear, as there appeared to be a range of responses. Moving due to a diminishing household size due to children leaving home this was rarely mentioned explicitly, this may have been due to the fact that the children had left home quite sometime before the move took place and therefore was not at the forefront of respondent's minds. For others whose children had only recently left home, the decision not to make further moves immediately was apparent – thus potential future moves were not undertaken until their children were deemed to be 'settled'. Some also incorporated their children's network of friends as part of the reasons for staying within the local area, this demonstrated the importance of the wider household in the decision-making process. There was a noticeable difference between the attitudes of professional and non-professional households towards their children's involvement in future moves. Broadly speaking when questioned about current household structure the non-professional households included independent children, often male, whereas professional households the fact that 'independent' children had been part of the household for several years did not transpire until some way through the interview process. The parents' attitudes that the stays were likely to be temporary were apparent but clearly the children's situations impacted upon their parent's ability to move into different accommodation and moves were therefore not undertaken due to their children still being in situations regarded as temporary by their parents. Similarly, moves were again not undertaken by older couples despite having relatively large houses, partly because they wanted to have space for their children and grandchildren to visit them during holidays. Thus although in time households may make moves to adjust to housing requirements many moves were not undertaken immediately children left home as through the year their needs fluctuated.

There were quite a number of examples of households which contained widows and widowers and interestingly some of these had moved into the village due to bereavement whilst others had been widowed in their homes and decided to remain there. This traumatic change in household structure clearly affected different individuals in different ways. For some, particularly where there appear to have been different migration agendas in the household, bereavement acted as a stimulus to move. Whilst for others, the memory of their spouse in the family home, together with the social network they had created acted as a force to keep them in their house.

> "It was for the best, he had not been well for a bit I have lots of friends up here now and my family come and see me.. You see my daughter's close and I like being here...it's just right. I didn't see the point in moving on when I was quite happy, true he isn't here but he is at peace and I'm not running away from him."
> (C34 Non-professional widow)

As with earlier periods of life, decision-making within households often involved compromise, upon bereavement although there was sometimes pressure from other family members there were several examples of respondents who were then able to make personal choices. One interviewee appeared to have waited until after her husband had died to fulfil her dream of moving to the country.

> "Well I'd been at my son's at Christmas in Haydon Bridge and he says come on we'll go up to the Crown I was sitting in there and they were all getting drunk and I ended up making black coffee and chips for everyone and it was about midnight when we come out and I seen this place and I thought just four walls. I've always liked this country. I wanted my husband to get a little cottage in the country where we could spend weekends and I says alright how about a trailer ... but he says I'm not spending all week working and all weekends painting trailers like I've seen everyone else doing. That's not for me. However, when my son moved up to Haydon Bridge he joined a golf club and they had intended him and his dad to play. When he died my son was really upset and he says you know if dad hadn't died you wouldn't be up here so however...." (C31Non-professional widow)

The relationship between migration and bereavement was dependent upon the individual circumstances of the household in terms of their financial situation, the closeness of relatives together with social ties. As with retirement, although bereavement triggered moves there was often a considerable time lag and seemingly immobility associated with it. A more detailed study is needed focusing specifically upon households containing widows and widowers to analyse the particular circumstances which influence migration.

Cohort B The role of household transitions in the late 1980s and early 1990s

For the same reasons outlined above and given the relatively younger age of households in Cohort B, moves during their fifties were rarely precipitated by household transitions. Only four responses were attributed to changes in household and two of these were bereavement, the other two were moves into accommodation containing annexed flats so that ageing parents could live alongside.

7.6 Processes in common

Early retirement was relatively insignificant as a factor promoting moves among respondents in Cohort B during their fifties. In contrast, early retirement was cited relatively frequently by members of Cohort C, but in conjunction with other factors such as locational ties. Respondents from Cohort C in both Rutland and Tynedale exhibited similar propensities to move from urban areas to adjacent countryside within the region. Locational ties appeared to be important among both cohorts but particularly within Tynedale where respondents had previously lived in the area or visited on holiday. Among the Rutland sample, locational specific capital accrued though living within the adjacent area was more evident. However, in-depth interviews in both areas and among both cohorts illustrated the delay between retiring and moving such that other reasons for moving might have appeared more prominent within the survey. This reiterates the importance of viewing the move as an 'action in time' where different factors for moving dominate at different points in time. Surprisingly, among both cohorts moves in the later years were precipitated infrequently by household transitions. Evaluating migration events though time is also important since despite the logical assumption that moves would occur alongside household transitions, such as children leaving home and bereavement, many householders chose to remain in their houses.

7.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, in their fifties and sixties, fewer moves were made by fewer people and only a handful of respondents made multiple moves. As with the middle years, the majority of moves were short distance and long distance moves at a later age were uncommon amongst these rural inhabitants. So too, bearing in mind the relatively small number of migrants involved it seems that class was a determinant of migrant potential during the later years. There were distinct differences in the types of settlement being moved between in the two cohorts in their fifties; Cohort B had much larger proportion whom had originated in a rural area, whilst Cohort C's moves many had come from urban areas. For both moves into and out of small rural towns was an important intermediately step. Those fewer respondents who did move did so for a great variety of reasons and the relative importance of local factors and emotional ties seemed to be particularly prevalent during these later years.

CHAPTER 8: Migration through time: patterns

8.1 Introduction

Having discussed the migration patterns of the younger, middle and later years separately, in greater detail, the aim of this chapter is to compare the findings of each age-time period and consider the wider picture of susceptibility to migrate through a lifetime as a whole. The chapter begins by evaluating the frequency of migrating through a lifetime, this is then followed with an account of who migrated and a discussion of frequent movers. The next section summarises how far migrants moved and how long they stayed in each residence and how this has changed through time. Changing household size and structure is then considered in relation to migration though a lifetime. Although reasons for moving have been discussed in some depth in the preceding analysis chapters this chapter aims to analyse how those reasons have changed through the migrant's lifetimes. The final part of this chapter attempts to determine the direction of movement along the settlement hierarchy of these migrants.

8.2 The frequency of movement

It has generally been assumed that the propensity to migrate has increased through time, yet data relating to individual's mobility are scarce due to the lack of data sources available (Clarke 1982; Lewis 1982). The mean number of moves was determined by dividing the total number of moves made by each cohort by the total number of migrants in each cohort. The mean number of moves was similarly calculated by dividing the total length of time (cumulative ages of respondents) by the number of moves (Table 8.1). Since the life courses in the Tynedale and Rutland sample were not complete, the migration histories were clearly only complete up to the point of survey. In other words more moves will probably be undertaken by many individuals and clearly the length of stay will increase for many of those moves.

Table 8.1 Mean number of moves by age cohort

	Cohort C	Cohort B	Cohort A	All Moves
Mean number of moves				
All moves	4.21	4.39	3.97	4.25
Mean length of residence				
All moves (years)	11.18	6.06	3.37	6.97

Pooley and Turnbull's historical study found that there was little difference between men and women in the frequency of mobility over time but that there was a marked increase in the frequency of mobility of households over time (Table 8.2). The mean number of moves undertaken during the course of this historical sample's lifetime was 4.8 with a mean length of residence of 10.8 years at any one address (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 59). The sample data however does lend support to the apparent rise in mobility over time, given that both younger cohorts have similar mean number of moves compared with the oldest cohort despite the reduced time-span.

Table 8.2 Mean number of moves and mean length of residence by gender and birth cohort

	1750-1819	1820-49	1850-89	1890-1930	All Moves
Mean number of moves					
Male	3.3	4.5	5.2.	7.1	4.7
Female	3.2	4.2	5.4	7.0	5.0
All moves	3.3	4.4	5.3	7.0	4.8
Mean length of residence (years)					
Male	13.5	10.9	10.7	8.0	10.7
Females	14.2	11.6	11.2	8.8	10.9
All moves	13.6	11.1	10.9	8.4	10.8

Data Source 16,091 life histories provided by family historians (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 59)

More startling however, is the difference in length of residence between the younger and older cohorts (Table 8.1), whilst Cohort C's length of stay on average was 11.18 years, similar to the historical figure of 10. 8 years, the youngest cohort's average length of stay was only 3.37. Clearly, this is intrinsically linked to the relative age of Cohort A and would in time most likely increase, nevertheless the shorter stays point to an increased mobility in general. This discussion has referred to the sample as whole and undoubtedly the mean figures masked the variety in migration habits among respondents. This first section has demonstrated a clear increase in mobility though time, further examination of the characteristics of the migrants will reveal whether there were notable differences between migrants in terms of social class through time and between case study areas.

8.2 Selectivity of migrants

According to previous studies, summarised in Figure 2.3, the propensity to migrate through a lifetime has remained stable over time with only small differences between males and females. Given the sample size in this study, no attempt was made to examine differences in migration behaviour between genders. Yet, this study has found a similar pattern of propensity to migrate; the propensity to move increased steeply between the teens and twenties as children left their parental home, migration propensity remained high until the early thirties but the frequency of movement dropped steadily with a slight reduction in the rate of decline around retirement (Figure 8.1). Particularly noticeable however, was the lack of difference between cohorts, given the very different historical times in which these moves took place. Cohort A undertook a greater proportion of moves earlier in their lives, that is in their teens, but by their twenties and thirties the proportions of migrants contained in Cohort A were similar to their older counterparts. Cohort B contained a small but consistently higher proportion of the sample that had moved earlier in their lives but by their fifties the level of moves accounted for by Cohort C had overtaken that of B. Thus, despite expectations about the level of increased mobility, in terms of the *proportion* of the sample that migrated this remained fairly consistent through time. However, as discussed later although the proportions of migrants within the sample appear to have remained similar over time those migrants appear to have moved more frequently.

Figure 8.1 Proportion of migrants that moved within each age-time period.
Sample sizes n= for Cohort A= 58 (*except 30s when n=40), Cohort B= 104(*except 50s, n=55) Cohort C =82 (*except 70s when n=41)

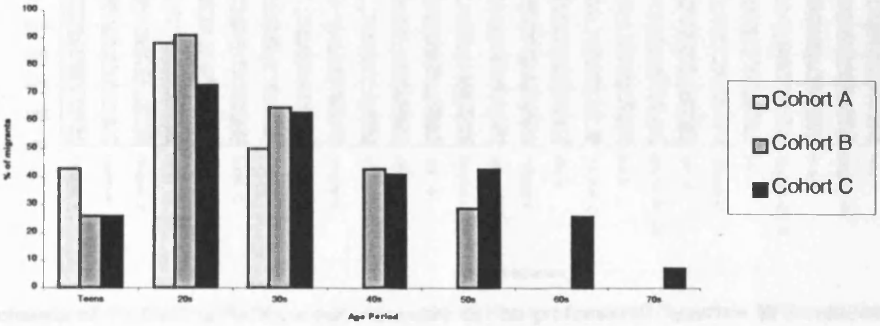
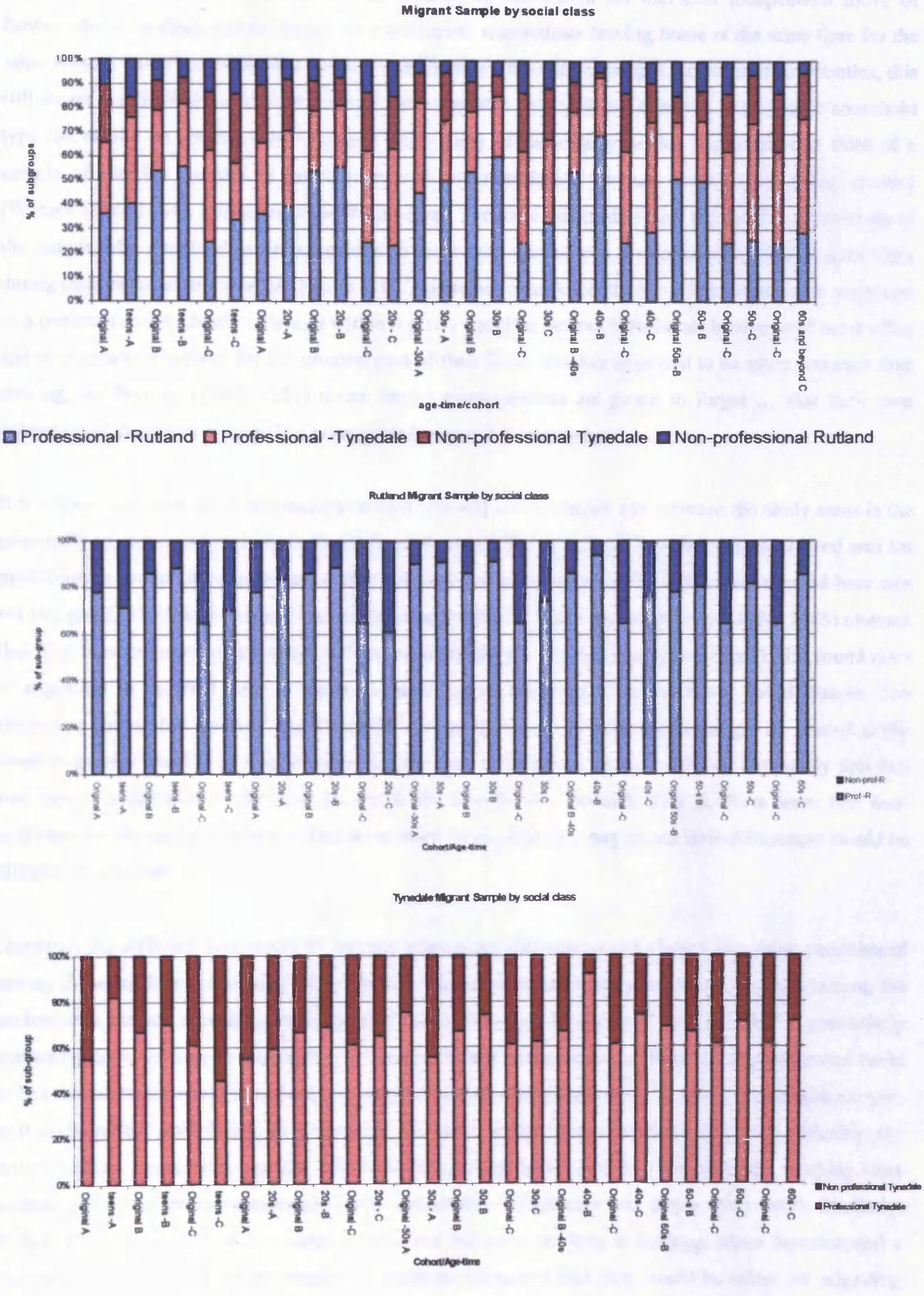


Figure 8.2 illustrates the relative proportions of the origin of migrants and their social class (professional or non-professional). The x-axis shows the contrasting composition of the potential migrant sample (labelled 'original') with the migrant sample in each given age. Thus each pair indicates any differences between the two. Clearly, it is shown that there was a predominance of professionals that existed in both Rutland and Tynedale migrant samples though note the relatively larger professional composition of the Rutland sample. Barring a few exceptions, generally, as might be expected there was a slightly higher proportion of professional migrants compared to non-professionals but surprisingly this difference was only marginal (between 5-10%). The proportions of the migrants within each study area were similar among all three cohorts, thus it does not seem as if the number of moves undertaken throughout these migrants' lives is a reflection of living in a particular study area. Whilst the professional group have been slightly more mobile, non-professionals have nevertheless been responsible for a relatively large number of moves.

Figure 8.2 Proportion of migrants compared to original sample by social class



The proportions of migrants compared to non-migrants among the sample of residence histories recorded stayed roughly constant throughout comparable age-times. The greatest difference was found in Cohort A, where 15% more moved in their teens, but a correspondingly lower proportion moved in their twenties. This difference could reflect the overriding motivation for that first independent move of further education discussed in chapter five with more respondents leaving home at the same time for the same reason. However, whilst the greatest proportion of the survey sample moved in their twenties, this still meant that 30% or more did not move. Although this finding is not confined to a specific household type the results do concur with Warnes (1986) study of the elderly, which found that one third of a sample of married couples in privately owned accommodation had not moved since being married (Warnes 1986: 1584). Furthermore, in Rutland and Tynedale this study found the relative proportions of the sample who remained *in situ* compared to those who moved was greater in all age-times apart from during their twenties and thirties (Figure 8.1). This rather contradicts the view that migration is perceived as a common event; clearly although within a given age-time period, individuals have moved more often and over greater distances for the greatest part of their lives, stability appeared to be more common than moving. As Warnes (1986: 1591) notes 'social commentators are prone to forget ... that their own behaviour of their own stratum is a poor guide to the entire population".

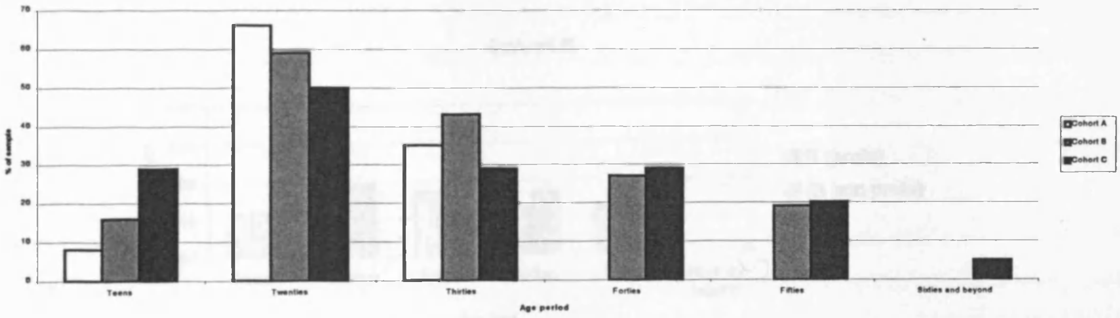
It is evident that only small differences existed between social classes and between the study areas in the propensity to move, particularly in the early adult years (Figure 8.2). Although the general trend was for professionals groups to migrate more than the non-professional group the difference revealed here was not that great, which is in marked contrast to other evidence. For example Warnes (1986: 1585) claimed that 'that there is pronounced social difference in mobility '. Whilst Grundy and Fox (1985) found rates of migration in the first year of marriage were lowest for those from the lower social classes. The difference among the Rutland and Tynedale movers compared to other studies might be related to the possible greater number of opportunities for the non-professional group locally or alternately that this was simply a function of the way in which the sample was derived. That is, there were few non-professionals within each cohort within these study areas, and thus any appreciable differences would be difficult to establish.

However, the different propensity to migrate among the different social classes was more pronounced among those in their forties and fifties than in the younger and later years when migrants among the professional classes moved more frequently those from non-professional classes. This is particularly interesting because there is little evidence for such trends in the literature. Possibly, this difference could reflect the relatively small sample of non-professionals in their forties and fifties in the Rutland sample, or it could reflect immobility, in general, of the lower social classes in which there is a widening gap between social classes through life. Thus providing confirmation of the view that "the working class habitus appears to be more associated with immobility" (Halfacree and Boyle 1993: 342). Similarly, Hodge (1985) in a study of redundant miners and industrial workers in Kellogg, Idaho demonstrated a reluctance to leave even when economic conditions suggested that they would be better off migrating elsewhere. To a certain extent this kind of evidence suggests that this link between working class habitus and immobility is actually an expression of an association between the working class and community (Bell and Newby; 1971 Frankenberg 1966). Essentially, it has been argued that family and cultural ties anchor individuals and households to a locality despite the absence of economic and housing opportunities. However, in this instance this theory is less plausible given that for other age time periods the differences are less clear cut. Furthermore among the respondents in Tynedale and Rutland the fear of not being able to return if they moved away was paramount, in other words, rising house prices and an inability to compete with prospective house buyers was a major disincentive to move.

8.4 Variation in frequency of movement

So far what has been shown is that although the number of moves has increased through time the proportions of the sample that moved has remained fairly constant. However, the following section addresses the frequency of moves undertaken by each age cohort. Figure 8.3 reveals the proportion of those migrants who move more than once within each age-time period. Cohort A contained relatively low levels of multiple movers in their teens, with a greater proportion in their twenties, almost 15% more multiple movers in their twenties in Cohort A compared to Cohort C in their twenties. This would seem to suggest that whilst the general level of migration appears to have increased this could be attributed to similar proportions of the sample moving more frequently within certain time periods, namely in their twenties.

Figure 8.3 Proportion of multiple movers within each age cohort and age-time



An alternative approach to comparing levels of migration and multiple movers is by means of the number of moves made by each age cohort. A crude indicator of this mobility has been derived which may be termed a 'mobility index'; this divided the number of moves made within each age cohort in a given time period by the number of migrants. A figure close to one indicated a low number of multiple movers whilst a high number indicated a greater number of multiple movers. Figures 8.4 illustrates the similarities between all three age cohorts apart from moves made in their twenties. During this age-time the mobility index of Cohort A was roughly double of Cohort C and at least one third greater than Cohort B. Interestingly, in all three cohorts the non-professional group compared to the professional group had undertaken more moves in their teens.

Figure 8.4 Mobility index of all cohorts

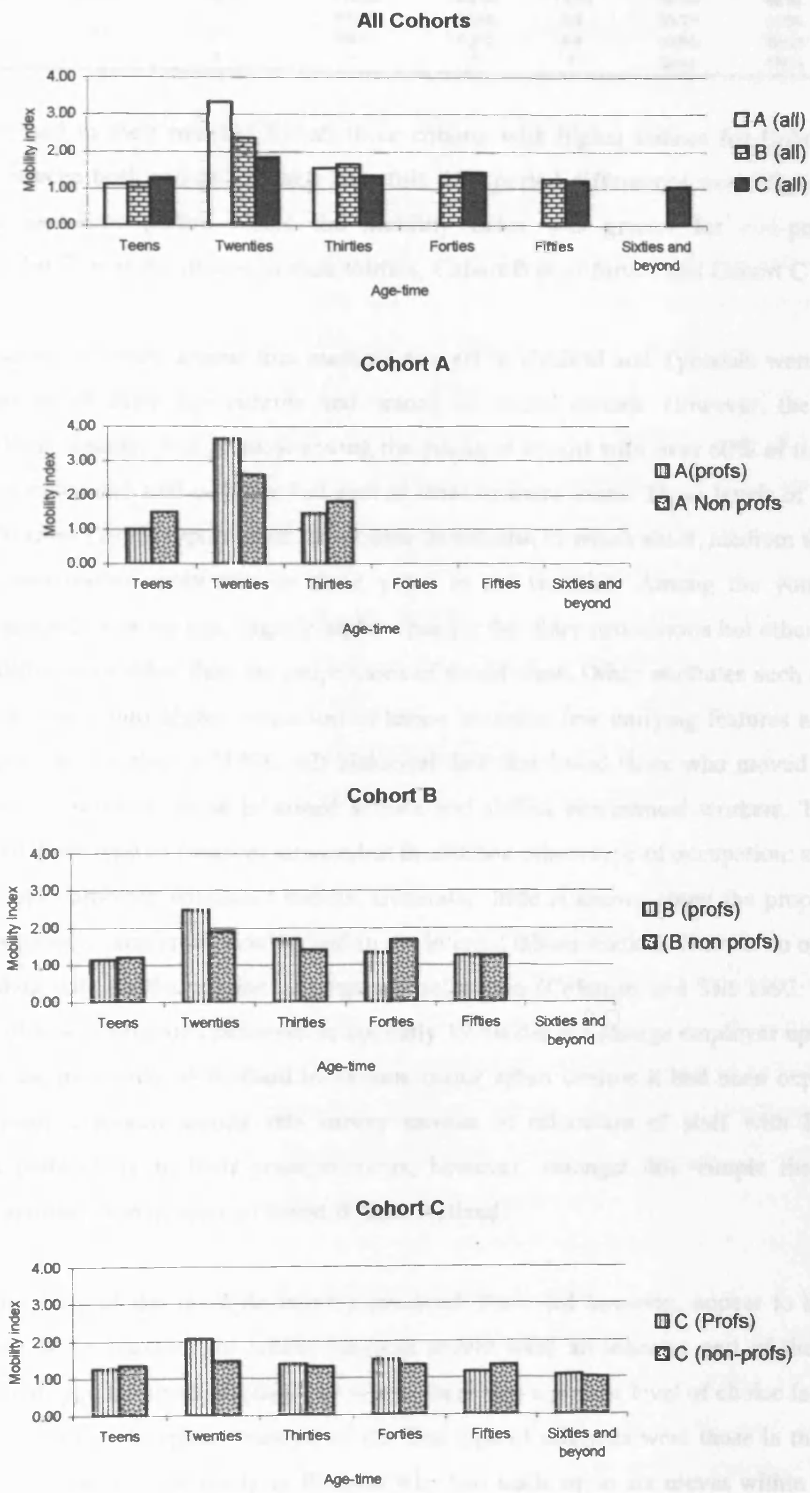


Table 8.3 Origin of mobility index: number of moves/number of migrants

	A (all)	A(profs)	A Non profs	B (all)	B (profs)	(B non profs)	C (all)	C (Profs)	C (non-profs)
teens	28/25	19/19	6/9	31/27	25/22	6/5	27/21	12/15	12/9
20s	170/51	131/36	39/15	225/95	191/77	34/18	110/60	78/38	32/22
30s	31/20	22/15	9/5	112/68	98/58	14/10	70/52	48/35	22/17
40s	*	*	*	61/45	56/42	5/3	49/34	37/25	12/9
50s	*	*	*	20/16	15/12	5/4	42/35	30/26	12/9
60s	*	*	*	*	*	*	22/21	17/16	5/5

This was reversed in their twenties for all three cohorts with higher indices for Cohort A but similar differences between both sub-groups and after this time period differences were slight. In each cohort there is one age time period where the mobility index was greater for non-professionals than professionals; for Cohort A this was in their thirties, Cohort B their forties and Cohort C their fifties.

From the evidence it would appear that multiple movers in Rutland and Tynedale were common in the younger years in all three age cohorts and among all social classes. However, the level of repeat migration in their twenties was greatest among the youngest cohort with over 60% of the sample having moved at least twice and half of those had moved three or more times. These levels of repeat migration concur with Warnes (1992) typology of life-course transitions, in which short, medium and long distance moves were undertaken every two or three years in the twenties. Among the younger cohort the incidence of multiple movers was slightly higher than for the older two cohorts but otherwise, there were no apparent differences other than the proportions of social class. Other attributes such as specific types of employment, entry into higher education or tenure revealed few unifying features amongst multiple movers. Pooley and Turnbull's (1998: 62) historical data that found those who moved most frequently included domestic services, those in armed service and skilled non-manual workers. This study found examples of all these type of frequent movers but in addition others type of occupation: shepherding, The Police force, and corporate relocation moves. Generally, little is known about the proportion of labour migrants as company transferees moving within the internal labour market. There is no official published source providing data on the volume of corporate relocation (Coleman and Salt 1992: 428). However, about a third of labour migrants surveyed in the early 1970s did not change employer upon moving (Salt 1984). Given the proximity of Rutland to various major urban centres it had been expected that there would be greater evidence among this survey sample of relocation of staff with large employing organisations particularly in their younger years, however, amongst this sample there were only a handful of examples, mostly among Cohort B from Rutland.

Despite the diversity of the multiple movers involved; there did however, appear to be two different types. The first were migrants for whom frequent moves were an inherent part of their employment, whilst the second type involved migrants for whom there was a greater level of choice in the moves they had been able to make. A typical example of the first type of migrants were those in the armed forces; there were several cases, particularly in Rutland who had made up to six moves within a ten year time period. This would mean that the level of repeat migration by those in say the armed forces could be explained quite easily in relation to specific guidelines or requirements of the armed services at the time. Likewise corporate relocation could be explained in part by the business strategies of the time. Whilst those in the second group were much more diverse, examples included those who had entered higher or further education, those who had moved away from home into shared accommodation and those households who were in rented accommodation. The dwindling supply of rented accommodation availability through time would seem to contradict this notion, yet this may have the effect of geographically clustering mobile repeat migrants in urban areas where levels of rented accommodation are higher. This second group appeared to have one feature in common that they had in someway become accustomed to moving as will be explained in the following section.

Clearly from here the question needs to be asked as to why multiple movers increased over time, particularly among the younger cohorts. There are at least two possible explanations. Firstly, that the conditions underlying migration in the younger years are promoting increased migration during the twenties or secondly, that the evidence is somewhat compromised. Unfortunately strictly comparable evidence is scarce given different data sources and different time periods used. Beginning with the notion that changing circumstances have prompted more frequent migration may certainly be true of a sector of the population. Undoubtedly one of the main reasons preventing the older cohorts from forming independent households in the past at an earlier point in time was the financial aspects; they simply could not afford to move, even in some cases upon marriage. This is related to the social norms and peer expectations of the time, which have clearly changed. Whilst entry into further education in the past may have involved lodging with households for the entire period respondents were studying, in more recent times expectations are that young people will share accommodation, often changing frequently (every year) because the opportunity arises. This tendency of frequent moving as part of an expectation may be related to the notion that 'migration breeds migration' (Coleman and Salt 1992).

The notion of multiple movers or "chronic migrants" has been acknowledged for over forty years and it is well known that recent migrants often migrate again (Goldstein 1958, Morrison 1971, DaVanzo 1981: 5). Furthermore, DaVanzo (1981) concluded that the effect of previous migration on subsequent migration appeared largely due to the fact that the consequence of one move often became the cause of the next and that people return to places they have recently left. He made a distinction between 'chronic migrants' whose migration propensities remain high and 'return' migrants who have undergone a series of moves and then return to their place of origin and were unlikely to move again. This was interpreted in terms of 'specific location capital'; in other words assets that are more valuable in their present location and cannot be found elsewhere (DaVanzo 1981: 45). More recently Bailey (1989: 316) also tentatively confirmed the 'chronic migrant hypothesis', though he did acknowledge the impact of a relatively small but highly mobile cohort such as the college and military population upon the overall pattern. These types of explanation rely on the notion of social ties in preventing moves occurring. Although empirical evidence was lacking, a small but notable minority moved 'because they were used to moving'. This would confirm Da Vanzo's (1981: 48) second hypothesis; "learning by doing" whereby the propensity to migrate is positively correlated to the number of previous moves. People who have migrated before, may be adept at collecting and processing migrant–relevant information. This was not confined to any specific cohort, individuals from all three-age cohorts conformed to this theory. However, if more individuals in younger generations move way from their immediate surrounds and undertake relatively frequent moves to go onto further education then it may well be that they 'learn how to move' and continue to migrate more frequently than their previous generations. This has important implications with regard to some of the reasons for multiple moves in the younger cohort. By getting onto the migration train at an early age, and by breaking many of the social ties with the home region, it becomes easier to contemplate and carry through subsequent movements (Coleman and Salt 1992: 409). This study would seem to suggest that there is some evidence of repeat migration being a form of learned behaviour that creates restlessness within some people. However, there was contradictory evidence to suggest that this repeat migration also had the effect of making people more sedentary and certainly attempting to provide more stability for their children's futures. Further to Bailey (1989)'s ideas this latter quest to settle down did not always emerge as a form of return migration, for some it simply meant placing more importance upon existing social ties that had been gained.

The second explanation is that the real extent of multiple migration has been exaggerated among those in their twenties, over-stated perhaps due to the nature of retrospective interviewing within this study. Given that the younger cohorts moves in their twenties were their more recent moves they therefore tended to re-call all of their moves, including those 'temporary' moves back home. Evidence from Tynedale and Rutland exposed several examples of individuals who returned to their parental home, often after finishing further or higher education, or whilst looking for longer-term employment, or after the breakdown of a relationship. The difficulty in comparing levels of multiple migration among the older cohorts was that the older respondents may well have under-estimated the number of moves made earlier in life, either through re-call problems or simply that those moves of a short-term nature did not seem important to them when conceived in their entire migration history. It is argued here that it is probable that some repeat migration has been under-estimated in the case of the older cohorts thus, inflating the rise in frequent movers above its real value but not such that it has negated the underlying trend of increased mobility among the young.

8.5 Distances migrated

It is well established in the literature that the distances migrated has increased over time (Lewis 1998). Some of these trends and differences were most evident among the long distances migrated by the sample of respondents. Figure 8.5 reveals the 'long distance moves', i.e. those moves between regions and from abroad made in this age-time period.

Figure 8.5 Percentage of 'Long-distance moves' as a proportion of total moves

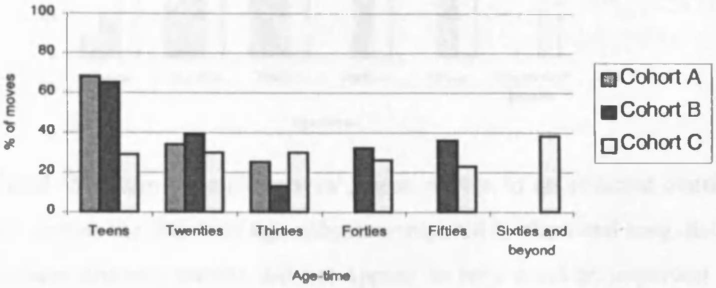


Table 8.4. Number of moves from which proportions were derived for Figure 8.5

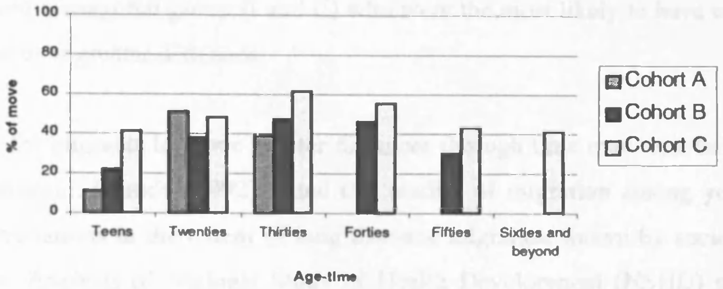
Cohort	Teens	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s
A	28	170	31	*	*	*
B	31	225	112	61	20	*
C	27	110	70	49	42	22

(* Data not applicable)

For example, the majority of moves made during the respondent's teens in both Cohorts A and B were long distance moves in fact representing nearly 70% of all moves (Figure 8.5). Thereafter the pattern across the ages is less clear. Cohort C's long distance moves represent fewer than 40% of all moves in each age-time throughout their lives and this reduced gradually through time. Interestingly, Cohort B has quite a different pattern of moves with a large number of long distance moves made during their teens, falling substantially during their twenties and thirties and then rises again to over 30% of all moves during their fifties.

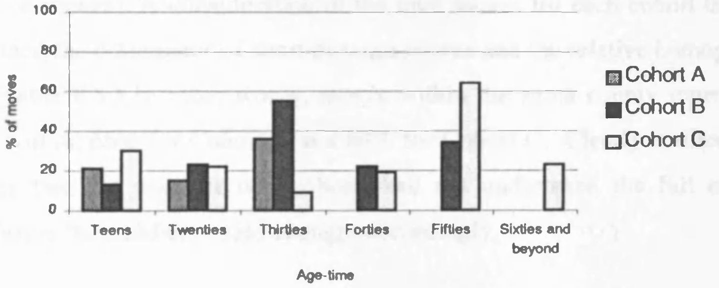
On the other hand, Figure 8.6 illustrates 'short distance' moves' i.e. all those moves that are made within the same district. There was a predominance of moves made within the district, thus emphasising the significance of local movement across each of the age-time periods. Cohorts B and C followed the same trend with local moves peaking in their thirties but the proportion of local moves was higher for Cohort C than Cohort B.

Figure 8.6 Percentage of 'short distance moves' as a proportion of moves within each age-time



On the other hand 'Medium distance moves', those moves to an adjacent district and county revealed a greater disparity across the different age cohorts compared to short and long distance moves (Figure 8.7). In general, medium distance moves did not appear to have been as important for all three age cohorts with two major exceptions; among Cohort B in their thirties and Cohort C during their fifties they represent over half of all moves within this age time.

Figure 8.7 Percentage of 'medium distance moves' as proportion of total moves within each age-time



From the above evidence it seemed that distance was a significant factor in differentiating the migration habits of the three age cohorts. Generally, those moves beyond the region appeared to have increased greatly over time though the youngest cohorts have made more regional moves at an earlier age than their older counterparts. In many ways the migration trends in Rutland and Tynedale confirmed Warnes (1986: 1585) findings that the "864 children had been more migratory than their parents, particularly over longer distances. Nearly half had made a move of more than 30 kilometres and one quarter had made two or more such moves".

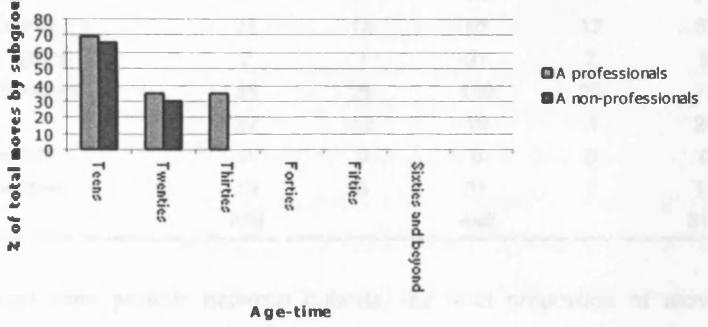
Not surprisingly, the distances moved over time by each age cohort varied significantly between the professional and non-professional groups (Figure 8.8). For all three cohorts a greater proportion of the existing professionals had moved either regionally or abroad in all time periods compared to the non-professionals. There was however, only one exception, in the case of Cohort C, the non-professional group appeared to be over-represented among the long distance movers. A closer inspection of the results however, revealed that the removal of moves abroad, several of, which were undertaken during the Second World War from the analysis, the reduced figure actually showed an under-representation among the non-professionals. This broadly confirms the findings of Warnes (1986) who stressed that the relative immobility of the skilled manual workers was repeated among their children, when compared with the professional and managerial group (I and II) who were the most likely to have made multiple moves and to have moved over greater distances.

The tendency for migrants to move greater distances through time may well be closely related to access to further education. Grundy (1992) stated that studies of migration among young people have shown considerable variations in the extent of long-distance migration shown by socio-economic and personal characteristics. Analysis of National Study of Health Development (NSHD) showed that between the ages of 17 and 26, 89% of the sample had moved at least once and 30 % had moved three or more times (Kiernan 1980). Differences too, in the proportion moving inter-regionally were closely related to their father's social class and educational attainment. Whilst Kiernan (1980) appeared to link qualifications as a characteristic of long distance migrants, this research suggest that higher education is one the main causal mechanisms in the increase in long-distance or inter-regional moves for the younger cohorts.

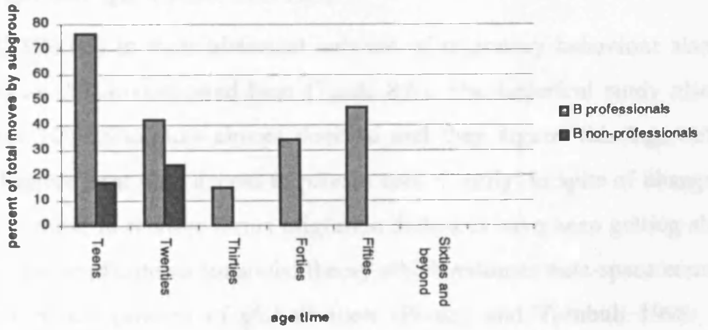
Yet, despite the increase in 'long-distance' migration over time it should be explained that the overwhelming majority of moves were still over short distances. The only time period when long distance moves exceeded short distance moves were in the teen years (which involved a comparably small number of moves). A consideration of the total moves for each cohort throughout their residence histories reflected the dominance of short distance moves and the relative homogeneity between the three age cohorts (Table 8.5.) In other words, moves within the same county represented up to 57% of all moves for Cohort A, 66% for Cohort B and 68% for Cohort C. Clearly, a direct comparison is difficult to make given that the younger two cohorts had not undertaken the full extent of all moves and, therefore, in future the numbers could changes accordingly.

Figure 8.8 Proportion of long distance moves by social class

Cohort A



Cohort B



Cohort C

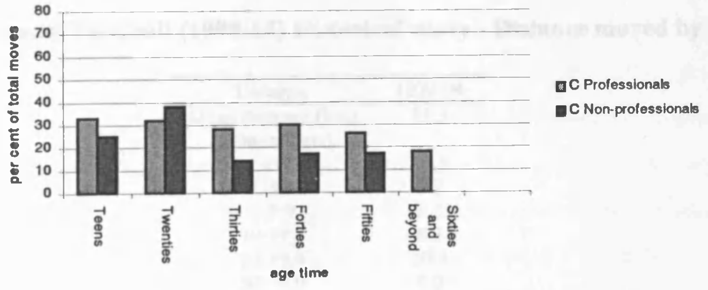


Table 8.5 Total number of moves undertaken throughout entire residence histories

	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C	
Distances Moved	No	as a %	No	as a %	No	as a %
Within Wards	64	28	109	24	105	33
Between Wards same District	38	17	74	17	54	17
Between Districts same County	27	12	55	12	37	12
Between Counties within regions	2	1	31	7	5	2
Between regions or from Scotland	58	25	130	29	75	24
Outside Great Britain	27	12	19	4	24	8
Between neighbouring Districts	0	0	0	0	0	0
Between neighbouring Counties	13	6	31	7	19	6
	229		449		319	

Even given the different time periods between cohorts, the total proportion of moves made by all members of each cohort remained very similar though time.

> "Thus the dominant pattern of residential moves is common to successive generations and consists of relatively frequent but normally local moves in early adulthood before marriage and of infrequent moves once a marital home has been established. Disturbances to this simple dichotomy have been associated with a) with the mobilisation of men during the second world war b) with the longer distance mid-life moves of upper-managerial and certain professional occupations c) with the growth since the early 1960s of full time higher education, which in many cases has initiated a pattern of longer distance and more frequent moves and d) with the willingness of a substantial minority of couples to move relatively long distances in the late working or early retirement ages" (Warnes 1986: 1585)

Pooley and Turnbull (1998:65) in their historical account of migratory behaviour also considered the same period (1920-94) as that investigated here (Table 8.6). The historical study also found that the proportion moving over 100 kilometres almost doubled and they argued this lags behind changes in travel time and ease of movement with access to private cars. Clearly, in spite of changes in travel time or compression of travel time, in relative terms migration distances have been getting shorter not longer and they argue that this has implications for social theory which assumes time-space compression and the time-space distancation in the process of globalisation (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 67). The broad conclusions from this historical study were confirmed by this study of migrants in Rutland and Tynedale; in other words the majority of people moved short distances between adjacent settlements. But even though we live in a shrinking world the present study has identified differences between social classes and distance that have different meanings in different age-time periods.

Table 8.6 Pooley and Turnbull (1998:65) Historical study - Distance moved by migration

Distance	1920-94
Mean distance (km)	55.5
Distance band	
<1	35.5
1-4.9	9.9
5-9.9	8.5
10-19.9	8.3
20-49.9	10.1
50-99.9	9.0
100-199.9	9.2
200+	9.5
Total	17,864

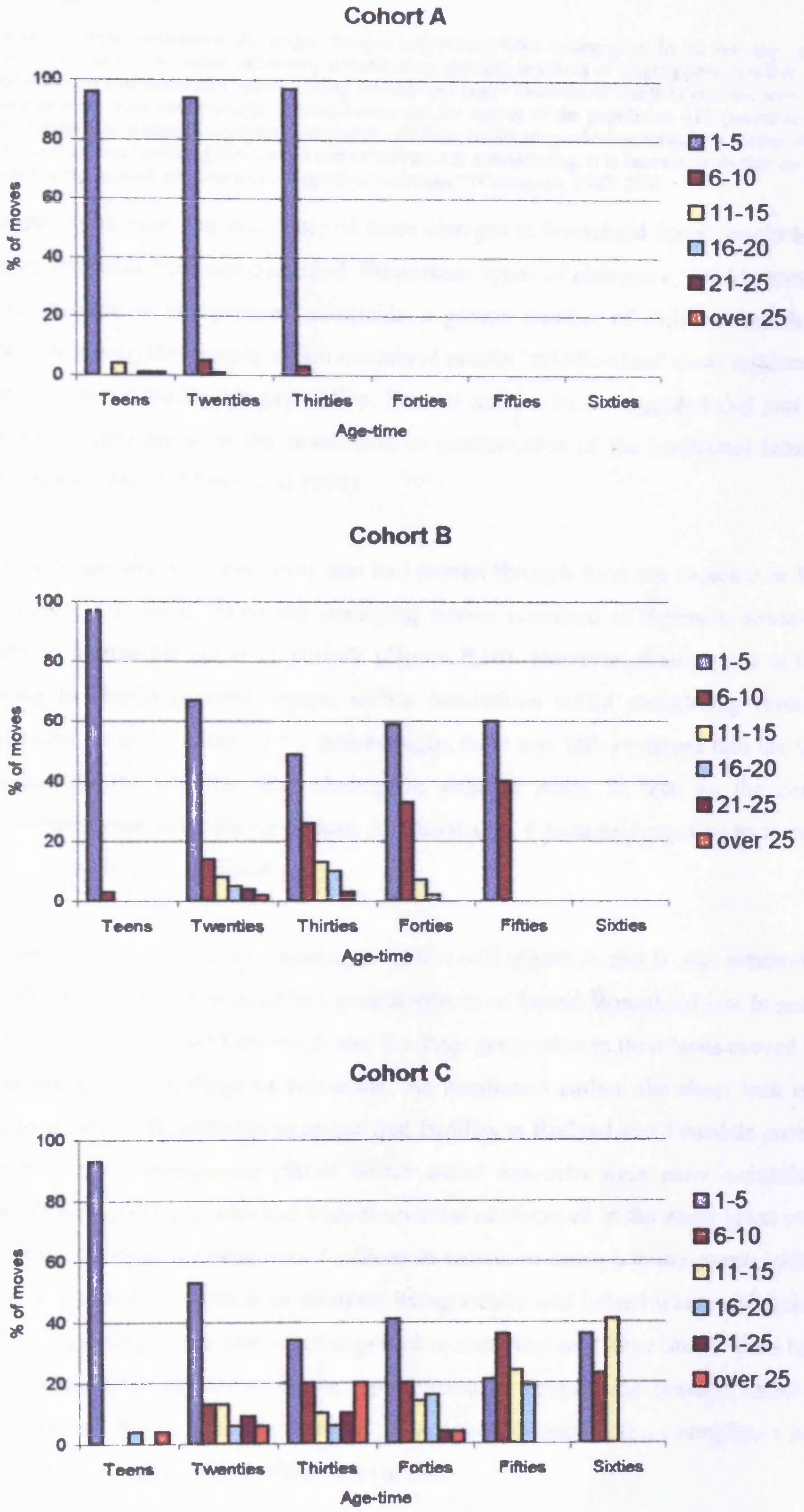
Data source: 16,091 life histories provided by family historians

8.6 Length of residence

The length of stay in a particular residence is intrinsically linked to many of the other variables already discussed in this study. Quite clearly if individuals have made many moves then their length of residence in a place will inevitably be shortened. Likewise given the relative age difference of the age cohorts the youngest cohort has inevitably not had the potential to stay in any one residence for any great length of time. So too those moves made in the age-time nearing the upper age limit may mean that households still had moves to make in that time period. Figures 8.9 shows the proportion of lengths of stay in each residence for each cohort through time. The predominance of short-term stays of between one and five years is apparent. However, this should not be confused with the mobility or stability of the sample as a whole given that only the length of stay of those who made moves were recorded. One might expect that the level of short term stays (those between 1-5 years) would decrease through time for all three cohorts, but both the older cohorts exhibited a trough of short term stays in their thirties and then a slight increase in their forties, remaining at a similar level in their for Cohort B and fluctuating only slightly for Cohort C in the fifties and sixties.

Duration of residence is a complex attribute when attempting to compare across three different aged cohorts and three different time periods. Warnes (1986) found that one third of all retired married couples had stayed in their first home and made no further moves. The complexity of comparing three different age cohorts and their duration in residence means that it is really only meaningful to consider Cohort C in any detail. Given that only those who moved during a given age-time period were incorporated into the analysis, one might expect a dominance of short-term stays. Although moves made by Cohorts A and B were dominated by stays between 1-5 years, a surprising proportion of the younger cohorts had lived in the same residence for over 10 years. Cohort C contained residents who had a much lower level of short-term stays and their thirties appears to be the period when long-term stays have been made. This could well be explained by the forging of formative links and ties, especially with growing children. Nevertheless, these findings appear to have some affinity with the notion that the probability of moving within a specified time decreases as the length of maintaining the same residence increases (Rider and Badger 1943: 124). This tendency towards stability within a population has been termed the duration of residence effect or the axiom of cumulative inertia (Lewis 1982: 70). Underlying this concept is the idea that residence in the same locality fosters increasing ties, which operate as inertia factors in migration. The importance of ties was discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, but although empirically it is difficult to compare how these have changed through time, their incidence is prominent in all three cohorts. This has two possible explanations; firstly that social ties have remained important through time for all cohorts and have not weakened by the increase in long distance moves or secondly, that their representation is an artefact of the way in which the data was collected. The most recent moves have focussed interviewees on what has been most important, current relationships with people featuring most prominently, whereas further back in time other motives may have seemed more important now (the perennial problem of post-rationalisation).

Figure 8.9 Length of stay (years)



8.7 Type of Household

The relationship between changing household form and migration patterns has been re-emphasised by Champion (1992) who argued that the broad area of social change and migration had been somewhat neglected and that it was;

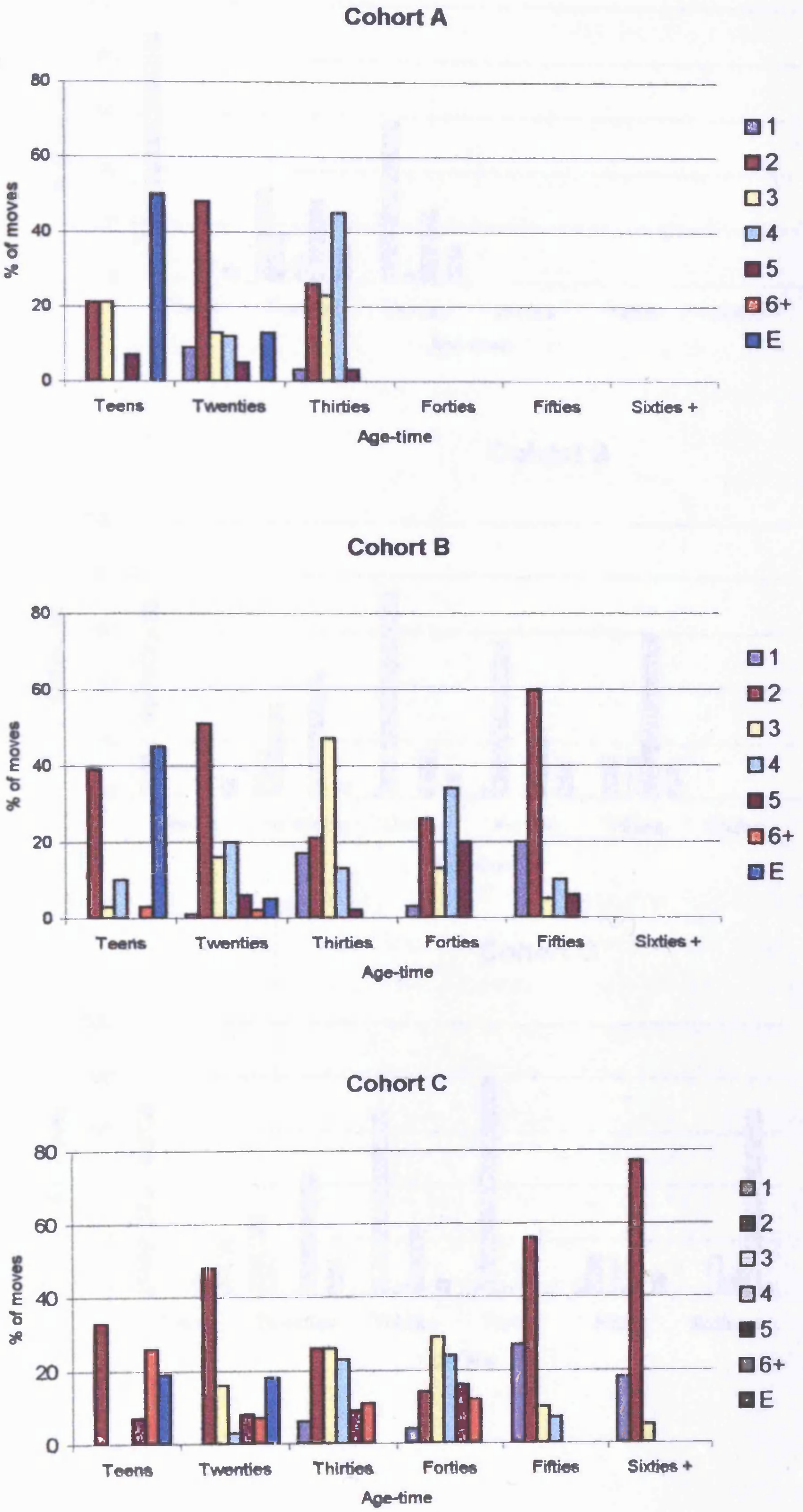
> "a crucial topic because of the major changes which have been taking place in the last few years in the family: rising divorce rates; increasing cohabitation; growing numbers of single-parent families with often limited means of financial support; falling fertility and larger numbers of childless couples; new household arrangements with young people leaving home; and the ageing of the population with particular growth of the elderly and of aged one-person households - all these trends are producing changes in society that are just as significant as housing privatization and labour-market restructuring. It is inconceivable that such changes could occur without any impact on migration behaviour." (Champion, 1992: 219)

It might therefore be expected that some of these changes in household forms would be evident among the sample of residence histories compiled. From these types of changes it would seem likely that there would be an increase in one-person households, a greater number of childless couples, single parent-families etc. However, the sample which contained mostly 'middle-class' rural residents cannot be said to be representative of the British population. Several authors have suggested that part of the appeal in moving to the countryside is in the re-creation or conservation of the traditional family structure and values that this may entail (Cloke et al 1994).

The pattern of household size and form that had moved through time are depicted in Figures 8.10 and 8.11 respectively. The most frequently occurring moves consisted of 2-person households among all three cohorts in almost all age-time periods (Figure 8.10). However, there was a notable increase of persons living in shared accommodation within institutions whilst completing further education or training over time during the teen years. Interestingly, there was little evidence that the size of migrating households had diminished over time during the younger years. In fact, on the contrary the most frequently moving household among Cohort A consisted of 4 persons compared to three persons in the two older cohorts during their thirties.

In their earlier lives household form among members of Cohorts A and B was relatively homogenous, whereas members of Cohort C moved in a greater variety of forms. Household size in general was larger for Cohort C, whereas amongst Cohorts A and B a large proportion in their teens moved into institutions related to moves away to college or university. As mentioned earlier, the sheer lack of single person households, lone-headed households or re-married families in Rutland and Tynedale possibly reflected a desire to live in more anonymous places where social networks were more accepting of diversity. However, the few respondents who had been re-married or divorced in the study areas were often aware of prejudices but few regarded their own decisions to remain or move into the countryside negatively. In several cases they either had friends or relatives living locally and indeed where children were involved in separations, remaining *in situ* was often regarded as important as it gave the children some continuity. Therefore, evidence from this study shows a preference for progression through traditional household forms but also shows that in spite of perceived prejudices there are several examples of households who have made moves into, or remained within rural areas.

Figures 8.10 Variations in Household Size at time of moving through time. (Note E= moves into institutions/large scale shared accommodation)

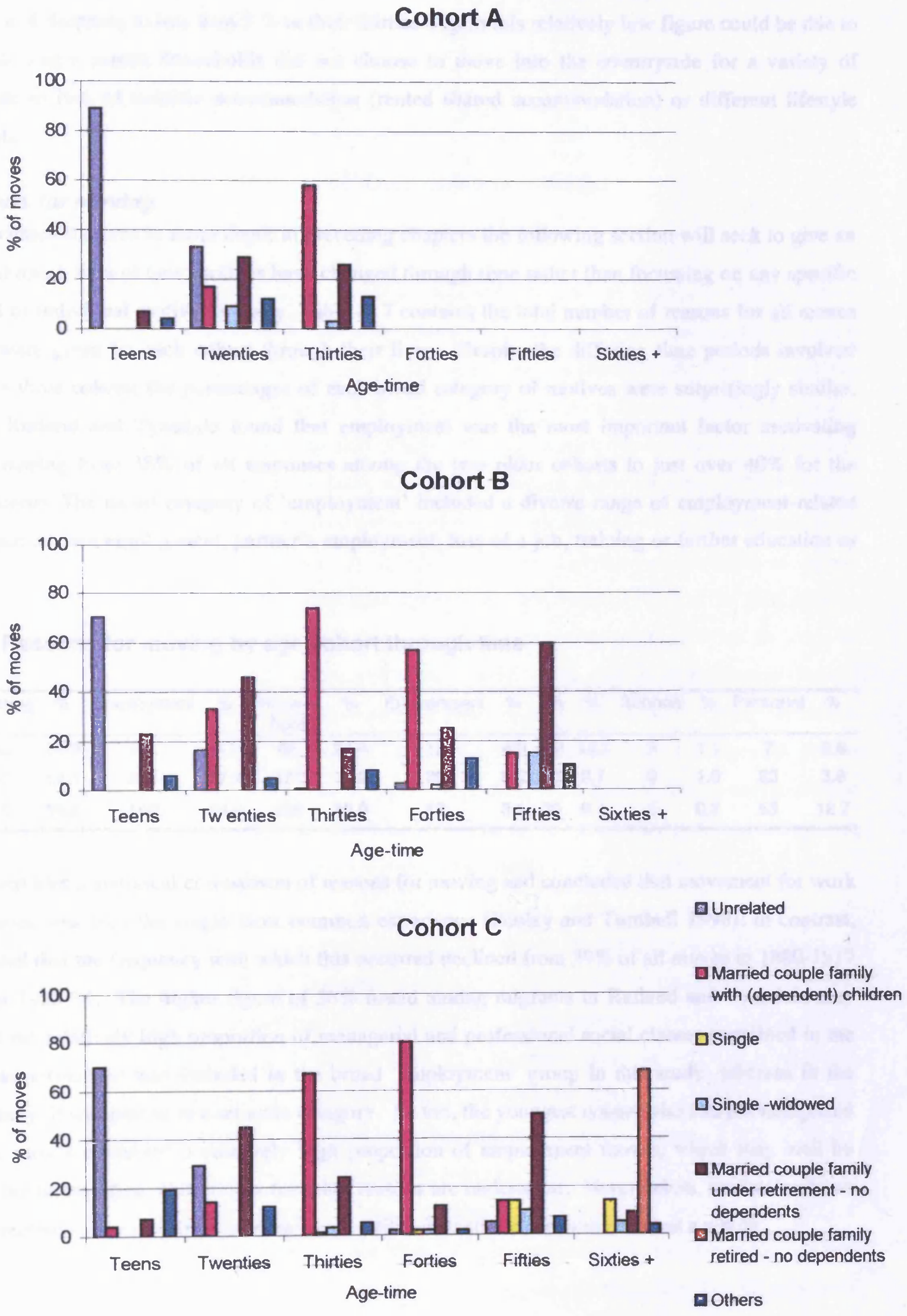


Cohort A

Cohort B

Cohort C

Figure 8.11 Household Structure at time of moving



A striking feature of the data set is the remarkably low level of single person households undertaking moves. There were few examples in the youngest cohort's twenties, representing about 8% of all moves undertaken and dropping to less than 5 % in their thirties. Again this relatively low figure could be due to the fact that single person households did not choose to move into the countryside for a variety of reasons such as lack of suitable accommodation (rented shared accommodation) or different lifestyle requirements.

8.8 Reasons for moving

Having discussed motives in more depth in preceding chapters the following section will seek to give an over-view through time of how motives have changed through time rather than focussing on any specific time period or individual motive category. Table 8. 7 contains the total number of reasons for all moves made that were given by each cohort through their lives. Despite the differing time periods involved between the three cohorts the percentages of each broad category of motives were surprisingly similar. Data from Rutland and Tynedale found that employment was the most important factor motivating moves; increasing from 38% of all responses among the two older cohorts to just over 40% for the youngest cohort. The broad category of 'employment' included a diverse range of employment-related motives; such as own employment, partner's employment, loss of a job, training or further education or retirement.

Table 8.7 Reasons for moving by age cohort through time

Cohort	Housing	%	Employment	%	Household	%	Environment	%	Ties	%	Schools	%	Personal	%
A	30	11.3	111	41.7	65	24.4	13	4.9	39	14.7	3	1.1	7	2.6
B	80	14.1	214	37.7	171	30.2	30	5.3	55	9.7	9	1.6	23	3.8
C	70	16.8	160	38.4	125	30.0	13	3.1	39	9.4	3	0.7	53	12.7

Table 8.8 provides a historical comparison of reasons for moving and concluded that movement for work related reasons was then the single most common experience (Pooley and Turnbull 1998). In contrast, this illustrated that the frequency with which this occurred declined from 39% of all moves in 1880-1919 to 26.3% in 1920-94. The higher figure of 38% found among migrants in Rutland and Tynedale may well reflect the relatively high proportion of managerial and professional social classes contained in the sample. Also retirement was included in the broad 'employment' group in this study, whereas in the historical study, it was placed in a separate category. So too, the youngest cohort who had not completed all possible moves contained a relatively high proportion of employment moves, which may well be reduced in the future when other moves for other reasons are undertaken. Nevertheless, the total volume of moves precipitated by employment reasons was still substantial when considered as a whole.

Table 8.8 Historical study of Reasons for moving by year (%)

Reason	1840-79	1880-1919	1920-94
Work	47.4	47.4	26.3
Marriage	18.8	14.7	9.5
Housing	9.5	16.0	23.6
Family	2.9	2.9	5.7
Crisis	6.6	7.2	9.3
Emigration	2.3	1.9	1.0
War service	2.2	6.3	4.9
Retirement	1.7	2.7	6.0
Other	8.6	9.5	13.7
Total number	13,923	17,972	18,445

Adapted from Pooley and Turnbull (1998: 72)

The second most common reason for making a move in this study was due to a change in the household; this included moves for reasons of independence, marriage, cohabitation, divorce, separation, and bereavements (Table 8.10). Among Cohorts B and C, the proportions of moves made due to changes in their households remained broadly similar at 30% with a slightly lower figure of 24% among the youngest Cohort, suggesting that over the last fifty years within this sample the volume of moves made due to changes in household arrangement have not changed significantly over time. This finding contradicts current trends where increased divorce rates, increased cohabitation, longer life spans and an increase in widowhood, all generated more households with an accompanied increase in moves (Champion 1992). Three possible explanations exist for the apparent anomaly within the data. Firstly, due to the majority of respondents being a relatively homogeneous group of respondents in terms of current households structure they have moved through fairly traditional household arrangements through their lives and these changes have not affected these particular respondents. Secondly, the lack of rented accommodation available and relatively high costs of housing within rural areas might have prohibited more varied households being able to live there, such as single person households or single parents families. Thirdly, as Cohorts B and C were still relatively young, they could still undergo changes in their households that would necessitate increased moves in the future.

There were noticeable differences in reasons given for moving between this study of migrants in Rutland and Tynedale (Table 8.10) and Pooley and Turnbull's historical study (8.11). The broad group of moving for reasons relating to household changes contained in Table 8.10 incorporated the two categories of family and marriage in the historical study (Table 8.11). The historical study produced a much lower figure of 15% of moves due to family or reasons of marriage between 1920-94, compared to between 24 and 30% in Rutland and Tynedale. So too there was correspondingly higher figure of over 20% for housing reasons given in the historical study compared to between 10 and 15% found in this study. It is likely that part of the reason for the difference between these studies is a result of the way in which reasons for moving were collected. In Rutland and Tynedale migrants were able to discuss the motives and whilst this reconstructed a more complete picture of the circumstances of the time it may have changed the emphasis of discussion. This study found that the absence of apparently crucial factors from their explanations of the circumstances surrounding their moves was startling. For example, respondents rarely mentioned moving due to specific housing requirements. This broad category included, moving to a more suitably-sized house, a specific house-type or moving due to changes in tenure, i.e. wanting to own or rent. In the longer interviews, many respondents cited the difficulty of obtaining mortgages or waiting to move until they could find a specific house type such as a bungalow. Yet, when all reasons were considered for all moves undergone, only just over ten per cent of these were due to housing. This figure is considerably lower than might be expected and approximately half that of the historical study carried out (Table 8.11). It is argued here, that even when studies of decision-making such as this, incorporate multiple reasons, some factors which were extremely important in determining moves may not be that mentioned by the informant. The term 'practical consciousness' was adopted by Halfacree and Boyle (1993) to denote features of moving which are deemed to be common sense or inherent in facilitating a move. Whilst they advocated a more biographical approach to understanding migration with less emphasis on the actual move, here it is simply argued that in many studies of migration and decision-making there may well be under-estimation of particular variables such as housing which are deemed by the informant to be necessary pre-conditions. This study also reinforces the difficulty of comparing relative importance of motives, when different methods have been used or different research aims were being investigated.

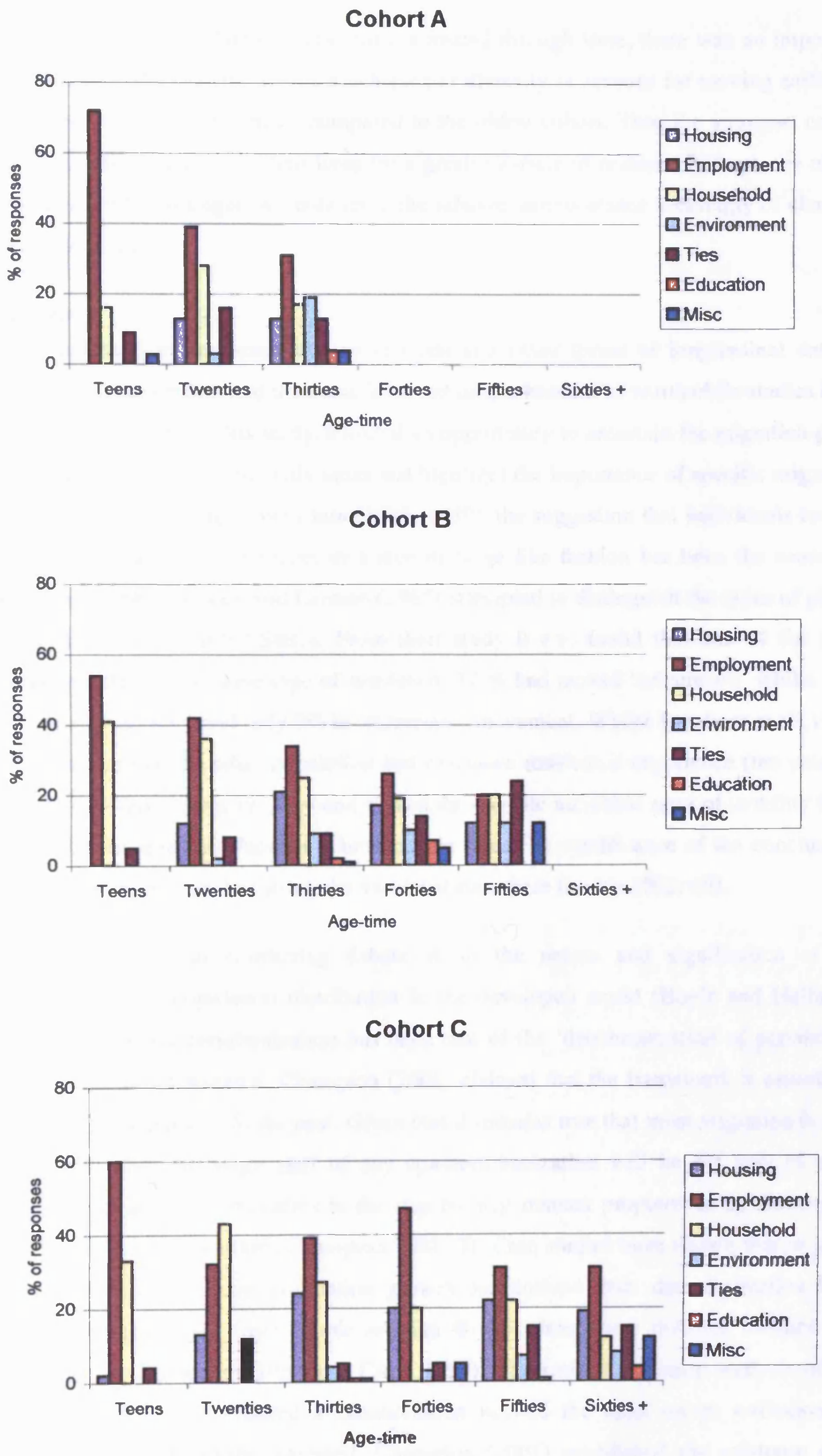
Although there have been changes in the age and propensity to marry over time and in the latter part of the twentieth century a high incidence of divorce and low rate of marriage has become the norm, the structure and pattern of moves associated with marriage has been quite stable over time (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 72). Pooley and Turnbull (1998) found that marriage accounted for 26.3% of reasons for moving for the period 1920-94, whilst in this study a slightly lower figure of 12-21% was recorded (Table 8.11). The lower figure of 12% attributed to the youngest cohort coincided more closely with the most recent changes in the twentieth century. If cohabitation was taken into account the figure rose to 14% for the youngest cohort and 24% for the oldest cohort. Grundy's (1989) longitudinal study of women's migration linked migration to marriage, fertility and divorce and found that change of address at or soon after marriage was almost universal. But migration rates did vary with social circumstances of these women; in particular the relatively disadvantaged found it harder to move and set up an independent home at the time of marriage. Re-married and divorced women had higher rates in terms of change of residence than other women of the same age did and women divorced for three or four years had a higher rate of geographical mobility than married women (Grundy 1989). Her findings also demonstrated a small peak in migration shortly after widowhood, but no indication of increased movement at the time of legal divorce. In this study, given the sampling frame, with the very small number of those divorced, re-married or separated respondents it is not possible to make any conclusive statements. Several respondents indicated that moves had not occurred directly after divorce, separation, or widowhood. It was impossible to ascertain changing trends through time or the importance of divorce in relation to migration in this study due to the small numbers involved. However, within this sample whilst the institution of marriage may becoming less important in precipitating moves it appears that the migration of individuals as couples has continued to be extremely important through a lifetime.

Table 8.9 Proportion of total responses given as 'marriage' for moving

Cohort	*% marriage*	*+ Cohabitation*
A	*12.0*	*14.4*
B	*21.9*	*24.1*
C	*16.8*	*19.3*

Having considered the changing importance of employment and household transitions over time the following section will seek to consider all variables in relation to each other. According to Pooley and Turnbull (1998: 77) historically variations by age are predictable; with those under 32 years old and those age 40-59 most likely to move for work-related reasons. Movement for marriage was most common for those aged 20-39, whilst those over 60 and over mainly for a combination of family reasons, crises and retirement. Findings from Tynedale and Rutland showed that whilst this is true of Cohort C, members of Cohort B moved for a greater variety of reasons between 40-59 than simply employment. Figure 8.12 illustrates the percentage of responses in each category through time. One of the most notable features among all three cohorts is the narrow range of responses in the younger years, which gave way to a much more varied pattern of responses in later years. Furthermore, this study has shown that although the role of employment has been decreasing in importance during certain phases of their lives, this is relatively recent and varies through individual's lifetimes between the three cohorts. Among the two younger cohorts, moves for employment reasons decreased fairly uniformly through time. Other motives, notably household transitions, ties and the environment then emerged. Amongst the oldest cohort the role of employment was greatest in their teens and was surpassed by household transitions in the twenties, but then re-emerged as an increasingly important reason for moves made in their thirties and forties. Although other reasons began to emerge as important for the oldest cohort, most moves were still made for reasons related to work. For the youngest two cohorts, whilst employment–related moves were extremely important in their younger years, this appeared to diminish quickly. The most interesting differences between different time periods lie in moves made in the respondent's thirties and forties. In the thirties, the youngest Cohort A had much more diverse reasons for moving than their older counterparts at this point in time. This trend continued among respondents in Cohort B in their forties with more emphasis upon social ties and the environment.

Figure 8.12 Reasons for moving by age cohort



*Number of responses conatined in Table 8.6

Table 8.10 Number of responses given by age cohort through time

Cohort	*Teens*	*20s*	*30s*	*40s*	*50s*	*50s*
A	*32*	*140*	*48*	*	*	*
B	*37*	*271*	*151*	*83*	*25*	*
C	*45*	*133*	*85*	*60*	*67*	*25*

In summary, although employment-related moves still dominated through time, there was an important but subtle difference between the cohorts; with a much greater diversity of reasons for moving earlier in people's lives among the younger two cohorts compared to the oldest cohort. Thus the youngest cohort had made more moves relatively earlier in their lives for a greater variety of reasons. Perhaps one of the most significant findings for the younger two cohorts is the relative unimportance seemingly of changes in household in size or structure.

8.9 Type of Migration

Despite the apparent potential of residence history analysis and other forms of longitudinal data to distinguish different types of migration and the areas involved only a handful of worthwhile studies have been carried out so far (Lewis 1982). This study afforded an opportunity to ascertain the migration paths individuals had taken to reach the selected study areas and highlight the importance of specific migration types such as step migration. Following Ravenstein (1885; 1889), the suggestion that individuals tend to move progressively from small to larger places in a step or stage like fashion has been the source of intensive research. For example, Shyrock and Larmen (1965) attempted to distinguish the types of places people had resided within in the United States. From their study it was found that half of the adult population had always resided in the same type of residence, 22 % had moved 'urbanward' whilst only 7% had engaged in circular mobility and only 7% in 'ruralward' movement. Whilst Taeubuer et al (1963) concluded from US statistics that the adult population had extensive residential experience (ten years or more) of only one or two different sizes of place and argued that despite increased rates of mobility there was a marked stability in the sizes of places in which people live. The significance of the conclusions reached by Taeuber and his colleagues has still to be validated elsewhere (Lewis 1982: 69).

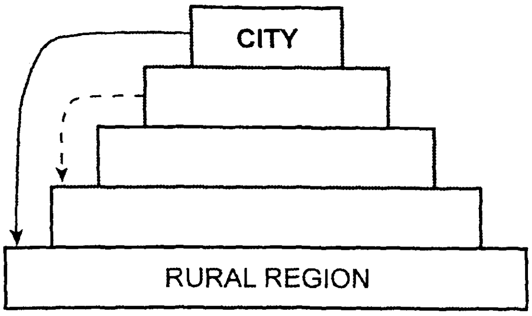
Over recent years there has been continuing debate about the nature and significance of the counterurbanization tendency in population distribution in the developed world (Boyle and Halfacree 1998). One general notion of counterurbanization has been that of the 'deconcentration of population' (Champion 1994). In more recent research, Champion (2001) claimed that the framework is essentially the reverse of what has been suggested in the past. Given that it remains true that most migration is over short distances it is likely that the major part of any counterurbanization will be the sum of short distances moved away from large urban centres in the step by step manner propounded by Ravenstein (1885, 1889) in the context of urbanization (Champion 2001: 3). Case studies have shown that in some places a significant element of the rural population growth has derived from decentralization from relatively local urban centres and not from people arriving directly from more distance metropolitan areas (Lewis 1988; Bolton and Chalkey 1989 and Cross 1990). The residence history analysis of the Rutland and Tyendale residents has enabled a consideration beyond the most recent settlement to incorporate all the settlement previously inhabited. Champion (2001) established the existence of a cascading pattern in the process of counterurbanization, which leads to progressive shifts of population down the urban hierarchy. Figure 8.13 illustrates the three potential types models proposed by Champion (1996). In Model 1, it is hypothesized that there is a direct link between metropolitan migration loss and rural migration gain with the main net flows between levels of the hierarchy taking place between the two ends with relatively little net distribution. Model 2a shows the opposite situation where rural migration gain takes place only as a direct effect of large city migrant loss. This pure or focused version of the cascade analogy with the flow from the large cities going into the next highest causing spillover into the next one and further down and so on until the bottom level. Model 2b constitutes a mixture of these two basic alternatives with the large city supplying net migration to all the lower levels of the hierarchy and with each of the lower levels also engaged in the same process. This is referred to as a diffuse cascade with the analogy of a volcano. Using the 1991 Population Census Champion (2001) monitored net flows between different levels of the urban hierarchy to test the models and demonstrated that urban-rural population moment was continuing in all major regions and involved most types of people, establishing that in terms of net flows the results most closely reflected the diffuse cascade. It might be expected that evidence from Tyendale and Rutland would illustrate a dominant movement down the settlement hierarchy and there might also be evidence of migration originating from multiple levels of the hierarchy.

This study of a rural population afforded an opportunity to look beyond 'net flows' and compare the experiences of in-migrants and out-migrants at each level. This study was therefore able to determine the volume of migration between similar sized settlements, an aspect that cannot be determined using the Population Census. Whilst the results from this study cannot be compared directly with Champion's proposed model they provide an insight into the degree of variety of migrant paths and the use of three different age cohorts provided an opportunity to examine changes over time. As the sample was derived from villages these were clearly already at the bottom of the hierarchy and so it would be expected that there might be a large proportion of moves down the settlement hierarchy.

The relative sizes of settlements moved between were recorded to examine movement along the settlement hierarchy. A note of caution must be exercised about the data; it must not be forgotten that these results show only settlement sizes of those who moved and did not give a complete picture of where the sample as a whole was living during the time period examined. Table 8.11 illustrates the direction of migration between settlement types. The dominant movement was of people moving into gradually smaller places through their lives and moves into larger places, up the settlement hierarchy, were relatively scarce. The main exceptions to this were amongst Cohort C, during their teens and their sixties. It would seem that irrespective of the age cohort and hence time period, individuals who have chosen to live in the countryside have made moves either to similarly sized settlements or to smaller settlements throughout their lives. The peak of movement down the settlement hierarchy by Cohort A was in their thirties, Cohort C in their sixties and Cohort B in their fifties. This would seem to suggest that a greater proportion of Cohort B had moved into a rural area in their lives compared to Cohort C. Yet despite these flows there were a large number of other individuals who had moved within rural areas between similarly sized settlements.

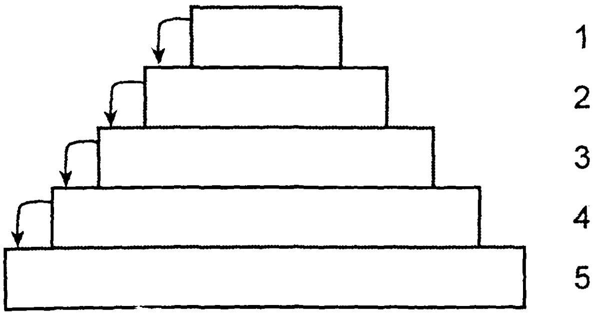
Figure 8.13 Champion's cascade model

1. Direct


CITY
RURAL REGION

Level	Net migration (%)
1	-10
2	-5
3	0
4	+5
5	+10

2. Indirect
a: focused cascade



b: diffuse/general cascade (volcano?)

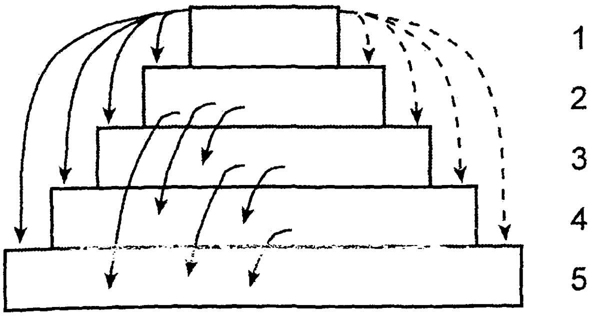


Table 8.11 Movement along the settlement hierarchy by age cohort through time

Age Time	teens			20s			30s			40s			50s			60s		
Age Cohort	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Down	8	7	18	49	28	18	75	45	18	/	67	38	/	50	74	/	/	55
Up	16	37	64	8	18	8	5	19	18	/	1	6	/	13	6	/	/	45
same	64	56	9	31	48	65	25	34	63	/	29	53	/	38	21	/	/	0

* Note figures do not total 100 per cent as not all settlements classified. Figures in red denote highest.

Table 8.12 Total number of moves through time along the settlement hierarchy

	A	as a %	B	as a %	C	as a %
Down	42	48.3	142	48.0	73	34.6
Up	9	10.3	48	16.2	41	19.4
same	36	41.4	106	35.8	97	46.0
n=	87		296		211	

These residence histories would appear to concur with those findings of Taeubeur *et. al.* (1963) that movement between similarly sized settlement is important, but in this study of Rutland and Tynedale, movement down the settlement hierarchy appeared to dominate (Table 8.12). Thus individuals may only have extensive residential experience of one or two different places but that those places are likely to be smaller though their lifetimes. This is partly a result of sampling from reasonably small places such that for those most recent moves apart from moves from other similarly sized villages or smaller or more remote areas most people will have moved form larger places. But, it also indicates a reversal of previous historical movement up the settlement hierarchy. A consideration of flows for each cohort showed that whilst many members of Cohort C came into villages from small towns in a traditional step-wise movement the more diffuse 'volcano model' was evident for the younger generations (Champion 1996).

8.10 Conclusions

In this study, despite the evident rise in level of migration though time, the proportion of the sample that had migrated remained fairly constant. There was also a remarkable degree of similarity between the two study areas in terms of the proportions of respondents who had undertaken moves, which suggests surprisingly that the importance of place has a less pronounced impact upon mobility through a lifetime than might be expected. In general, the difference in mobility between social classes was small particularly in the younger years with respondents from the professional class being only slightly more mobile than in lower social classes. However, by the middle and later years the difference between social classes was more pronounced and the reasons given more diverse.

Of those respondents who did move, many moved more frequently particularly in their younger years one the main contributory factors to the rise in migration levels. It has been argued that although the increase in multiple movers may have been exaggerated in this study there was evidence that general levels of multiple movers have been increasing. However, the highest rise in multiple movers appeared again to be confined to the younger years suggesting the importance of considering lifetime migrations as a whole compared to partial investigations which have led to inflated notions of increased mobility for all. The overwhelming majority of moves were over short distance despite the relative increase in long-distance migration. It is argued here, that this increase has partly emerged as a result of a greater number of individual's first independent being long distance. Whilst a small proportion of those individuals continue to make long distance moves the majority of individuals revert to more infrequent short distance moves over their lives.

In general terms, employment-related moves were still found to be the most important reason in terms of the total number of moves undertaken but there was small but notable changes through time. There appears to have been an increase in the variety of reasons given for moving earlier in an individual's life Despite raised expectation the level of moves related to changes in household transition was relatively unimportant apart from in the younger years in this study.

This study broadly agrees with some of Warnes (1986: 1591) findings "whilst distances of moves have increased they may have exaggerated the scale of change - long distance and repeated migration remain comparatively rare phenomenon.... which means that the English population remains remarkably immobile in terms of frequency and disturbance of its moves". However, although most moves did not generally involve great distances, the extent of repeat migration during respondent's younger years was found to be quite significant.

Chapter 9: Migration Through Time: Processes

9.1 Introduction

Following the previous chapter's attempt to re-create the pattern of migration through time, this chapter will outline the insight that a longitudinal approach has uncovered in the migration processes underlying those patterns. The discussion draws out themes that were deemed to be important when linking individual moves to the historical and geographical context in which the decisions were made. The selected themes were specific attributes of a residence history analysis. As highlighted in Chapter 2, it was argued that a history analysis offered the potential to examine the prevalence of lifetime migration strategies, the importance of the timing of moves over a lifetime, the importance of previous migratory behaviour upon subsequent decisions and the incidence of immobility, non-moves or aborted moves. Therefore this chapter will begin by addressing the four themes in turn, although it should be noted that many of the themes are interrelated.

Having identified several themes in common, the next section identifies a series of summarised residence histories provided by interviewees to illustrate the complexity of the residence histories. The two case study areas provided an opportunity to assess the importance that place exacted upon lifetime migrations. An attempt is made to outline some of the similarities and differences between the two field areas in terms of migration experience within the same age cohort and to compare the experiences of different social classes. However, no one case study can be said to typify the experience of either the area or social class, they are merely illustrative of the arguments embodied in the first section.

9.2 Migration Process through a lifetime

The following features of the migration process represent several aspects of the migration process that emerge as important components of the way in which migration has occurred through time. It is argued that these facets of the migration process are ones that were only identified by using residence history analysis to investigate their lifetime migrations.

9.2.1 Multiple reasons and Lifetime Strategies

Many researchers have advocated longitudinal approaches as a better way in which to understand the migration process, noting that reasons to move should not be viewed in isolation, but few have discussed the practicalities of using longitudinal approaches to relate more than one migration decision. The existence and potential importance of lifetime strategies was noted by Davies and Flowerdew (1992) but discussion of the practicalities in ascertaining their importance was not raised. The following section seeks to address some of the uncertainties of monitoring the existence and importance of lifetime strategies.

In general one of the most rewarding features of the fieldwork was that people enjoyed talking about where they had lived in the past and to some extent 'making sense' of their lives. For example, on one occasion although cautious about re-interviewing a very recently bereaved lady, this form of questioning appeared to be therapeutic giving an opportunity to discuss the past. Whilst it threw up many questions even in the minds of the respondents about moves they had made, the answers they gave were ones which somehow gave their decisions some rationality or sense of perspective.

> "Well it seems peculiar when you put it all together like this, but that is how we ended up here, I suppose a mixture of what seemed like coming back home for Alan and opportunities that were there at the time." (C12 Female widow- Cohort C)

Whilst acknowledging that post-rationalising decisions may give a distorted account of reality this problem is clearly too involved to be dealt with here (Badderley, 1979; Gant 1991). But field results showed that the quality and consistency of the elderly's recollections are especially effective in projects concerning past events and those where personalities are associated with a local environment (Bryant 1972). The record of moves undertaken and approximate timings were firmly believed to be an accurate portrayal of events. It is not easy to record previous residences and length of stays on the spur of the moment, let alone setting out to deliberately mislead someone about these facts. It is argued there that moves are too interspersed with life events simply to 'make up' (Pryor 1979). Most inaccuracies appeared to be unrecorded moves within the same locality, often moves always regarded as temporary, for example;

> "So we bought another house in the same village *(had not mentioned this move)*. The first cottage we only lived in for about a year we wanted to stay there it had a play school which was most important and there was a bus to the local primary school., but we had only been there a few months when we found out about this other one which was bigger." (L44 Female married. Professional Cohort B)

The nature of deciding why moves were made was more problematic. The consideration of motives was certainly the aspect of analysing the migration process most open to different interpretations. Firstly, there was the issue of failing to mention important factors to interviewers. As mentioned earlier, features of moves which were crucial lynch pins in facilitating moves were often neglected, such as the ability to obtain a mortgage or simply negotiating within a household about which properties should be considered. These appear to be so embedded in enabling moves to occur that they were then forgotten. Secondly, there was the person's own validation of events and life decisions to be considered. This often presented itself in the way that individuals could retrospectively view moves associated with employment as being simply 'job moves' as progression up a career ladder, almost as if these moves could be interpreted as 'sensible moves' upon a *curriculum vita*. Thirdly, residence histories sometimes had the effect of making individuals compare and contrast moves within their own lives, perhaps more so during in an interview than necessarily occurred during the decision-making process. This appeared to have had the effect of individuals emphasising shortcomings of previous migratory experiences and evaluating the 'success' or otherwise of the last move they had made and over-emphasising features about the move, which may not have been as prominent at the time of moving. Fourthly, the respondent's attempt to second-guess what the interviewer was interested in, through eye contact or simply by the line of questioning meant that the respondent often attempted to apply one aspect of interest in one move to all moves. For example at various stages interest was expressed in moves to places they had not known previously and then when talking about subsequent moves the respondents then placed emphasis on all links to that place. This seemed to have the effects of over inflating the notion of ties or connections to places.

> "Ah well, we're really incomers as we've only been here for twenty seven years (laughs) but my parent's had good friends who lived out this way so we did know the area before and I have been on the odd committee especially when the children were younger. But I do feel like I belong here...much more so than any of the other places we've been." (L80 Married Male – Cohort B)

Although this too may have stemmed from the more common apprehension of individuals' 'rights to live in a place'. People were very keen to justify an allegiance to a place almost as if their right to live and belong to a place was being queried. This reinforced some of the problems of less formal structured interviews and exposed the problematic nature of how research agendas may skew respondent's records of events. For example, had tenure or specific household transitions been focused upon then they may have become more prominent in the respondent's recounts as they sought to deliver 'appropriate' answers.

The importance of allowing respondents give multiple reasons was acknowledged in this survey, particularly returning to re-interview the respondent, when in several instances only one reason had been given (Halfacree and Boyle 1993: 339). Probing the decision-making at the time led to a series of factors that were important in determining a move being undertaken, often with the one factor that had been mentioned emerging as important but not crucial, in explaining the choice of destination or perhaps the timing of the move. Suffice to say that interpretation of important factors surrounding the actual move together with a partial biography is believed to lead to a much more realistic portrayal of the determinants of migration events than a single pre-coded response. With the researcher's own interpretation of events it was often difficult to accept the respondent's motives that had been given in the first questionnaire survey for moves undertaken. The representation of the motives given for moving in the questionnaire survey was therefore called into question. Thus Halfacree and Boyle's (1993: 339) call for the inclusion of multiple reasons without the 'literary fallacy' needs also to acknowledge that there is still the need to integrate the two levels of understanding and macro and the micro levels can only be integrated in a very case specific manner. The seemingly endless interdependence of variables together with knowledge of the respondent's lives made it more challenging to integrate decision-making at any larger spatial scale of analysis than that of the individual.

One theme explored using residence histories was that of whether individuals or households possessed any lifetime strategies with regard to moving. Migration decisions that were based upon a long-term trajectory have been acknowledged, but not fully explored by several researchers (Davies 1991; Davies and Flowerdew 1992). Many individuals and families have a pattern of moves to which they aspire, which may include improvements in housing or moves to a preferred location over a long period of time. Although progress may be erratic, and be interrupted by short-term factors, such migrants have long-term goals to which they aspire over their life-course and towards which most migratory decisions are directed (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 206). Although the concept of lifetime strategies was an aspect highlighted as being one of the benefits of using residence histories it was only through the process of interviewing that the striking dichotomy emerged between those individuals to whom it was relevant and for those who dismissed it out of hand. The experience of one widow moving into the countryside contrast sharply with another interviewee.

> "No, no, things just happened to us, we took each day as it came I wouldn't ever say we sat down and planned it. It's funny the way things work out. You just take life as it comes don't you and sometimes you get lucky" (L33 Widow non-professional Cohort B)

> " Now in 1979....he managed to get early retirement. He was going to be 60 at the weekend that he retired and he retired in 1979 and he died the following day. It was tragic really.. (goes softer). It was a terrible blow. I mean we had intended moving into the country, always had done when the time was right. We had both planned it from when we had the children. I mean he was a painter, these are his pictures, he used to do watercolours and of course that was his hobby.. and he was looking forward to and he had finished work and he was going to start on the oils in the country.(C68 widow, Professional Cohort C)

This could not be attributed to specific cohorts but rather in terms of whether individuals or households were planners or not. Significantly it appeared that the youngest cohort were involved in a greater share of long-term planning than the other two cohorts but the sample size was too small to be able to generalise more widely. The importance of making a move into the countryside was part of a longer-term goal seemed particularly prevalent amongst the youngest cohort.

> "I suppose what we were in search of was peace of mind we were laying roots for a different lifestyle or a different way of living..we had lived in so many different grotty flats and worked all hours we wanted to create a different way of living . This was our dream I suppose' (Lyddington L09 Female Professional)

A possible factor for this is that in the contemporary world the young have to plan with respect to housing, training etc to a much greater extent than ever before. But of course raising a particular subject sometimes made interviewees feel like they should provide some sort of retrospective plan. Some households did discuss long-tem plans in terms of where they wanted to live, and therefore, their moves often appeared more strategic than they had actually been. In other word one move could be seen as a short-term move or as a precursor to the one to come. Thus according to Davies, (1991), perceived housing decision for a household are not a sequence of independent adjustments to changing circumstances but rather that most households have a long-term trajectory in mind, or at least some goals to which they aspire. Viewed thus, the 'short-term considerations which provide is so typical of much migration research in fact represents a kind of fine tuning'. For example, one respondent, married with three children who had moved from London to Lyddington described the circumstances for the move;

> "I: well the real reason was that it was a fundamental supposition on both our parts that we would at some time in our lives end up living in the country because that's what we'd both been used to we'd always had access to homes in the country it's where we'd both grown up.
> MH: Was there some point when you both made a distinct decision to move into the countryside?
> I: Oh we always knew it.. I mean we didn't really bother to .. well we did discuss it but we always assumed that we would end up like both our parents." (L30 Married professional, Cohort A)

In addition, the act of house buying involves investment decisions that may have ramifications for future housing opportunities (Flowerdew 1992). There were several examples of respondents who viewed some moves as short-term moves, but in fact often, particularly when young children became attached to schools stayed for much longer and intended short–term stays were sometimes well over ten years. For example, one family moved to Lincoln intending to stay two years and ended up staying there for over seven years. This was partly due to the decision to delay disrupting schooling combined with the difficulty of selling their house.

> "If John had still been working in Leeds that we would have liked to live in Harrogate. I think it was a compromise it was convenient for us where we were but it wasn't long-term house – we really intended to stay a couple of years, but then things got more complicated" (Lyddington L60 Female divorcee, Cohort B)

Another example illustrates a common feature of moves made in respondents' late twenties resulting in much longer- stays than anticipated.

> "It was someone my husband worked with said the cottage next door to him was going to be put on the market and we went and saw it. That was fine we had decided at that stage that this was going to be another career move so we weren't going to be there for a very long time so it didn't seem that bad. That's the problem isn't it you don't realise. We were looking really short term and then we stayed for about twenty years (laughs)" (L44 Female professional Cohort B)

This study has provided evidence that whilst lifetime moving strategies may be important for some individuals and households, for some it does not appear to have any importance to their individual moves. For some individuals within a household, moves and subsequent events, were seen as a chance outcome and it was simple a case of evaluating their current situation at the time. One of the greatest problems of establishing the existence and the importance of lifetime strategies was that simply by re-creating the residence history for a respondent encouraged post-rationalisation of events and factors which may not have been as important at the time of moving.

Yet one of the most striking features when recording residence histories was that information would suddenly emerge that was clearly very important but had not been probed by the interviewer. Often in recounting residence histories, only when asked about future moves did households then focus on plans they had or had had in the past. It was often at this point that the plans that failed to materialise were mentioned or misgivings about current residences came to light. It did not seem to be entirely a matter of age of the respondent as there were strategic planners in all three cohorts. However, when asking about future moves there were clear differences between the oldest, middle and younger cohorts, where the most of the youngest cohort had clearly considered possible alternatives and contemplated various alternatives, clearly linked to the impending nature of possible future moves. Likewise often the oldest members of Cohort C had given their future moves some contemplation too, whereas, although there were some strategic planners among Cohort B, their plans were often more vague.

> "The roots are well down the area has a very nicely graduated provision for the infirm elderly and I have every provision for the elderly but I intend to stay put. They'll only get me out in a box. (C17 Female single, Professional Cohort C)

> "Oh I'll have to move sometime I mean the garden gets too big and even the house I rattle around like an undersized pea in an oversized pod but it's nice to have the family able to come and where would I go? I don't want to move south so I've decided the next move will be into sheltered housing at some point. (C12 Female widower professional, Cohort C)

The nature of individual's strategies also varied within households, in some, one member had clear notions of where he or she wanted to move and gave to a compromise, in others moves were delayed or aborted Various individuals talked about moves to the countryside as being ultimate goals in their lives, but had not moved because other household members did not feel the same way as described in Chapter 7. This goal of wanting to 'reach the countryside' is one that needs to be explored in greater depth, at what stage do people make decisions about this? and is it explicit in their move plans or has it come about thorough opportunity? The notion of individuals moving down the settlement hierarchy emerged from the data and there were a number of examples when people explicitly cited the criterion of size of a settlement as being appropriate and incorporated this into a search for housing within it. However, the reason why the attribute of size was important was not explored explicitly in terms of lifetime migration strategies and more research is needed to analyse whether people explicitly seek to move to smaller places thorough their lives or similarly sized places and what factors make people choose to live in smaller settlements throughout their lives. The aspect of selecting similarly sized or smaller settlements in subsequent moves was mentioned explicitly on just a few occasions and yet moves to similarly sized places were apparently common.

> "We liked Lyddington because that was very it was good size village we didn't want just a hamlet. Places like Preston but that's much smaller, Manton and Wing but we did dismiss villages like Glaston with a main road running through and places that were too remote we really wanted to be around Uppingham I mean we really wanted to be we would have moved again in Belton but there wasn't another house that was suitable. So you don't have many houses to choose from in each villages." (L44 Female Married Cohort B)

One other explicit strategy was the choice of the kind of neighbourhood being 'bought into'; this was evident in both urban and rural areas. This could be seen by some respondents moving up the housing ladder in what appeared to be a strategic manner. Ultimate goals were living in specific neighbourhoods with associated 'lifestyle'. The perception of whether it was a 'nice' or suitable neighbourhood was often based upon both obvious and intangible criteria. These varied from houses located far away from roads, those in areas with fresh air or a lack of pollution or having appropriate playmates for their children or neighbours who would want to join tennis clubs. This sometimes ended up with households aspiring to live in areas where they would have similar social backgrounds or sometimes in areas, which were deemed to have a higher social prestige that they would then acquire in time.

> "Andy says if we live next door to some big director and their kids are horse riding and ours aren't then I wouldn't like that for my kids. I'd rather live somewhere where people can look up to me. I says ok and we go to old flats and this one downstairs and they were absolutely spotless'. (C31 Widow Cohort C).

This attraction of rural living and a specific cultural background (Cloke at al 1994) was evident most notably among the younger cohorts who appeared to have made more definite lifestyle choices. As described in Chapter 5, several interviewees appeared to have been planning to make a specific move into the country when they were ready to bring up children as this was considered a favourable environment (Murdoch and Marsden 1994). In this study these ideas seemed most prevalent in the younger two cohorts. The absence of apparent strategies related to the importance of environmental reasons underpinning moves into the countryside among the oldest cohort, may be partly explained by the fact that firstly, moves with young families were made a long time ago and at that time the differences between perceived urban and rural environments were less important. Secondly, moves that have been made more recently without children and, therefore, the issue of 'healthy and safe environment in which to bring up children' is not relevant or thirdly that for previous generations there were limited opportunities to move into the countryside given employment and commuting difficulties.

9.2.2 Timing of moves

One dimension of residence histories as mentioned in the previous section, was that individuals discussed moves that did not occur, or were not undertaken for various reasons. Unfortunately, there were limited opportunities to discuss these aborted moves or planned moves which were equally informative about the process of migration as the actual moves undertaken. As mentioned earlier asking non-movers why they didn't move seemed an arrogant way to approach the situation. Further study could consider the reasons for staying in greater detail, perhaps trying to probe whether opportunities had ever arisen to move away. Within the scope of this study, unless reasons were proffered for not making moves or in discussion of future moves strong reasons emerged for staying in the area discussion was limited. For example, through discussions of moves, several interviewees alluded to moves not undertaken very often due to family commitments. The seriousness of possible 'aborted' moves or simply the decision to stay was not determined in great detail. Suffice to note that in a number of households having dependants certainly was a key factor in the longevity of stays during their 'middle years'.

Residence history analysis helped expose the sequencing of events in the migration process. For example, there were several moves planned to take place that did not happen immediately due to other factors. This delay often then meant that when moves did happen the initial reason for moving was not at the forefront of their minds. For example, moves were sometimes made by one member of the household, in general the breadwinner, but due to family circumstances often involving children's schooling moves the remaining family did not move immediately.

> "Caroline was boarding but you see we were going to live near Nottingham but she hadn't liked boarding and the restructuring didn't come off properly because he was never in Nottingham he was always travelling around. So they decided to go back. So 9 months after we came up here (Lyddington) they sent him back to Slough, but we never went back because we liked it up here and the children were settled. So for 5/6 years he lived away so when they offered him early retirement it was great." (L74 Female Married Professional Cohort B)

Both the timing and destination of household moves were linked extremely closely to the schooling stage whether this was after specific examinations or transitions from primary to secondary or sixth form colleges. This 'lag time' and the initiation of other strategies were clearly important in the way in which the end moves were made. There were various instances where older children who were either on the verge of leaving home or were away at college were excluded from decisions to move away.

> "We had actually decided that the house that we took (then) was one we could stay in for along time because we did feel unless they did move us before he got into year 10 then we would turn it down or John would go on his own and come back at weekends. We felt then that we had to stop and the children had to take priority once they got to Year 10 because that was their future we were talking about. Having been in secondary education and have seen children moved and what it can come to and what it has done to them and I wasn't prepared to do that to them." (L83 Female married professional Cohort B)

The timing of moves was also viewed by some as crucial in terms of whether the moves had been beneficial and determined the outcome of the move. For one interviewee one move had occurred at the 'wrong time' and was subsequently responsible for the impact it had upon her son;

> "As the children got older I made lots of friends, a new career I loved Sutton Coalfield they have a fabulous park and it seemed to be in a time warp. Lots of detached houses with fields and woods and yet it was close to buses, shops and stores. My eldest was 16 and he was devastated when he had to move He was told by the tutor he would get straight 'B's and when he knew we were going to be moving away he'd got a lot of friends, his life just went

> to pieces he gave up school. I think his father being away from home as well. It was the end of the world he's very tenacious and he doesn't like change. But I've always put my husband's career first I've felt that he had gifts and if he didn't he would probably resent not using things in later life. (L45 Married Female Professional: Cohort B)

In some cases although households had intended to make moves at a future date they were ultimately abandoned and the breadwinner had lived either in additional flats or houses elsewhere during the week returning at weekends. This seemed fairly common in the Rutland sample and not as common in Tynedale, perhaps reflecting the relative positions in the country and proximity of Lyddington and Preston to several major cities. The growth of peripatetic residents and second residences is one, which is extremely difficult to monitor or analyse given the often complicated financial and legal implications of households owning two properties (Warnes 1992). Residence histories are clearly one way of estimating their importance. The way this study was constructed meant that information about second residences and sometimes divided households often only emerged during the longer interviews and therefore, the evidence in this study is not substantial. However, future studies that looked specifically at this element in places with similar types of population i.e. those with a high number of white-collar workers standing such as those in Lyddington in Rutland, would yield extremely important information.

9.2.3 Previous Migratory experience

Previous migratory experience clearly played a large part in subsequent moves for many interviewees. Of primary importance is a need to stop regarding migration as a discrete contemplative act but see it as an 'action in time' (Thrift 1986). Furthermore, Halfacree and Boyle (1993) argued that although this had been acknowledged that this was usually framed in terms of the influence of previous moves on current moves and the idea of location specific capital. Their criticism was that linking two moves together or the notions of location specific capital was too limited (Williams and Macmillan 1983). In Rutland and Tynedale in the in-depth interviews, almost without exception most respondents described a strong and direct relationship between several moves that had been made and their experience of previous places upon subsequent moves. In moving back to the northeast from where he had originally come from one interviewee described his move from London:

> "I wanted to get away from all that dirt, I hated living there and all the violence, I had always liked living up here. I lived in so many different places but I was never really happy I wanted to be back where things were familiar, even the voices….so I suppose that 's why we came back. My memories of the places I'd lived, people I knew up here kept reminding me that it didn't have to be like this. (C03 Male married. Non-professional Cohort A)

There appeared in general to be two types of experience recounted; either those related to specific events and aspects of the new residence that occurred soon after moving or those that occurred some time after moving to a new place. Basically the distinction here was made between those associated directly with the move and those associated with the place that was lived in. Again in general it seemed to be the negative experiences that occurred in the short term that fed into another move taking place quite quickly and positive experiences lending themselves to longer-term stays. This is hardly surprising but what was most significant was the intense variety and importances placed upon some migratory experiences were unexpected. For example one couple described how given their previous experience, they would only consider properties within a conservation village;

> "Finchingfield (*Essex*) like all pretty places was killed off by its popularity we used to have bus loads of people peering though our windows. But then they also build a new set of houses squeezed as many on to the plot of land as they could. We lived in Vicarage Road it was about three hundred yards and didn't go anywhere. The vicarage was sold and made into half a dozen flats it was ghastly. Tourists were the most invasive part of it.. But you see this is a conservation village (Preston) and we only considered those places where we wouldn't have that same experience" (P35 Male Married: Professional Cohort C)

The more common migratory experience upon deciding to stay for a long time in one place related in part to the nature of the welcome they had received or the way in which they had been treated by locals there.

The notion of one's childhood migratory experience being related to subsequent moves was mentioned earlier, but quite clearly more research is needed to establish any direct relationship between childhood moves and subsequent moves. The relationship between stability and instability in childhood fed into some respondents later move choices but the direction of this relationship was unclear. Certainly some interviewees seemed keen to recreate the same patterns whilst for others who had moved a great deal this had the opposite effect.

> "Where I grew up, we were in quite a large village and everyone knew everyone, it was a wonderful time, I had lots of friends, we played in each other's houses and never felt unsafe, people were looking out for you. It's something I wanted for my children and I knew that would never happen in London" (L44 Female Married professional: Cohort B)

> "I don't really feel like I come from anywhere. My father was in the army and we were posted all over, I suppose Yorkshire was the longest place, but then I think it's been good for me, you learn to adapt so it doesn't matter where I live now, I don't feel like I'm missing out" (L51 Female professional; Cohort B)

As with 'multiple migrants', those people, who moved many times within their lives, this preliminary research has not succeeded in determining any specific link between those who moved frequently as children and those moves in their later lives

9.2.4 The Contextualising of decision-making

One of the main rationales behind this research was that it was important to consider the context in which decisions were being made both in the individual household and their links to the wider economic and social context of the time. However, it proved extremely difficult to gain the informant's views about the wider situations at the time of the move most respondents considered only their individual household at the time not the general nature of economic or social norms. The three main exceptions were widespread economic downturns such as the early 1930s or early 1980s, and historical events such as the wars. For most respondents social norms were simply implicit in their narratives. For example, one interviewee described the circumstances of her first independent move away from home in the late 1960s;

> "Well we just went out and got married that was what happened, it's different for you these days but that was what was expected. Looking back I wonder if I should have done something else but there really wasn't any choice to make" (L60 Female married; Professional Cohort B)

From the respondent's ability to analyse their moves the housing or social situation sometimes emerged or was inferred, for example;

> "For a girl to go into pharmacy was quite odd in those days. No it was all because of the outbreak of war. We were evacuated I had gone back to school after school cert. After matric we were evacuated and I was originally going to go into teaching but Mummy and Daddy didn't like the idea of their one little ewe lamb being evacuated away and then perhaps going off to college and they wanted me back home again....So I was shown a local shop, a hospital a large shop in Liverpool and generally taken round and got quite grabbed by the idea and I've never regretted it...let me hastily say that. (C12 Female Widow Professional. Cohort C)

Constant references to whether moves that they had undertaken were similar to that of their peers gave a picture of how overtly the background situation had been considered, but also brought into the respondents minds issues of normative behaviour.

> "It was my health, I'd had rheumatics since being small and I suppose that's what saved me, made me different. Who knows what I'd be up to now? Most of my friends went into the mines but I couldn't, me mam wouldn't hear of it, so I ended up doing a clerical support job and worked my way up from there." (C34 Male married, professional,)

One difficulty in questioning moves in relation to their peers was that the questions were sometimes interpreted defensively and perhaps led to respondent's being less frank about their lives.

9.3 Migration Process and place

Having assessed the contribution of a longitudinal approach in understanding the migration process and some of the practical aspects of conducting a residence history analysis, the following section seeks to consider how those themes emerge within the two different case study areas. In other words, to examine the role of place in lifetime migrations in Rutland and Tynedale. Given the contrasting profiles of each study area there were clearly many more illustrative cases among the older two cohorts and professionals, however, it was decided to try and incorporate residence histories to represent the variety and breadth of experiences as oppose to the majority. Hence, one professional and one non-professional were selected from each study area in attempt to illustrate the importance and differences between the residents within each field area (Figures 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3). Thus far, attention has been focussed upon the importance of the temporal context but clearly the importance of place is believed to be crucial in mediating any migration decisions and an attempt is made to consider the local factors that may have been important.

9.3.1 Case studies from Cohort A

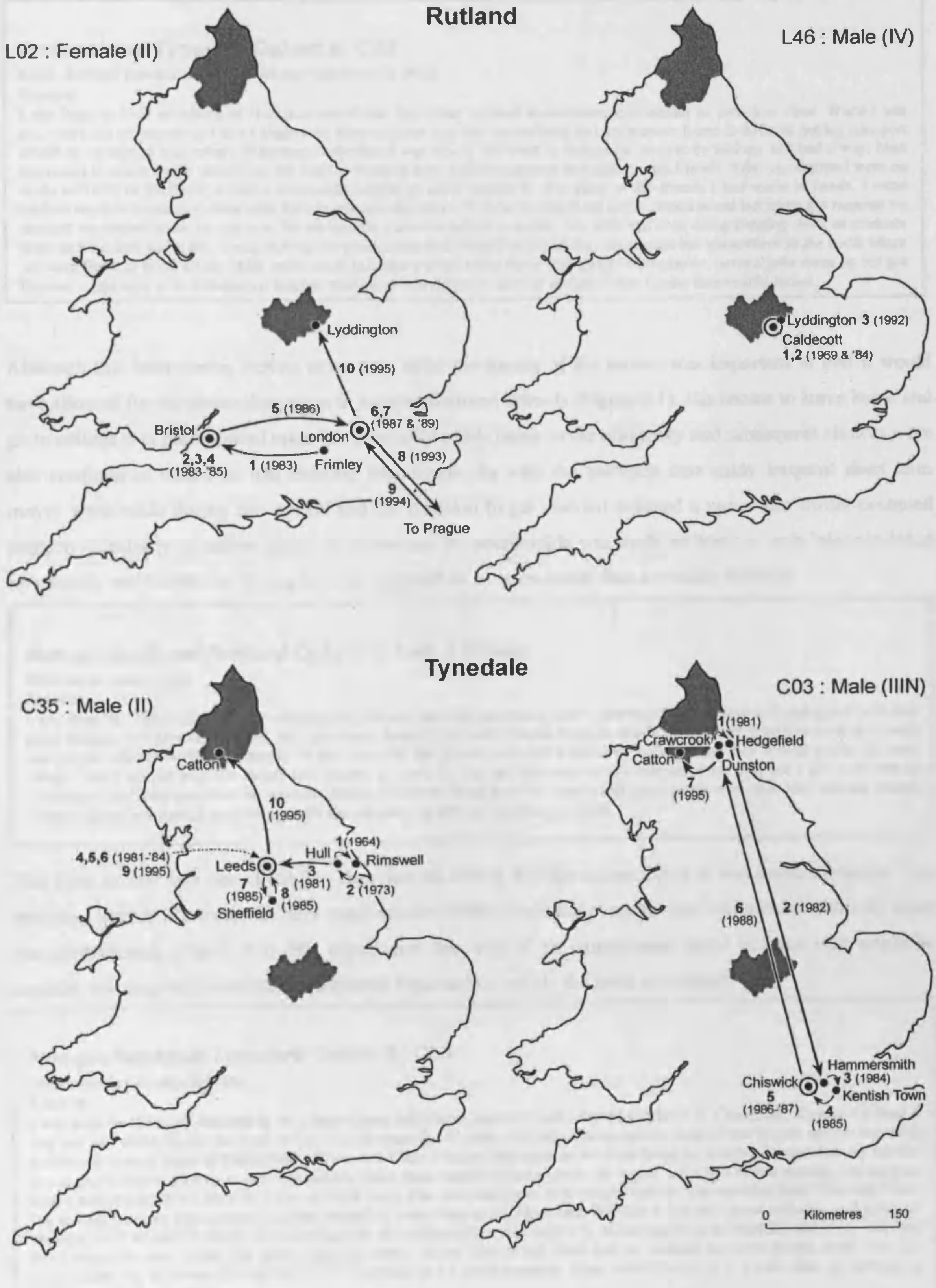
Professional Rutland Cohort A: L02

Female Re-married one daughter. Chartered accountant. Husband tax consultant
Born in 1962: 9 moves

I was born in Frimley in Surrey one of two children. Grew up in a small town that 'felt safe'. Lived there until I left to go to university. Always expected to go to university, so did my brother. My father was a teacher at local school and mother worked part-time as secretary. Moved into halls in first year in Bristol and then moved in with friends for the next two years (two different addresses). From there, I was offered a job in Bristol. At the time there were various places could have gone, but it just felt right it was a good company and lots of my friends were going to be in London too. My First husband-to-be also got job there and we moved into our first rented flat. After three years we got married in 1987 and moved to another flat that we bought, both having jobs we could afford to. After two years we split up and I went to work in Prague, just wanted to get away so I rented a place on my own to start with and then met my new partner and got pregnant. New husband-to- be was also English working abroad and we were both keen to move back ultimately. Later that year wanted to be back home near parents so bought a flat in London got married and had baby in England. After only a very short time bought the current 'attached cottage' in Lyddington and rented the flat in London, Although I have only recently moved in permanently we have owned the cottage for 22 months and know the immediate area quite well months and used it as often as possible until I could negotiated with work to work part-time and one of those days from home. I wanted to live somewhere in the countryside but no a 'ridiculous distance' from London. We both liked the area, first husband's parents lived in neighbouring village so had got to know area.. We will probably move in the future when we need more space but hope to stay in the area, if we can afford to.

This interviewee's residence history illustrates how the general expectations of her parents and friends shaped her initial decisions to leave home and go to university (Figure 9.1). She stayed in the same house throughout her childhood and it was more of an expectation rather than a decision to leave, her subsequent moves in and around the university town were typical of other interviewees in Cohort A. The move to London was based not only upon employment opportunities but also upon the knowledge that many of her friends would also be living there, including her first husband. The fact she had re-married had not emerged in the first interview reaffirming the difficulty of investigating the relationship of the migration process and divorce or separation. She appeared to have a 'goal of wanting to move to the countryside' as a safe place to bring up a family. The move to Rutland was based upon previous knowledge of the area and was not a discrete move but one that occurred over two years with the choice of Rutland as oppose to other rural areas, based upon its proximity to London.

Figure 9.1 Case studies - Cohort A


Rutland
L02 : Female (II)
Lyddington
10 (1995)
5 (1986)
6,7 (1987 & '89)
Bristol
London
2,3,4 (1983-'85)
1 (1983)
Frimley
8 (1993)
9 (1994)
To Prague
L46 : Male (IV)
Lyddington 3 (1992)
Caldecott
1,2 (1969 & '84)
Tynedale
C35 : Male (II)
Catton
10 (1995)
4,5,6 (1981-'84)
9 (1995)
Leeds
Hull
1 (1964)
Rimswell
3 (1981)
2 (1973)
7 (1985)
8 (1985)
Sheffield
C03 : Male (IIIN)
1 (1981)
Crawcrook
Hedgefield
Catton
Dunston
7 (1995)
6 (1988)
2 (1982)
Hammersmith
Chiswick
3 (1984)
5 (1986-'87)
Kentish Town
4 (1985)
0 Kilometres 150

Professional Tynedale Cohort A: C35

Male. Biology teacher married with one son born in 1962
9 moves

I was born in 1962 in suburb of Hull in a rented flat. My father worked as mechanic and mother as part-time carer. When I was two years old we moved out to a village near Rimswell but this was too isolated and my parents found it difficult getting transport round so we moved into suburb Withersea Hull when I was 10. At 18 I went to college in Leeds to do biology as I had always been interested in it and Leeds wasn't too far away. I lived in three different houses and shared with friends. After my degree I went on to do a PGCE in Sheffield, it had a reasonable reputation and I wanted to stay close to the friends I had made in Leeds. I came back to work in Leeds and share with friends who ere still there. Wife to be also lived in the shared house but when got married we decided we wanted to be on our own. So we bought a semi-detached in Leeds. My wife had been doing temping work as graduate there and we then had a son. I was looking for promotions and wanted to live in the countryside but somewhere in the north where we were from, to bring up my child somewhere safe and wanted somewhere with good local schools. Several jobs came up but got this one – and now wife is doing her teacher training at Newcastle so we will probably stay for the foreseeable future.

Although this interviewee moved twice as a child the timing of the moves was important in that it would have allowed for minimum disruption in moving between schools (Figure 9.1). His choice to leave home and go to college was partly based upon the proximity of his home to the university and subsequent choices were also confined to where he had existing friendships. As with the previous case study frequent short term moves were made during this period and the decision to get married initiated a move into owner-occupied property. Similarly an active choice to move into the countryside was made as being a 'safe 'place to bring up a family and his choice of employment was within a region rather than a specific location.

Non-professional Rutland Cohort A: L46, 2 moves

Male farm hand, single
2 moves

I was born in 1965 in Sapcote (a neighbouring village) and had one sister. She's now married and lives in Uppingham with two small kiddies. We grew up on farm, we had always farmed there didn't seem much to decide about. I left school as early as I could and got job where I could earn money. When I was 20, my parents were left a house by someone and they moved within the same village. But I fell out with the family and refused to work for dad and also wanted my independence. So I got a job over here in Lyddington and they provided the accommodation. I've been living here for 3 and a half years on my own, and don't see any reason to move unless something goes wrong with the job and I'm still not speaking to father.

This farm worker was one of the few interviewees among this age cohort living in tied accommodation. This residence history illustrates the very much smaller spatial scale that some respondents moved within by some non-professionals (Figure 9.1). His expectation that only if his employment failed in some way would he consider moving and illustrates the different expectations within the same age cohort.

Non-professional Tynedale Cohort A: C03,

Male married no dependants.
9 moves

I was born in 1968 and brought up in a foster home but after 6 months I was adopted and lived in Crawcrook, County Durham. I was one of 7 children and we lived on big council estate for 19 years. My father (construction worker) lost his job and we moved to a different council house in Hedgefield in Tyne and Wear. I had to find work as we were living on benefits. I went with my brother to London to find work (my cousin was already down there) and we lived together for a year and a half before moving into separate rented accommodation Chiswick. I met my wife there who was training to be a nursery teacher, she was also from Tyne and Wear. We moved between three rented flats but wanted to come back to the Northeast. We didn't like dirt, noise pollution and levels of violence (wife worked in rough area teaching kids of prostitutes and was 'shot at'). We moved back to Dunston, where my wife had lived when she was young but then it seemed more violent than it had been and we wanted to make proper move into the countryside. My wife was looking for work elsewhere and I could commute from here (Catton). It is a nice place to bring up a family and is a real family house.

For this interviewee, moving away from the Northeast to London was not only a first independent move but one where there he believed he would be able to find employment more easily (Figure 9.1). This coincided with poor employment opportunities for the young in the Northeast during the early 1980s. Once again, the importance of family ties and knowledge in the process of chain migration had meant that he was moving somewhere his cousin had made a similar move at an earlier time. Yet despite the fact that he found employment he wasn't very happy in London and after marrying a fellow Geordie both of them wanted to return to the Northeast. Their move back to the north was immediately back to an area they were familiar with before making into the countryside where they wanted to provide suitable accommodation to start a family. This case study illustrates the important role of family, ties and previous knowledge in all the moves this interviewee had undertaken.

9.3.2 Case studies from Cohort B

Professional Rutland Cohort B: L80 2 moves

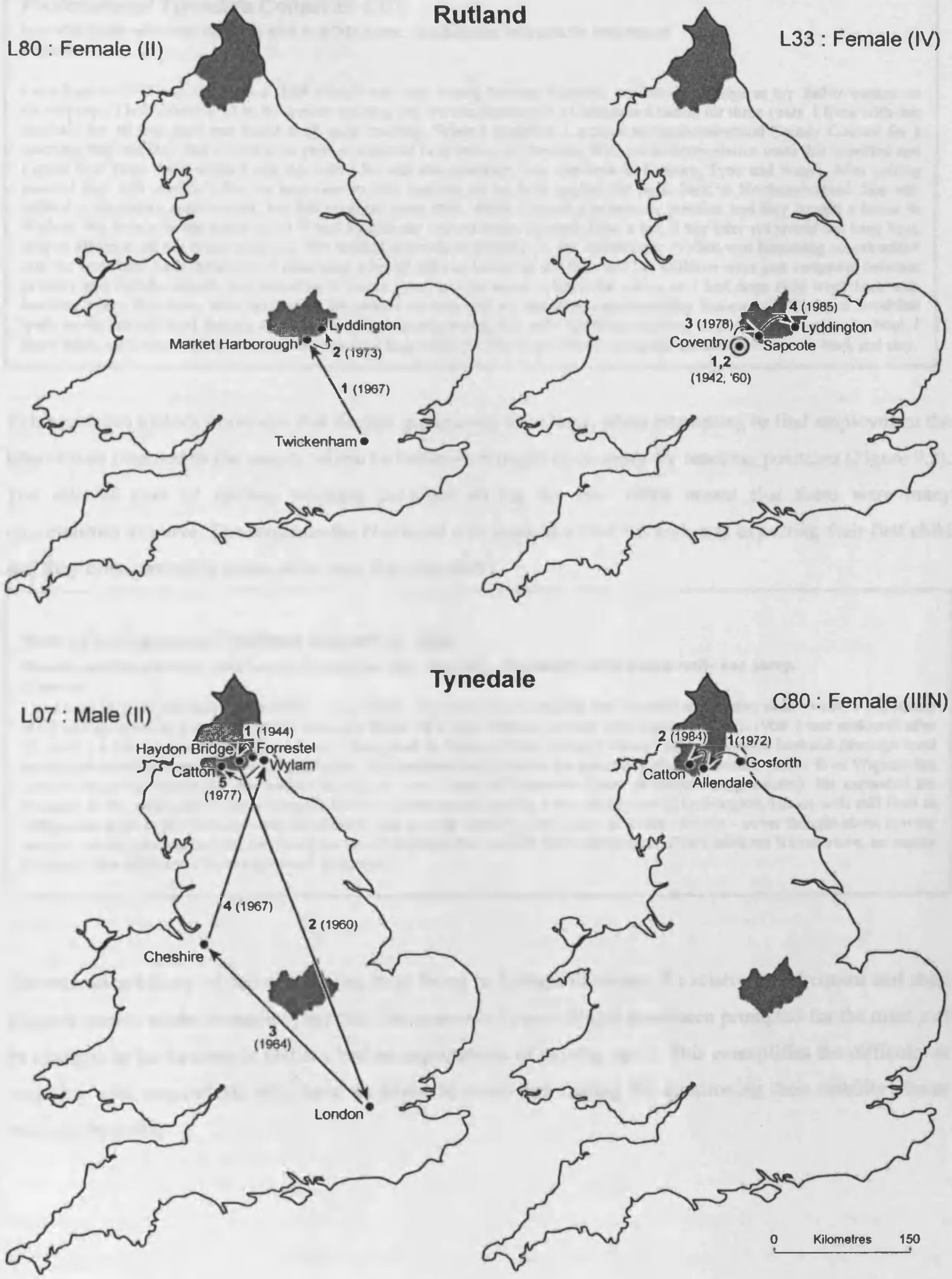
Married Female with two children both who have left home. School secretary
.3 moves

I was born in 1943 and grew up in Twickenham. My Father was an accountant and mother a housewife (formerly a secretary to a solicitor but she was of the generation when you didn't work when you got married). I grew up in a semi-detached house in a 'nice secure environment' and went to an independent school three or four miles away. Most of my friends went to local schools. I was meant to go to do a degree in Durham but didn't do well enough in geography so instead I did a local secretarial course. Durham had suggested doing teaching instead but I just didn't like the thought of all those children. I met my husband at a young conservative dance. He lived in Wandsworth having finished his studies working in the evenings but was living at home with his parents and was working as a project engineer. I started new jobs whilst living at home and contributed to the family income. I finally left home when I got married. My husband was offered job in Crawly in Sussex but just before we got married he was made redundant. But it wasn't a worry as jobs were plentiful in those days we just went on holiday and found one when we came back. My husband was offered a job in Corby. So we moved first to Market Harborough. I had looked at Uppingham for a bit (small local town) but felt it was a little bit too cut off it was to much of a jump for us from London. We felt that Market Harborough was a town sort of in between London and the country. But when we got there found there was something missing; I was a true Londoner in the sense that I found it hard to imagine there was life outside London. It wasn't small enough to have a good community and not large enough to be lively. We lived in Market Harborough for six years and then moved with one son. I really don't know why we wanted to move I suppose we wanted somewhere bigger. We went by instinct another reason why we wanted to leave was that they threatened to put a dual carriageway right through our garden The Land Blight Act1969/70. I think we had outgrown the town and wanted the peace and quiet of the countryside and the community of the country because there used to be quite a lot of community in this village. You see every Londoner has a dream of living in the country in built up areas - one of my sons is thinking about buying house in country at the age of 25. Whilst my daughter going off to university. We'll move when we retire and won't be able to keep this place going but we'd like to stay in the area – perhaps move to Uppingham.

As I was leaving she told me that husband had been made redundant during their stay in Lyddington which had been difficult to cope with as he felt so demoralised and a job came up in Yorkshire. He lived there during the week and came back at weekends but they didn't want to move because felt that job was not secure and children were all settled in schools. Perhaps the same thing could have happen again so they decided to take an additional flat, which had been hard on the finances but they wanted some stability.

This residence history illustrates several features discussed earlier in the chapter; she stayed at home until she got married although she was already working (Figure 9.2). They moved down the settlement hierarchy starting in a medium-sized town before moving into a village. There was also clear evidence of how the loss of employment affected the household's decision to move at different points in their lives and how evidence peripatetic residences only emerged after the interview had finished and how family moves had not been undertaken due to schooling commitments.

Figure 9.2 Case Studies – Cohort B


Rutland
L80 : Female (II)
Lyddington
Market Harborough
2 (1973)
1 (1967)
Twickenham
L33 : Female (IV)
4 (1985)
3 (1978)
Lyddington
Coventry
Sapcote
1,2
(1942, '60)
Tynedale
L07 : Male (II)
1 (1944)
Haydon Bridge
Forrestel
Catton
Wylam
5
(1977)
4 (1967)
2 (1960)
Cheshire
3
(1964)
London
C80 : Female (IIIN)
2 (1984)
1 (1972)
Gosforth
Catton
Allendale
0 Kilometres 150

Professional Tynedale Cohort B: C07,

Married Male with two children who had left home. Headmaster taken early retirement
5 moves

I was born in 1948 and moved as a child when I was very young between Forestall and Haydon Bridge as my father worked on the railways. I left school at 18 to do teacher training and went to Goldsmith's College in London for three years. I lived with this landlady for all that time and found it all quite exciting. When I qualified, I applied to Northumberland County Council for a teaching post and they had a residential post at a special field centre in Cheshire. With no accommodation costs this appealed and I spent four years there where I met my wife who was also teaching (she was born in Fenham, Tyne and Wear). After getting married they still wouldn't find us anywhere to live together so we both applied for posts back in Northumberland. She was offered a temporary appointment, but fell pregnant soon after, whilst I found a permanent position and they bought a house in Wylam. We then sold the house in 1977 and bought our current house (reckon if we'd left it any later we would not have been able to afford to as the prices shot up). We wanted somewhere properly in the countryside Wylam was becoming suburbanised and we were both keen gardeners. There were a lot of railway house up for sale. and the children were just swapping between primary and middle schools and therefore it was a good time to move. I knew the valley as I had done field work here with teaching posts. But times were hard when we moved up here and we ended up supplementing income with Bed and Breakfast trade as we had oil fired heating and oil was relatively expensive. My wife ended up working as dinner lady in local school. I don't think we'll move from here , at least not for a long while we like it and there's space for the children to come back and stay.

This residence history illustrates that despite going away to college, when attempting to find employment the interviewee returned to the county where he had been brought up to apply for teaching positions (Figure 9.2). The relative ease of finding teaching positions during the late 1960s meant that there were many opportunities to move. The return to the Northeast was made at a time his wife was expecting their first child and they both wanted to return to be near their families.

Non -Professional Rutland Cohort B: L33,

Female and Re-married- with two children from first marriage. Husband's farm mixed cattle and sheep.
3 moves

I was born in 1940 just outside Coventry – in a village. My father was a polisher for Triumph and mother didn't work. I left school at 15 and got a job as a carer in elderly person's home but I lived with my parents until I got married in 1960. I was widowed after 15 years (a tumour it was) and moved into a bungalow in Sapcote (local village) where I met my second husband (through local newspaper small ads) and moved to Lyddington. My husband used to work for somebody else –husband's family from Wigston but used to work for somebody else before buying his own farm in Beaumont Chase (a neighbouring hamlet). He expanded the business in the 1960s and brought a bigger farm in Laxton before buying a new farmhouse in Lyddington. His ex-wife still lives in village and stays in her husband's old farmhouse. The ex-wife doesn't worry about us living here too – never thought about moving away when he got divorced. He just bought a local bungalow here and left her in farmhouse. Don't think we'll ever move, no reason to I don't like cities and I've always lived in village.

The residence history of this non-professional living in Rutland illustrates the relatively infrequent and short distance moves made throughout her life. Her moves between villages have been prompted for the most part by changes in her household and she had no expectations of moving again. This exemplifies the difficulty of engaging with respondents who have no desire to move and finding the questioning their stability almost incomprehensible.

Non professional Tynedale Cohort B: C80,

Married Female Four children and 'does the books' for their family Coal Merchant Business.
2 moves

I was born in 1944 and was brought up in two flats that had been lived - we lived in the lower one and rented out the upper one. It was just my mother as my dad died when I was quite small. I stayed at home when I left school at 15 and got job in shop and worked there until I was 26 years old. I used to come up to Allendale on holiday and met my husband. I went with him for six years before marrying him I really wasn't sure if I could live up here I men I was born in a city. But we got married in 1971 and moved out of home and into a house in Allendale. We started off by renting a cottage in Allendale and then bought it from her. My husband was in a partnership with his father as coal merchants – but coalers a thing of the past maybe and we're really not sure what will happen. My son is also in business but we're not sure about the future.We'll never move from here, there's no need to and Stan's always lived around here so no we'll be here forever.

This residence history was a very factual account, she had lived in the same house for 26 years until she got married and had no brothers or sisters. She stopped working when she got married and felt very isolated when she moved to Allendale. Other than the initial dilemma of moving to the countryside where she knew no one apart form her husband and his friends, she had a pragmatic stance when it came to decisions to move. As soon as they had children she made friends, settled into the area and appeared very happy to remain there even given current concerns about their business moving was not seen as an option.

9.3.3 Case studies from Cohort C

Professional Rutland Cohort C: L05,

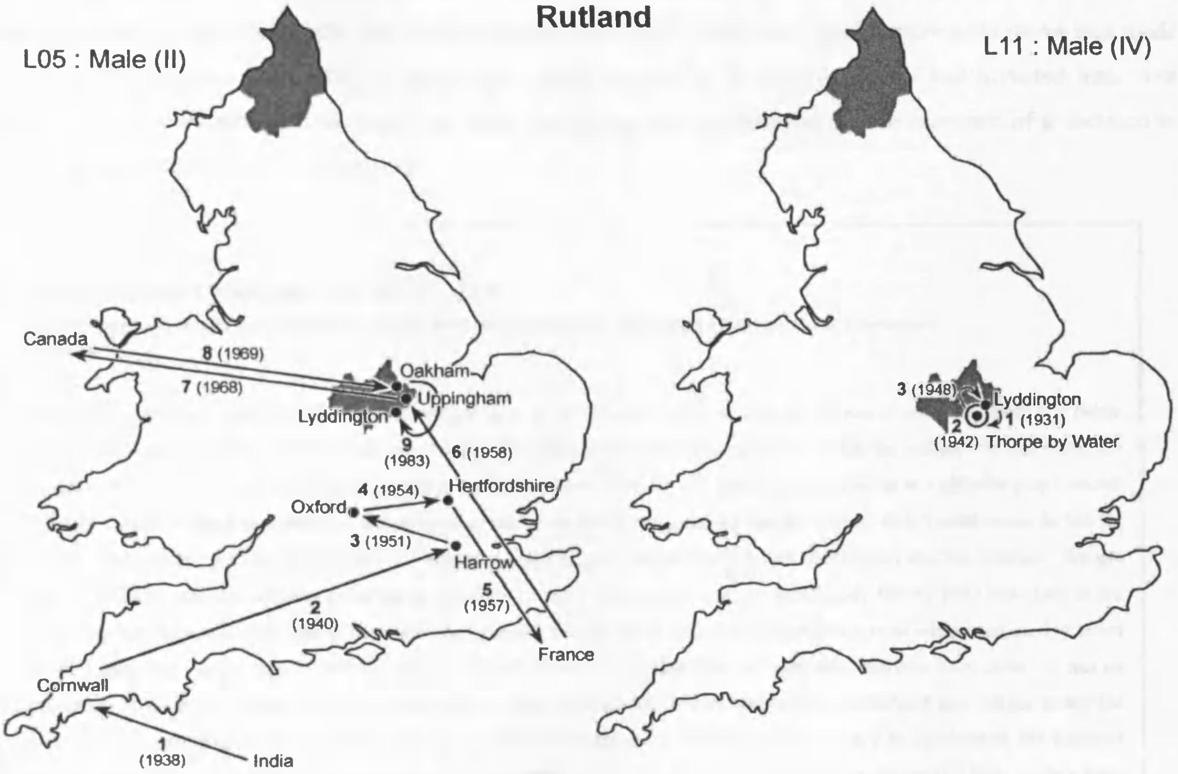
Married male with two children who have left home. Retired Housemaster
9 moves

I was born in India My father was in the RAF and in 195 was posted back to Lincoln where I stayed until 1940 and then followed him round a series of postings round country. I was in Cornwall for a while but I had no particular loyalty to any particular part. I went to boarding school in Harrow and then did military service where I got into Oxford. My sister went to 13 different schools in the course of all the postings I think she would have loved to go to university with different opportunities. At the end of my degree I wanted to go into Civil service or Foreign Office but didn't pass the last examination so went into teaching. I put my name onto University's appointment boards and had various options. I took the one in Haileybury school in Hertfordshire where I worked for three years and then had a year in France as assistance. I had met my fiancée in Oxford by then. I then left Haileybury (because my fiancée died) and couldn't stay on that school so went to France for a year. I fixed myself up with Uppingham School I knew I was coming back there met wife on skiing trip on school party. She was secretary living with her parents in Tunbridge wells. She had lost her first husband in a yachting accident soon after the war. We found a house outside the town and had a child in 1962 but he died (a hole in the heart) so took time and went on an America exchange. We moved back to Uppingham and didn't stay in the States although we had had the opportunity and instead picked up the reins and came back as Housemaster. It was very different from London you tend to be anonymous but you can't in a small village market town gown difference and much of the time you're in school affairs it's a rather closed circle I Knew I wasn't going to be a Housemaster for ever and would buy property at some point. We knew the people who had this house we were having dinner and had said if you eve decide to sell give us a ring which they did and put it in the hands of the agent and we bought it in 1981. I continued teaching until 1989, eight years after the move and then retired at 60. I hope we won't have to move for another ten years and then we will move to Uppingham definitely that's where all our friends are nearer the shops. I haven't exactly been drawn back to the countryside but just drawn to love it and discovering why my mother loved it so much.

The first questionnaire survey depicted an interviewee who had made several moves in response to a changing career. A further discussion revealed several tragic events that had precipitated several of the long distance moves.

Figure 9.3 Case Studies - Cohort C

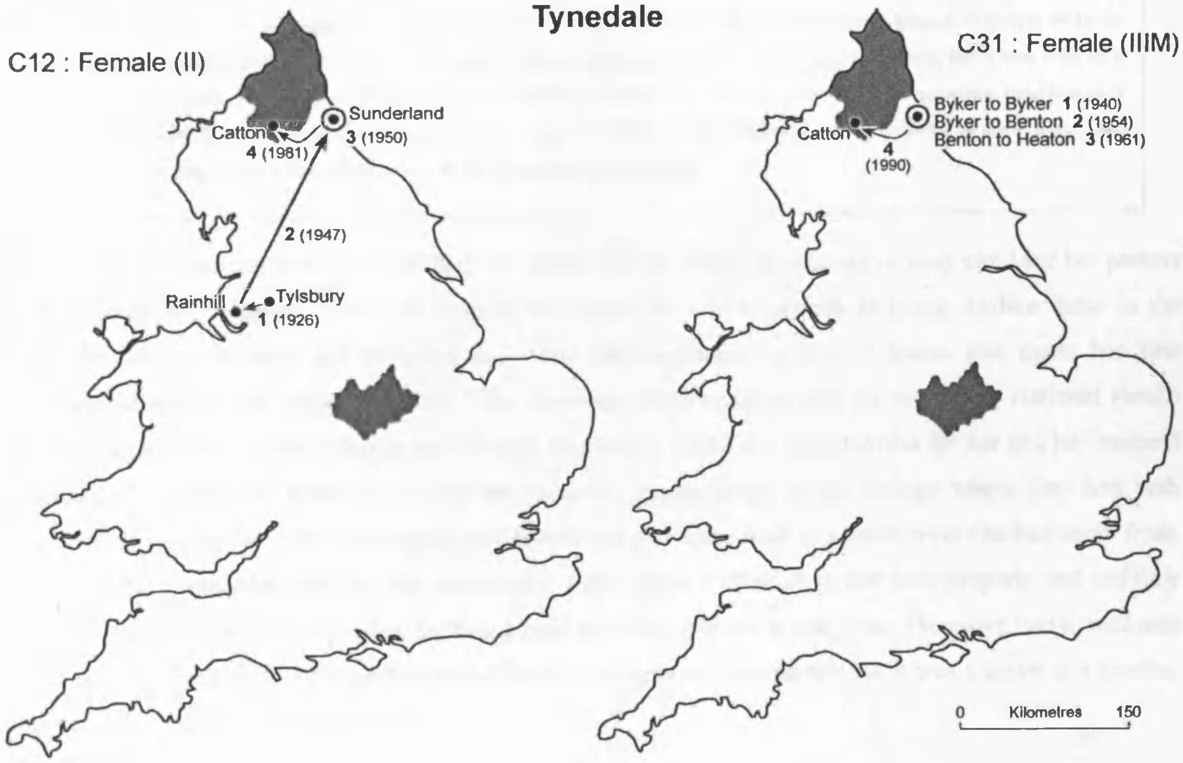
Rutland


L05 : Male (II)

L11 : Male (IV)

Canada
8 (1969)
7 (1968)
Oakham
Uppingham
Lyddington
9 (1983)
6 (1958)
4 (1954)
Hertfordshire
Oxford
3 (1951)
Harrow
5 (1957)
2 (1940)
France
Cornwall
1 (1938)
India
3 (1948)
Lyddington
2 (1942)
1 (1931)
Thorpe by Water

Tynedale


C12 : Female (II)

C31 : Female (IIIM)

Sunderland
Catton
3 (1950)
4 (1981)
2 (1947)
Rainhill
Tylsbury
1 (1926)
Catton
Byker to Byker 1 (1940)
Byker to Benton 2 (1954)
Benton to Heaton 3 (1961)
4 (1990)
0 Kilometres 150

The relatively longevity of stays was clearly helped by the community created by the school, with his lack of allegiance to any particular area due to his frequent moves as a child the school a retirement move was made so he could maintain links with the friendships hand community he and his family had invested into. His final move also illustrated how important local knowledge was in determining the outcome of a decision to move in preparation of this retirement.

Professional Tynedale Cohort C: C12,

Widow–with three non-dependent children. Retired pharmacist. Husband formerly from Northeast
4 moves

I was born in 1923.in Lancashire in a largish village with three churches and two schools – it was a semi-detached. My father was a winder at the colliery. When I was very young we moved from outside the village to inside the village – it was easier for my parents with transport. I went to the grammar school and left at 16 when I got an apprenticeship at a pharmacy in Prescott two miles away. After matriculation I was evacuated and I was gong into teaching but my parents didn't want me to be too far away so that's how I got into the pharmacy. I stayed at home to go to university in Liverpool where I met my husband. We got married in 1950, and my husband got a job in Sunderland and I found a job where I could study for my PhD and teach at the same time. My husband's job was in the maths department. We stayed in rented accommodation even when married, but when the first baby was on the way wanted somewhere to live of our own. I continued to work after children were older –it was an expanding NHS in the 1960s and they needed pharmacists in hospitals. We moved within Sunderland into bigger house for over 20 years with garden. But my husband was from the Northeast and we had no reasons to stay in Sunderland, my husband used to cycle here as a boy. So we moved out of Sunderland, he applied for early redundancy in the early 1980s as they were restructuring the college and he wanted out. But we couldn't sell the house in Sunderland because Nissan was trying to decide whether to relocate or not and shipyards were closing and unemployment very high. College was biggest employer in town. Anyway we were lucky that I had an old aunt that had left us some money so we could buy this place, but it was a bit of a worry for several years. We sold eventually in 1981 and well that's where we are. Jim wasn't well for sometime (*and had died in the early 1990s*) but I've got used to being here so I suppose I shall go into sheltered accommodation at some point. The boys are still moving round at the moment so I'm not upsticking myself again…

For this interviewee the importance of the war and her family situation in being an only child led her parents to encourage her to enter a career in which she would be able to remain at home. Unlike those in the youngest cohort although she attended university she continued to live at home and made her first independent move upon getting married. The economic circumstances with an expanding National Health Service and creation of more employment within education created the opportunities for her and her husband to move to Sunderland. Similarly it was the economic restructuring of the college where they had both worked that enabled her husband to take early retirement and move back to an area where he had come from. However, the harsh economic climate of the early 1980s made it difficult to sell their property and had they not had other sources of income they could not have afforded to move at that time. The move into a rural area was a specific decision as both members had lived in villages as children and but it was a move to a familiar area for one member of the household.

Non Professional Rutland Cohort C: L11

Male, married. Three grown-up children, two are surviving. Retired bricklayer
4 moves

I was born 1920 and my father was a farm labourer and mother cleaned. I was one of seven. I spent the first five years of life in this village (Lyddington) living with relatives and then we moved into a house that went with the job in Thorpe (neighbouring village). I came back to Lyddington in 1937 and the village was growing with the building of two new estates. I had to walk to the village school in Lyddington when we were living in Thorpe. I worked as a 'boot boy at Uppingham (School) cleaning all the boots and shoes for schoolboys. Many of my friends were working in the steel works and lots of families from Scotland came down. A lot of building started and so they needed a new reservoir, which is what I worked on. I earned more money in brick laying than on the farms. I then worked in Cottesmore aerodromes during the war. I got married in 1942, she was originally from Kettering worked in the Land Army and we had our honeymoon in Corby. We put our name down for council houses and these were the first council houses (timber framed houses). My father on council and had a bit of sway. We lived with my mother in law until 1947 and then we got the keys for the place in February 1947. I won't leave Lyddington, my wife goes shopping every Thursday morning and I won't even go with her to Corby. We have two children left but they left the village, there were no jobs for them here and no social life (*Now in Kettering and Uppingham)*. But we're not at all against the building of new property and we think the conservation order is really unfair. My brother lives in village too – he is heavily involved in fox hunting knows every nook and hole in the hedges round here.

Having been born in the village and moved to a neighbouring village, only 4 miles away he still had wanted to return. This interviewee's employment history indicated the importance of the economic circumstances of the time in that he had a various jobs both during and after the Second World War and there was a reasonable choice and availability. In contrast, housing was scarce and he like others of his generation stayed with relatives. As with many other moves it seemed that local knowledge and contacts were important in securing his council house in Lyddington. His family and employment have been within a ten-mile radius and as with others who had moved infrequently, he sees no reason to move in the future.

Non professional Tynedale Cohort C: C31

Widow. Two grown-up children. Left home. Retired hairdresser.
4 moves

I was born in Byker in 1927 and we lived on the quayside in Newcastle. My father was a Stevedore putting the cargo onto the boats. My mother worked in 'ticket business' (*effectively credit business poor people obtain credit)*. I left school at 14 and didn't get the chance to sit the 11 plus as they couldn't have afforded the uniform. I'd been ill with rheumatics so had missed a lot of school but I did learn to read and write and I had always been keen on dancing. Mother had thirteen children and ten survived. We must have been a bit better off than most because we never got free school meals and never got free school shoes Sometimes there was no work for all then men as there was a recession and things were tough I went to work in a factory - it was an upholstery factory under Byker Bridge. I did hairdressing at weekends and took myself off to night classes we went round the hotels with a Mr Lesley. My father wouldn't have a council house, he thought they were rubbish so we still had no toilet. Two of my sisters had gone down to London to work in service but there were big age gaps the three or four at top were old enough to be my parents. It was my oldest sister who was a mother to me. I really had it easier than everybody else I was just leaving school then the war started and it wasn't worth evacuating me since I was getting to an age when you didn't need to so I worked in an engineering firm doing engraving. That's where I met my husband at engineering firm he was a 'Key man'. I went down to Birmingham during the war. We got married after the war and continued to live with my parents for two and a half years. We saved like mad but we couldn't get anything to rent and buying was worse. We applied for permit to build. My son was born and we looked at houses in Melton Park but my husband said "if we live next door to some posh director's kids who go horse riding and ours aren't they're look down their noses at us." So instead we found a house in Benton loved it had a garden and lived there for 29 years. We have two children both grown up and married. In 1984 my husband died suddenly. My daughter was out in Canada she had had met her husband at university., but my son had moved to Haydon Bridge. I knew I had to move with the gardens and things so we came and looked at this. I suppose I will have to move at some point but with finances, I really don't want to be in a home but we'll have to see how long I can stay here – that's what I'd like.

This respondent's residence history also illustrates the importance that the Second World War had upon her residence history. Unlike her sisters she remained in the Northeast, as there was work available. Her move into the house in Benton was viewed at the time as they place they would remain to bring up their family and being in an appropriate neighbourhood was important. The fact that she had always wanted to move into the countryside meant that she waited until her husband's death to fulfil this dream. However, the second interview also recalled very negative circumstances about where she had been living; violence and minor spates of vandalism also encouraged her to move away.

Several features of these residence histories illustrated earlier indicate subtle differences between the two field areas in terms of the moves the respondents have made, but noticeably these are do not appear to be substantive. The main differences between the two study areas appeared to be in the extent of return migration between the two areas with a higher level among the Tynedale sample among all cohorts. Among the youngest cohort there was some return migration to a region that respondents had grown up in, to an area that they were familiar with rather than one specific place and this was more pronounced among respondents in Tynedale than Rutland. Whilst for those living in Rutland many of the moves were made in response to the presence of the two public schools, either as employees or as families with school-aged children. Among respondents in Cohort B there were several examples of those in Rutland who had no previous knowledge of the area but were attracted to the area due to the good reputation of Oakham and Uppingham Schools. Whilst return migration among members of Cohort C was more evident in Tynedale than in Rutland. This may have been partly due to the relative affluence of the schools, the proximity of Rutland to several industrial centres and the housing stock of traditional stone built cottages inflating house prices beyond the reach of many potential 'return migrants'.

9.4 Summary

In order to recreate residence histories of respondents the following points should be considered. Although it was possible to summarise trace a pattern of moves through time, the issue of understanding decision-making through time was more complex. There was evidence in many of the in-depth interviews of many issues such as delayed moves, aborted moves, important feedback of previous moves into later moves, strategies for moving etc, but the level of importance of any of these was difficult to evaluate. Any study of reasons for moving in the past has shown that post-rationalisation can be a problem, there was evidence that by linking all respondents' moves together that this may have compounded the problem. In short, understanding decision-making of many separate but related decisions may have unknowingly created a false relationship between the moves. In asking respondents about lifetime strategies it seemed at times as if respondents were then analysing their own moves and imprinting a logical line of reasoning upon moves they had made retrospectively. Lifetime strategies clearly change through people's lives and they adjusted to new circumstances so a consideration of a single strategy was probably inadequate.

Compiling residence histories for a wide range of inhabitants draws attention to the fact that most research of migration into rural areas had not considered the migration of non-professionals within rural areas or engaged with attempting to understand why and how some had chosen to stay within the area. This was a sensitive topic to tackle but it is argued that only by understanding what forces maintain a financially disadvantaged sector will social policies be able to address their needs. Notably, some of those who had chosen to stay did so because they realised that they would never be able to afford to return if they left, whilst others simply did not want to move because they were used to living there.

The importance of specific ties to a place emerged in some of the residence histories quite sharply, but of more importance was the apparent absence of any locational ties in others. This surprising finding, together with the level of similarities in the patterns of migration between some of the case studies would seem to suggest that place is less important than is often pre-supposed.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

At the outset a number of points must be noted so that the conclusions of this thesis can be set in context. Making generalisations about the different migration patterns and processes operating between the three age cohorts was not an attempt to maintain that these are likely to be representative of the population of Britain at large, or indeed of rural Britain. It is important to remember that it was only one specific subgroup of the British population, those currently living in two rural areas. It is probably realistic to assume for the Rutland sample, dominated by the professional and managerial classes that migration events were more common than for the population in general. It must also be remembered that in each age time, the patterns and processes discussed tended to concentrate on those who had moved. However, compared to other studies of migration this research still encompassed a much broader range of residents, including those long-term residents with limited migration history. Another important feature of the research is that although lifetime migrations were discussed, given that many of the sample were still relatively young, their lifetime migrations are still incomplete. Thus, the results for moves in the latter years are certainly a partial picture. The sample of moves in the fifties, sixties and seventies were small and therefore there was a limit to the conclusions that can be drawn and the implications of those results. In a sense the comparison of partial histories is all that can be achieved when considering the younger age cohorts. It is also tempting, but inaccurate, to equate the migration patterns of those interviewed to the migration patterns of the village as a whole. Clearly, this is one sided as the migration histories only incorporate those residents who have remained in the settlements or who have moved into them. It may have been that local structures were responsible for out-movement for that, without the out-migrants is lost information. So too, a cautionary word must almost be used in conjunction with trends – given the great variety in residence histories for almost every generalisation there were exceptions which tended to reaffirm the point that as individuals, the same sets of circumstance will effect migration behaviour in diverse ways.

10.2 Residence history analysis as a tool for understanding migration

Whilst the use of a residence history analysis was advocated certain features of it as a tool for the analysis of lifetime migrations must be addressed. Firstly, as with other biographic attempts to contextualise migration events the tendency of residence history analysis is to encourage respondents to concentrate upon their whole lives and the reconstruction of those moves may have over-emphasised certain findings. For example, as mentioned earlier retrospective interpretations of motives for moving may encourage individuals to justify their later moves, with the resultant emphasis on attachment to places and people. Thus, although partial success is achieved by relating moves to each other, perhaps by recording a residence history analysis this had the effect of making more sense of the moves than was actually the case. The second implication is that respondents delving into their own lives and reconstructing their subsequent residences appears to result in a more inward looking perspective than a consideration of isolated moves. This may also have led to very little evidence of external and structural events having any importance. Of more importance to the respondents were the crucial personal events; success and tragedies, which gave their lives meaning.

A second feature of a residence history analysis is that despite the forewarning that it can be a long-winded process it is extremely difficult to 'control' the time taken. Even given precise research aims and precise questions, the researcher will find it difficult to steer conversations naturally and so has to allow an enormous amount of time and then consider the relevance of information gleamed. Likewise the type of person giving their residence history may well be more conversational, informative and appear to have made connections about moves in their lives than others. Unless the informants are known to the researcher before, it is impossible to be selective. So too, those who have given more considered opinions may well have succeeded in contributing and making their presence felt and their voices incorporated. The time-consuming nature of data collection is clearly one of the greatest drawbacks of the technique.

A third feature of residence history analysis was the elucidation of multiple movers. The incidence of multiple movers apart from those in their twenties was confined to specific households and specific migrant types (army, tied moves, and students). The notion that 'migration breeds migration' (Coleman and Salt 1992: 403) has important but far from clear-cut implications. Whilst some individuals had a very disrupted childhood they then preferred to adopt a lifestyle for their children which was quite sedentary. Others, particularly those in tied jobs seem to have got used to moving and then found it difficult to settle down. These two polar reactions have important implications for the current younger cohort. Given that they have in general moved more often than their older counterparts the question arises as to whether they will they then continue to make more moves. Evidence from the sample of thirty-year-olds in Cohort A, point towards a period of stability due to family and school ties. Interestingly though the incidence of a pronounced migration history among the professionals and managerial classes who chose to move in their fifties might point towards a continued trend of sustained migration levels throughout their lives.

Lastly, residence history analysis enabled an examination of the relationship between household transitions and migration, but the sample of rural residents was not typical of British society as a whole. Despite the increased significance of single person households within society, there were few one person households in the sample excepting widowers, so too of those who were living in the study areas few had ever lived in single person accommodation. The implication of this could be that single person households are more common in urban areas or that alternative household forms are more inclined to move into urban areas. So too, within these rural areas the diminishing importance of the institution of marriage does not appear to have lessened the propensity for duel-headed households to be involved in the majority of migration events.

10.3 Main findings and implications

In general patterns of migration for most households in all three age cohorts were remarkably similar through time despite occurring in different times and contexts. Although moves were common to all, frequent moves were not. As with the Figures 2.2, the pattern of age-related moves established in this research almost mirrored those generated in previous surveys. Despite the vast array of reasons given for moving throughout a lifetime and the complexity of individual moves there was surprising homogeneity in the actual findings. Even given that some individuals reacted to the same events in very different ways a reflection of the diversity of human nature nevertheless, generalisations emerged among all three age cohorts would suggest that many individuals still behave in remarkably similar fashion. The broad picture of migration throughout a lifetime and the importance of various transitions such as marriage and cohabitation, remain central to understanding the migration process.

However, if continuity was the overwhelming trend through time, of particular interest seemed to be the fact that logically circumstances would dictate differences not widely evident in these accounts. Lack of historicity may be a function of the way in which moves were recorded but movement seemed so moderately affected by external events it seemed as if age related transitions were more important than the circumstances of the time (with the exception of wartime experiences). The implication that the context is less important than the age time would override many important features of lifecourse theory. Yet having emphasised homogeneity and lack of change of particular importance is that where there appeared to be most differences between cohorts was the earlier periods in their lives. Moves in the younger years in particular in the teens and twenties not only generated the greatest volume of moves, but in the course of subsequent moves it was these moves which then tended to be particularly important in creating ties to areas and information about possible alternatives residences. Therefore, although changes seem to be small the processes that lie behind these changes are arguably extremely important with respect to subsequent migration patterns.

Increased migration events in the younger years included both short distance and long distance moves, but a slightly higher incidence of long distance moves. During the middle and later years the older two cohorts appeared more stable but that is not to say that moves in the forties, fifties and sixties were unimportant. The sheer volume of moves does not equate to their impact upon the individuals involved or the community losing a household or the community receiving a household. Although increased attention has turned to important changes in terms of moves in later life given the planning implications this study did not find moves of this nature to be particularly common. When asked about future moves, subsequent moves were clearly planned amongst a substantial minority. The absence of moves in later years could be a result of sampling villages, maybe if a range of settlement sizes had been incorporated there may have been more movement within this age time.

Therefore what appeared to be the underlying causes of this increased moving that occurs in respondents twenties? Chapter 5 pointed to the importance of further education in long distance moves. It is believed that once a long distance move has been made, it is believed that further moves were more likely. Whilst current government plans focus upon access to higher education for many this might point towards an increase in long distance movers. However, against that is the increasing cost to students of entering higher education and the greater importance of students who choose to attend college or university near their home so they can continue livng at home with a reduced financial burden. Thus these two processes might moderate each other so that an increase in long distance migration is dampened. However, the short distance relatively frequent moves associated with the young also rely on availability of rental accommodation. Given that owner-occupier levels are increasing this may well serve as a deterrent to frequent moves, yet one of the greatest differences between the three age cohorts were the expectations that respondent's had about moving. For those in the older cohort moves were undertaken perhaps less frequently in their younger years, as there was seen to be no precedent for moving between alternative rented accommodation. Whilst among the younger cohorts moving between alternative rented or owned property in non-family households was more common which appear to raise their own levels of migration. The social norms of the peer group were more prominent in the in-depth accounts than the economic circumstances in moderating migration behaviour. However, it could be argued that the relationship between economic circumstances and social norms is very closely knit and therefore social norms are manifest situations of the economic circumstances of the time.

Although multiple movers were not common in general there appeared to be a higher proportion during the younger years. There was no direct relationship established between a respondent with a history of migration and increased mobility. Our own perceptions of mobility maybe over-inflated because of peer experience, there are still large numbers of people that have been very sedentary (Warnes 1986). Most people do not move many times during their lives and care should be made to remember this when discussing the implications of migration behaviour. So too the logical relationship between moving during the middle years simply to adjust to changing household needs with growing or diminishing households was not borne out in this study (Rossi 1955; Rossi 1980). Whilst households do adjust to changing household needs it was found that most only moved when other factors precipitated a move, such as a change in employment and associated wage increment or an inheritance which enabled a move to take place. The sheer cost of moving both psychologically and financially certainly has meant that many households did not move or remained in the same residence for much longer periods than would match their household needs at the time. This reaffirmed the need to consider migration events not as discrete events, as the precipitation of moves often had many underlying causes which related to circumstances of not only that particular to time but previous events or household circumstances.

10.4 The importance of the rural context

There were various features of the residence histories apparent in both rural study areas. For example, there was a significant minority within the non-professional class who had moved infrequently and over short distances among all three cohorts; yet the impact of economic circumstances was often more evident in their residence histories than the professional group. For example, the availability of specific agricultural related employment facilitated their short distance moves or a move within a region as their accommodation was tied to the employment. As most professional training or initial employment within the professional group occurred in urban areas the majority of this group seemed less directly affected by the economic restructuring that occurred within rural areas. However, the return of migrants in the professional and managerial groups back to the region and more specifically the rural areas with which they had ties was common among all three age cohorts. Even when considerable distances had been moved in the younger years, particularly among the youngest age cohort, many respondents were drawn back to rural areas that were familiar to them either through holidays or visiting friends.

Reasons for moving into the two rural areas were very diverse as were the characteristics of the migrants themselves, whilst the variety of people reaffirmed the differences between different rural areas there were nevertheless similarities in the predominance of married couple families living in both areas. A greater number of residents among the Tynedale sample had returned to the region they had grown up in than among the Rutland sample. Although many respondent among the Rutland sample had ties to the area, these were often accrued through the length of time lived in the area or region rather than having grown up there. This illustrated the importance of not making blanket generalisations about rural areas, the proximity of many commercial and service centres offering employment among those living in Rutland has led to a greater diversity of potential migrants in the vicinity compared to Tynedale.

Interestingly the notion of the rural idyll being important in making decisions to move into the countryside seemed to be much more prominent among the younger cohorts as many cited the importance of the rural setting as an appropriate place to bring children up. Among the older cohort few mentioned the rural environment specifically but many discussed their search for new residences in terms of appropriate environments to bring up young children. This study showed that many of those in the oldest cohort moved within the suburbs during their younger years and although the same criterion such as the provision of good schools were important they simply either were not able to move into the countryside or chose not to. Yet, even those members of the two older cohorts that did move into the countryside earlier in their lives did not mention the attraction of a specifically rural area. It is possible this was either because this was a relatively long time ago, the respondents had become used to living in a rural area and this issue was not at the forefront of their mind or that the distinction between urban or rural living was not seen to be as stark at that time. It could be argued that people's perceptions of the countryside as a safe haven in which to start families has been fuelled over the last two decades by the movement of some migrants. This has then been linked to the high financial values and prestige attached to some countryside dwellings and then initiated others to move to similar areas. Thus a form of chain migration has been established, not between one homogenous group but among those who aspired to create a specific lifestyle (Cloke et al 1994). The main difference between the three age cohorts was the younger generations have had the opportunities to move into the countryside at an earlier point in their lives than their older counterparts. Champion (2000), argued that the lure of the countryside has been uniquely a British phenomenon. Furthermore the study of migrants in Tyendale and Rutland found that migrants at an earlier age than previously with the financial means have acquired property in the most sought after rural areas reiterating the selective nature of migration.

The notion of counterurbanization as a relatively recent phenomenon has been questioned (*Lewis in print*) and it would seem that this study has confirmed that whilst there is evidence that a larger proportion of respondents may conform to the general notions of counterurbanites their characteristics are more complex than simply 'in-migrants'. Many respondents returned to an area they once lived in, many had lived within the region for a long period of time before moving into the adjacent countryside thus although they were neither born nor grew up in that area, by the process of living within a region for a long period of time meant that they were then unlikely to be regarded by the inhabitants of the village as 'outsiders'. It is argued here that by using birth place data to analyse the origins of inhabitants of rural in-migrants this has inflated the source of potential conflicts in rural areas. There have been increasingly greater differentials in income between long-term residents and recent in-migrants which have probably been the main contributing factor in highlighting potential conflict with the in-flux of residents. It is argued therefore that it is not that in-migration is as such a new phenomenon but that it has occurred in an increasingly competitive environment.

Through time, among all three age cohorts, migration between similarly sized settlements has been dominant followed by a stepwise pattern down the settlement hierarchy. This is in stark contrast to the notion of the population turnaround, evidence for movement between urban centres and small rural settlements was quite scarce and most movement was between the suburbs and small rural towns. This has important ramifications as it suggest that contrary to the notion of counterubanization comprising of movement between cities and small villages this has not been common, instead most respondents have made gradual changes, acclimatised to living within similar or slightly smaller settlements throughout their lives.

Without a comparison of residence histories compiled of sample of the urban population it is impossible to ascertain whether these migration features were peculiar to the rural setting, in fact logically it is likely that these attributes of migration were not peculiar to rural areas. Migration of people into areas deemed as desirable has occurred in urban areas too, forcing higher house prices and making it less affordable for locals. It is simply the distinct geographical boundaries that can be placed around villages and the British public's nostalgia for the countryside has made the distinctions between incomers and long-terms residents more prominent particularly in the media..

10.5 Implications of findings and further work

Someone who has moved once is more likely to move again, so that students leaving home to enter higher education may be embarking on a migratory life history than those attending a local institution (Coleman and Salt 1992: 403). If this were the case then those in the youngest cohort would be expected to be more migratory in the future. However, this study has shown the relationship between previous and subsequent migration behaviour is not clear-cut. Whilst it would appear that although some individuals have 'leant to move' that many who moved frequently in their younger years then remained settled in one location for many subsequent years. The sampling base did not allow for a statistical comparison of this supposition but there were many examples in the in-depth interviews of those who had been way to university and made several long distance moves early in their lives and then remained sedentary. This appears as much to be related to the individual personalities and their decisions, for example, related to moving children between schools than to the number of previous moves that have been undertaken earlier in their lives. However, of those who had been away to university the decision of where to settle generally involved a wider search than those who had never did leave their home area. For many had met their partners during this time and subsequent decisions then involved two careers and two 'home areas' and therefore it was likely that at least one member of the household would not be familiar to that area. The issue of more moves occurring in their younger years may simply be a reflection of incorporating return migration to one of the respondent's origin rather than anything more significant in later life. Thus one of the main implications of this study is that although the propensities to migrate seem still to be closely related to age or household transitions, the pattern of migration has changed and the initial moves away from home had a great impact upon where the individual was likely to search when making moves. As the proportion of students who have entered tertiary education has increased through time, with an accompanying rise in entrance to local institutions it should be possible to evaluate the two migratory paths of 'local' and distance students and evaluate the importance of the first independent move in future migratory decisions. The interesting issue of the main dispersal mechanism altering from employment to higher education poses important implications. Future studies might need to evaluate the incidence of return migration from centres of higher education and consider whether subsequent migratory behaviour is significantly different during the middle and later years from those who attended local higher education centres. Furthermore, the issue of how competing ties in partnerships in households been negotiated in the earlier parts of life. This study has found strong ties between one member of a dual-headed household and return migration, whether this has a gendered dimension is unclear and would merit further investigation.

Bibliography

Abu-lughod, J., M. Foley and L. Winnick (1960). Housing choice and housing constraints, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

Agg, J. and M. Phillips, (1998). “Neglected gender divisions of rural social restructuring”. In Boyle, P and Halfacree, K. (eds.) Migration into rural areas: Theories and issues. Chichester, Wiley. 252-279

Allat, P., T. Keil and A. Bryman. (1987). Women and the Lifecycle: Transitions and Turning Points. London, Macmillan.

Anderson, M. (1983). What is new about the modern family: an historical perspective in British Society for Population Studies Conference Papers, The Family, OPCS Occasional Papers, 31, OPCS, London: 1-16

Baddeley, A.D. (1979). 'The limitations of human memory: implications for the design of retrospective surveys”. In L. Moss and S. Goldstein (eds). The Recall Method in Social Surveys. London, University of London Institute of Education: 13-27.

Bailey, A. J. (1989). "Getting on your Bike: What Difference does a Migration History Make." Tijdshrift voor Econ. en Soc. Geografie, **80**: 312-317.

Balan, J., Browning, H.L., Jelin, E. and L.Litzler (1969). "A Computerized approach to life histories." Behavioural Science, **14**: 105-120.

Bedford, R.D. (1973). “A transition in the circular mobility: population movement in the New Hebrides, 1800-1970”. In H.C. Brookfield (ed). The Pacific in Transition: Geographical Perspective on Adaptation and Change. London, Arnold: 187-228.

Bell, C. and H. Newby (1971). Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the local Community, London, Allen and Unwin.

Berry, B. (1976) “The counterurbanization process: urban America since 1970” in B. Berry (ed.), Urbanisation and counterurbanisation, Beverly Hills, California, Sage. 17-30.

Bogue, D. J. (1959). Internal Migration. In P. M. Hauser and O. D. Duncan (eds). The Study of Population. Chicago, Chicago University Press: 489.

Bolton, N. and B. Chalkley (1989). “Counter-urbanisation – disposing of the myths.” Town and Country Planning, **58**: 249-250.

Bonvalet, C. and E. Lelievre (1990). "Residential Mobility in France and in Paris since 1945: The History of a Cohort." Population, **2**: 187-212.

Boyle, P., K. Halfacree and V. Robinson. (1998). Exploring Migration Essex, Longman.

Boyle, P. (1995). "Rural in-migration in England and Wales 1980-81." Journal of Rural Studies, **11:** 65-78.

Bracher, M. and G. Santow (1990). "The Family Histories of Australian Women." European Journal of Population, **6**: 227-256.

Brown, D.L.M. and J.M. Wardwell (1980). New directions in urban to rural migration New York, Academic Press.

Bryant, V.J.M. (1972). “Talking to octogenarians”. Local Historian, **10**:183-195.

Bryman, P.A., Bytheway, A. and T. Keil. (1987). Rethinking the Lifecycle, Macmillan Press.

Cadwallader, M. (1989). "A conceptual framework for analysing migration behaviour in the developed world." Progress in Human Geography, **13**: 494-511.

Cadwallader, M. (1992). Migration and residential mobility: Macro and Micro approaches. Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press.

Champion, A.G. (1989). Counterurbanization: The changing pace and nature of Population Deconcentration, London, Arnold.

Champion, T. (1992). Migration in Britain: research challenges and prospects. In T. Champion and T. Fielding (eds). Migration Processes and Patterns: Research Progress and Prospects. London, Belhaven Press.

Champion, T. (2001). "The continuing urban-rural population movement in Britain: trends, patterns, significance." Espace Populations Societies 2001 **(1-2)** : 37-51

Champion, T and D. Atkins (1996). The Counterurbanisation Cascade: an analysis of the Census Special Migration Statistics Seminar Paper, Department of Geography University of Newcastle Upon Tyne **66** 1-28

Champion, T. and T. Fielding (1992). Migration Processes and Patterns; Research Progress and Prospects. London, Belhaven.

Chapman, M. and R.M. Prothero (1985). Circulation in population movement: substance and concepts from Melanesian case, London, Routledge and Paul Kegan.

Chapman, M. (1976). "Tribal mobility as circulation: a Solomon Islands examples of micro/macro linkages" Kosinski, L.A. and J. W. Webb, Population and Microscale I.G.U. Hamilton, Commission on Population Geography and New Zealand Geographical Society.

Clarke, J. I. (1989). "A quarter of a millennium of world population movement 1780-2030s." Espace Populations Societies **89**: 295-304.

Cloke, P. J, P. Milbourne and C. Thomas (1994). Lifestyles in Rural England, Sailsbury, Rural Development Commission.

Collins English Dictionary (1992). Third Edition. Glasgow, HarperCollins.

Cohen, G. (1987). Social Change and the Life Course. London, Tavistock Publications.

Coleman, D. and J. Salt (1992). The British Population: Patterns, Trends and Processes. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Coleman, D. and J. Haskey (1986). "Marital distance and its geographical orientation in England and Wales 1979". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. New Series **2**: 337-355.

Collver, A. (1963). The family cycle in India and the United States. American Sociological Review, **28**(1): 86-96.

Corgeau, D. (1984). "Relations entre cycle de vie et migration" Population, **39**(3): 483-514

Corgeau, D. and E. Levelievre (1989). "Analyse demographique des biograpahies", Population, **44**(6): 1233-8

Cook, I. and M. Crang (1995). Doing Ethnographies. School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia, CATMOGS. **58**.

Creeser, R. and S. Gleave (2000). Migration within England and Wales using the ONS Longitudinal Study. Longitudinal Study, No.9. London, Stationary Office.

Cribier, F. (1982). Aspects of retirement migration from Paris: an essay in social geography. In A. Warnes (ed). Geographical Perspectives upon the Elderly. London, Wiley.

Cribier, F. (1989). Changes in Life Course and Retirement in recent years: The example of Two Cohorts of Parisians. In P. Johnson and C. Conrad (eds). Workers versus Pensioners: Intergenerational Justice in an Ageing World. Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press: 181-201.

Cross, D. (1990). Counterurbanization in England and Wales. Aldershot, Avebury.

DaVanzo, J. (1981). "Repeat Migration, Information costs and Location Specific Capital." Population and Environment 1.

DaVanzo, J. and P.A. Morrison (1978). "Dynamics of return migration: descriptive findings from a longitudinal study", Rand Paper Series P-5514, Santa Monica, California, Rand Corporation.

Davies, R. (1991). The analysis of housing and migration careers. In J. Stillwell and P. Congdon (eds). Migration Models. London, Belhaven Press, 207-27.

Davies, R and R. Flowerdew (1992). "Modelling migration careers using data from a British survey". Geographical Analysis, **24**: 35-57.

Davies, R. and A. Pickles (1991). "An analysis of housing careers in Cardiff". Environment and Planning A, **23**: 629-650.

Denzin, N. K. (1978). Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook. London, McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). Interpretative Biography. Newbury Park, London, Sage Publications.

Devis, T. F. L. and N. R. Southworth (1984). The Study of Internal Migration in Great Britain. Migration and Mobility. Taylor and Francis. London: 17-98.

Dey, I. (1993). Qualitative Data Analysis: A User Friendly Guide to Social Scientists. London, Routledge.

Dyck, A. (1993). "Ethnography: a Feminist Methodology." Canadian Geographer **37**: 52-57.

Edwards, J. A. (1964). The settlement factors in the Rural problem of North-East England. Ph.D. Thesis Newcastle Upon Tyne, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne.

Elder, G. H. (1978). Family History and the Life course. In T. Hareven (ed). Transitions: The family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective. London, Academic Press: 17-64.

Eyles, J. and D.M. Smith (eds). (1988). Qualitative Methods in Human Geography. Cambridge, Policy Press.

Findlay, A. M. and F. N. Li (1995). A Biographical approach to understanding migration. International Population Conference, Dundee.

Findlay, A.M., A. Stockdale, A. Findlay and D. Short (2001). "Mobility as a driver of change in rural Britain: An analysis of the links between migration, community and travel to shop pattern", International Journal of Population Geography, **7**: 1-15

Ford, R. and A. M. Warnes (1992). Residential Mobility in later life: the revised research design. Kings College London, Department of Geography, King's College, London.

Ford, T. (1999). "Understanding population growth in the peri-urban region" International Journal of Population Geography, **5**: 297-311

Forrest, R. and A. Murie (1992). Housing Change in Rural Area: An analysis of dwelling histories. Bristol, School for Advanced Urban Studies.

Frankenberg, R. (1966). Communities in Britain, Hamondsworth, Penguin.

Friedlander, D. and R.J. Roshier (1966). “A study of internal migration in England and Wales, Part 2”. Population Studies, **20/1**, 45-59.

Gant, R. (1995). Voices from the Past. Practising Rural Geography: Concepts and Methods RGS_IBG Rural Geography Study Group, Kingston University.

Gant, R.L (1991). “Old people, recollections and fieldwork practice”. Journal of the Scottish Association of Geography Teachers, **20**: 40-45.

Gearing, B. and T. Dant (1990). Doing Biographical Research. In S. Peace (ed). Researching Social Gerontology: Concepts, Methods and Issues. London, Sage.

Gilbertson, G. and D. Gurak (1992). "Household Transitions in the Migrations of Dominicans and Columbians to New York Dialog." International Migration Review, **26** (1): 22-45.

Glaser, K. and E. Grundy (1998). “Migration and household change in the population aged 65 and over, 1971-91”. International Journal of Population Geography, **4**: 323-39

Goldstein, S. (1958). Patterns of Mobility 1910-1950: The Norristown Study. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Graham, E (2000). “What kind of theory for what kind of population geography”, International Journal of Population Geography, **6**: 257-72

Green, A. E., Hogarth, T. and Shackleton, R.E. (1995). “Longer distance community as a substitute for migration in Britain: A review of trends, issues and implications”, International Journal of Population Geography, **5**: 49-67

Grundy, E. (1989). Longitudinal Study. Women's migration: marriage, fertility and divorce. Series LS No. 4. HMSO, London, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys: 1-42.

Grundy, E. (1992). The Household Dimension in Migration Research. In T. Champion and T. Fielding (eds). Migration Processes and Patterns: 165-174.

Grundy, E. and A.J. Fox (1985). “Migration during early married life”. European Journal of Population, **1**: 237-263.

Halfacree, K. H. and P. J. Boyle (1993). "The challenge facing migration research: the case for a biographical approach." Progress in Human Geography, **17**(3): 333-348.

Halfacree, K.H. and P.J. Boyle (1995). “A little learning is a dangerous thing”: a reply to Ron Skeldon, Progress in Human Geography, **19**(1): 97-99.

Hannan, D.F. (1968). The Rural Exodus, Dublin, Chapman.

Hardy, E. (1984). A Quest for Rutland. Leicester, Leicester Libraries and Information Services.

Hareven, T. (1982). Transitions: The Family and the Lifecourse in Historical Perspective. New York, San Francsisco, London, Academic Press.

Harper, S. (1991). “People moving to the countryside: Case Studies of Decision-Making” In T. Champion and C. Watkins (eds). People in the countryside: Studies of social change in rural Britain, London, Paul Chapman.

Harris, C. (1987). The individual and society: a processual approach. Rethinking the Lifecycle. In A. Bryman (ed). Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Harris, A. and R. Clausen (1967). Labour Mobility in Great Britain 1953-1963. London, HMSO.

Haskey, J.C. (1988). "Trends in marriage, divorce and divorce and cohort analysis of the proportion of marriages ending in divorce." Population Trends, **54**: 21-8.

Haskey, J.C and Kiernan, K. (1989). Cohabitation in Great Britain: characteristics and estimated numbers of cohabiting partners, Population Trends, **53**: 22-32.

Hoggart, K. (1988). "Not a definition of rural" Journal of Rural Studies, 6, 245-257

Hoggart, K. (1990). " Let's do away with rural" Journal of Rural Studies, 6, 245: 257

Hoggart, K. (1995). Practising Rural Geography: Concepts and Methods RGS-IBG Rural Geography Study Group, Kingston University.

Hoggart, K. (2000). The changing composition of the rural population of England 1971-91. In R. Creeser and S. Gleave (eds). Migration within England and Wales using the ONS Longitudinal Study. London, Stationary Office. **9**

Hollingsworth, T. (1970). "Migration: A Study based on Scottish Experience between 1939 and 1964." University of Glasgow Social and economic Studies Occasional Papers **12**.

Hollywood, C. (2000). "Immobility as part of the migration process: the changing geography of miners in England and Wales." Migration within England and Wales using the ONS Longitudinal Survey. R. Creeser and S. Gleave (eds). London, Stationary Office. **9**

Hoskins, W. G. (1949). Rutland. Leicester, City of Leicester Publicity Department.

Hoskins, W. G. and P. Ashley (1995). Much in Little: Portrait of an English County. London, Sennen Gills.

House, J. W. (1965). Rural North-East England (Northumberland and Durham) 1951-61. Newcastle Upon Tyne, Department of Geography, University of Newcastle.

House, J. W. and Knight (1966). People on the move: South Tyne in the Sixties. Newcastle, Department of Geography, University of Newcastle.

Hugo, G. (1979). Circular Mobility and Life History Analysis: Some Comments based on Indonesian Experience. In R. J. Pryor (ed). Residence History Analysis. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Hugo, G. (1994). "The turnaround in Australia: some first observations from the 1991 census". Australian Geographer, **25**: 1-17.

Ironside, R. G. (1965). Geographical Aspects of Rural Problem Areas in North-East England. Geography. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Newcastle, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne.

Katz, C. and J. Monk, Eds. (1993). Full Circles: Geographies of women over the Life Course. London and New York, Routledge.

Kiernan, K.E (1980). Patterns of Family Formation and Dissolution. OPCS Occasional Paper 19/2, London, HMSO: 21-35.

Kiernan, K.E (1989a). The departure of children. In E. Grebenik, C. Hohn and R. Mackenson (eds). Later phases of the family cycle: a demographic aspect, Oxford, Clarendon Press: 120-144

Kiernan, K.E. (1989b). The family: formation and fission, in Joshi, H. (ed.) The changing population of Britain, Oxford, Blackwell 27-41

Kiernan, K. E. (1991). "Transitions in young adulthood." In J. Hobcraft and M.J. Murphy (eds). Population Research in Britain, supplement to Population Studies, 45.

Kitchin, R. and N.J. Tate (2000). Conducting Research into Human Geography. Essex, Prentice Hall.

Kothari, D. K. (1979). Residence History Analysis: Rajasthan, India. In R. J. Pryor (ed). Residence History Analysis. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Kurtz, L. (1984). Evaluating Chicago Sociology: A Guide to the Literature with an Annotated Bibliography. Chicago, Chicago University Press.

Law, C. and Warnes, A. (1976). The changing geography of the elderly in England and Wales". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 1: 453-71.

Leicestershire and Rutland's Women's Institute (1989). The Leicestershire and Rutland Village Book. Newbury, Berkshire, Countryside Books.

Lewis, G.J. (1982). Human Migration. London, Croom Helm.

Lewis, G.J. (1979). Rural Communities: A Social Geography. Newton Abbot, David and Charles.

Lewis, G.J. (1998). "Rural Migration and Demographic Change" in Ilbery, B. (ed.). The Geography of Rural Change Harlow, Wiley.

Lewis, G.J., P. McDermott and K. Sherwood (1991). "The counterurbanization process; demographic restructuring and policy responses in rural England" Sociologia Ruralis, **31**: 309-20.

Li, F, A. Findlay, A. Jowett and R. Skeldon (1996). "Migrating to learn and learning to migrate: a study of the experiences and intentions of international student migrants". International Journal of Population Geography, **2**: 51-67.

Lynch, M. (2001). An Introduction to Modern British History 1900-1999. London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Matkins Oakham Almanack and County Directory. (1930): Lyddington and Preston.

Matkins Oakham Almanack and County Directory (1940): Lyddington and Preston.

May, T. (1993). Social Research: Issues, methods and process. Buckingham, Oxford University Press.

Mayer, K. .U. and K. Schwarz (1989). "The Process of Leaving Home: Some German Data". In Grebenik, E., C. Hohn and R. Mackenson (eds). Later Phases of the Family Cycle. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 145-163.

Mayer, K. U. and N. B. Tuma (1990). Event History Analysis in Lifecourse Research. Winconsin, University of Winconsin Press.

McDonnell, P. (1979). The Analysis of Life Histories: Some Pitfalls and Prospects. In R. J. Pryor (ed). Residence History Analysis. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

McHugh, K., T. Hogan and S. Happel (1995). "Multiple Residence and Cyclical Migration: A life Course Perpective". Professional Geographer, **47**: 251-267.

McKendrick, J. (1995). The Methodological Challenge facing population geography: Findlay and Graham revisited. International Conference on Population Geography, Dundee, Scotland.

Mooney, E. A. (1995). Residential Relocation and the Life-course: The Experience of Older People. Understanding the Social World Conference, University of Huddersfield.

Mooney, E.A. (2002). Migration histories, residential relocation and rural geography Paper presented to RGS-IBG Annual Conference Belfast 2002

Morrison, P. A. (1970). "Chronic movers and the future distribution of population: a longitudinal analysis". Rand Paper Series, P4400, Santa Monica , California, Rand Corporation.

Moroika, K. (1967). "Life cycle patterns in Japan, China and the United States." Journal of Marriage and the Family, **29** (3): 595-606.

Moser, C. and G. Kalton (1983). Survey Methods in Social Investigation. London, Heinemann.

Mulder, C. and M. Wagner (1993). "Migration and Marriage in the Life Course: a Method for Studying Synchronised Events." European Journal of Population, **9**: 55-76.

Murdoch, J, and Marsden, T.K. (1994). Reconstituting Rurality, London, UCL Press.

Murie, A. and E. A. Mooney (1995). Housing Histories, Tenures and Strategies, ESRC Award number R000233461.

Murphy, M.J. (1987). Measuring the family lifecycle: concepts, data and methods. In A. Bryman, P.A. Bytheway and T. Keil (eds). Rethinking the Lifecycle. London, Macmillan: 30-50.

Murphy, M.J. (1991). Household Change in the 1980s. Paper presented to APRU Seminar, University of Glasgow.

N.F.W.I. (1994). The Northumberland Village Book. Newbury, Countryside Books.

Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, A. (1992). Research Methods in the Social Sciences. London, Edward Arnold.

Newby, E. (1979). The Changing Countryside, Milton Keynes, Open University.

Ni Laoirie, C. (2000). "Conceptualisation of Irish rural youth migration: A biographical approach", International Journal of Population Geography, **6**: 229-43

Ogilvy, A. (1980). "Inter-Regional Migration since 1971." OPCS Occasional Papers **16**. London, OPCS.

Olsson, G. (1966). "Distance and Human Interaction: A Migration Study." Geografiska Annaler **47B**: 3-43.

OPCS (1989). Regional Trends 24. London, Office of Population and Censuses and Surveys, HMSO.

OPCS (1990). Standard Occupational Classification. London, Employment Department Group and the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, HMSO.

OPCS (1993). County Monitor for Leicestershire 1991 Census. London, Office of Population and Censuses and Surveys, HMSO.

OPCS (1993). County Monitor for Northumberland 1991 Census. London, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, HMSO.

OPCS (1993). Ward and Civil Parish Monitor for Leicestershire 1991 Census. London, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, HMSO.

OPCS (1993). Ward and Civil Parish Monitors for Northumberland 1991 Census. London, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, HMSO.

Pahl, J. and R. Pahl (1971). Managers and their Wives. London, Allen Lane.

Pooley, C. and J. Turnbull (1995). Long-run trends in rural areas from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Migration Issues in Rural Areas, Swansea University.

Pooley, C. and J. Turnbull (1998). Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century. London, UCL Press.

Pooley, C and J. Turnbull (2002). Agricultural Labour Mobility in Britain since the 18th century. Paper presented at the RGS-IBG Conference 2002 Belfast.

Price, C. A. (1963). Southern Europeans in Australia. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Pryor, R. J., (1979). Studies in Migration and Urbanization, No. 3. Canberra, Australia, Australian National University Press.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885)."The laws of migration" Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, **48**, 167-235.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1889). "The laws of migration " Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, **52**, 241-305.

Redfearn, P. (1990). "Sources of Population Statistics, An International Perspective." OPCS Occasional Paper, **38**: 103-114.

Rider, R., V. and F. Badger (1943). "Family studies in the Eastern Health District: A consideration of issues involved in determining migration rates for families." Human Biology, **15**(2): 101-126.

Rogers, A. (1990). "Requiem for the net migrant." Geographical Analysis, **22:** 283-300.

Roseman, C. (1971). "Migration as a spatial and temporal process". Annals of the Association of American Geographers, **61**: 589-98.

Rossi, P. H. (1955; 1980). Why Families Move. Illinois, Free Press.

Rowland, D. T. (1979). The Purpose and Potential of Residence Histories. In R. J. Pryor (ed). Residence History Analysis. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Rutland District Council (1995). Rutland Local Plan (Draft written statement). Oakham, Rutland District Council

Rutland District Council. (1995). Rutland Local Plan, Consultation Draft. Oakham Leicestershire, Rutland District Council.

Rutland Society (1975). The Villages of Rutland: Preston. Stamford, Lincolnshire, Spiegel Press.

Rutland Society (1976). The Villages of Rutland: Lyddington. Stamford. Lincolnshire, Spiegel Press.

Saville, J. (1957). Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951. London, Routledge and Kegan.

Scholes, R. and Kellogg, A. (1968). The Nature of Narrative. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

Sellek, Y. (1994). "Illegal foreign migrant workers in Japan: change and challenge in Japanese society. In J. Brown and R. Foot (eds). Migration: the Asian experience. Basingstoke, Macmillan: 169-202.

Shelton, N and E. Grundy (2000). "Proximity of adult children to their parents in Great Britain" International Journal of Population Geography, **6**: 181-95

Sherwood, K.B. (1984). Population turnover, migration and social change in the rural environment: A geographical study in South Northamptonshire Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester

Shyrock, H. S. and E. A. Lammon (1965). "Some Longitudinal data on internal migration." Demography **2**: 579-92.

Skeldon, R. (1995). "The challenge facing migration research: a case for greater awareness", Progress in Human Geography, **19** (1): 91-96.

Sprent, P. (1988). Understanding Data. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Stacey, M. (1969). Comparability in Social Research. London, Heinemann.

Stapleton, C.M. (1980). "Reformulations of the Family Life Cycle Concept: Implications for residential mobility." Environment and Planning A **12**: 1103-18.

Stillwell, J. and P. Boden (1989). Internal Migration: The United Kingdom. In J. Stillwell and H. K. Scholton (eds). Contemporary Research in Population Geography. Dordrecht, Kluwer.

Stillwell, J., P. Rees and P. Boden (1992). Migration Processes and Patterns. Volume 2. Population Redistribution in the United Kingdom. London, Belhaven Press.

Stubbs, J. (1984). "Some thoughts on the life story method in labour history and research on rural women." IDS Bulletin, **15**(1): 34-37.

Stockdale, A. (2002). Out-migration from the Scottish Periphery: A personal experience Paper presented at the RGS-IBG Annual Conference Belfast 2002.

Taeuber, K.E, Haenszel, W. and M. Sirken (1961). "Residence Histories and Exposure Residences for the United States Population." Journal of the American Statistical Association **56:** 824-834

Taeuber, K. E. (1966). "Cohort Migration." Demography, **3**: 416-22.

Thomas, D.S. (1938). Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, New York, Social Science Research Council.

Thrift, N. (1986). "Little games and big stories; accounting for personality and politics in the 1945 election. In K. Hoggart and E. Kofman (eds). Politics, geography and social stratification, London, Croom Helm, 86-143.

Trost, J. (1974). "This Family Lifecycle: An impossible Concept." International Journal of Sociology of the Family, **4**(1): 37-47.

Tynedale District Council (1990). Low Cost Housing Needs in a Rural Area: A Pilot Study. Hexham, Northumberland, Tynedale Council.

Tynedale District Council. (1992). Affordable Rural Housing Needs Study. Hexham, Northumberland, Tynedale Council.

Tynedale District Council. (1994). District Local Plan. Hexham, Northumberland, Tynedale Council.

Vandsemb, B. (1995). "The Place of Narrative in the Study of Third World Migration: The Case of Spontaneous Rural Migration in Sri Lanka." Professional Geographer, **47** (**4**): 411-435.

Vince, S.W.E. (1952). "Reflections on the structure and distribution of rural population in England and Wales 1921-31" Transactions of the British Institute of British Geographers, **48**: 173-187

Walter, B. (1980). "Time-space patterns of second-wave Irish immigration into British towns." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series **5** (3): 297-317.

Warnes, A. M. (1992). Migration and the Lifecourse. In T. Champion and A. M. Warnes (eds). Migration Processes and Patterns: Research Progress and Prospects. London, Belhaven.

Warnes, A. M. (1986). "The residential mobility histories of parents and children, and relationships to present proximity and social integration." Environment and Planning A, **18**: 1581-1594.

Watkins, C. and Champion, T. (1991) People in the countryside: Studies of social change in rural Britain, London, Paul Chapman.

Weekley, I.G. (1988). “Rural Depopulation and counterurbanization: a Paradox” Area **20** 127-134.

Williams, J.D and D.B McMillen (1980). “Migration decision-making among non-metropolitan bound migrants” New Directions in Urban-Rural Migration, In D.L. Brown and J.M. Wardwell (eds). New York, Academic Press: 189-211

Young, C. (1977). The Family Lifecycle: Literature Review and Studies of Melbourne. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Young, E. A. (1979). Residence History Analysis. Residence History Analysis: Papua New Guinea. In R. J. Pryor (ed). Residence History Analysis. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Young, M. L. (1979). Residence History Analysis: Malaysia. Residence History Analysis. In R. J. Pryor (ed). Residence History Analysis. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

PART ONE: FIELDWORK

MIGRATION AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

MARY HARRISON
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY - UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER:

HOUSEHOLD ADDRESS:

FAMILY NAME:

DATE AND TIME:

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

MIGRATION QUESTIONNAIRE: 13 October 1994

I'm carrying out a survey as part of my Ph.D. thesis at Leicester University about household structure and migration. Would you mind spending a few minutes answering some questions. All your answers will be anonymous and strictly confidential.

Section A: Household Structure.

The first few questions are about people living in your house at the moment. I would just like to know some general information.... *Complete the accompanying table by asking the following questions.*

1. How many people are living in your home at the moment?

*Include lodgers, boarders and those on holiday but not those away temporarily for educational or work purposes.

2. Could you indicate your current status?

Married
Re-married
Living with partner
Divorced
Widowed
Single

3. Could you tell me your relationship to the others living in your house? *(This should be marked down with respect to the interviewee).*

4. From the list below could you tell me which age brackets you and the others in your house fall into? (Or date of birth if willing)

0-15
16-24
25-29
30-34
35-39
35-40
40-44
45-49
55-59
60-64
65-74
75-84
85 and over

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

5. Could you tell me your occupation and that of the other people in your house?
(What position held/ whether F/T or P/T and deduce what industry)

6. Whereabouts do you and other members work (if appropriate)? Roughly how far away is this?

7. Could you tell me where you and the other people in your household were born?

8. Where did you grow up? Spend most of your childhood? (Using interviewee's perception ..and repeat for other household members)

Local area
(Within 10 miles - Allendale, Allenheads, Whitfield etc)
Local region (within 20 miles - Hexham, Corbridge etc)
Within county (Northumberland)
Adjacent county (Durham, Cumbria)
Elsewhere

9. Which of the following categories would you have considered the place you grew up in to be when you were there? (And for the other household members)

Large city (Inner city/ Suburb)
Large town
Small town (Rural or urban)
Village
Hamlet
Open countryside

TABLE ONE: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Household Member F/M	Relationship to member 'A'	Age Bracket	Occupation - position industry and F/T P/T	Place of work	Place of Birth	Place of childhood	Location Code	Place Type (of childhood)

Section B: Migration history of interviewee

The next few questions are only *about you and your own house* moves.

10. Have you always lived in this house? Yes/No

*If the answer is **Yes** please go on to **section C**, if **No** go onto **question 7**. Then referring to table two complete by asking the following questions.*

11. Is this property?

Rented: Housing Association
    Council
    Private landlord
Tied
Owned outright
Owned (buying)

12. How long have you lived in this house (approximately in years and months and dates)?

13. When you first moved into this house how many people were in your household?

14. Where was the last home you lived?
Coding as for Q.8

15. What type of accommodation was it and roughly how long did you live there?

16. Did you own, rent or lodge in this property?

17. What were your main reasons for moving from .... to.............? (Use place names as prompts)

18. When you **arrived** at .... can you remember how many people were living in the house and their relationship to you?

19. Do you think it likely that you will move in the foreseeable future (say the next five years?

Yes ----
No ----
Don't know ----

If yes, have you thought about where you might live and have you taken any steps to do anything about moving?

20. Is there anyone not in your present household (parents/children/friends) who might influence you to remain here?

Yes (Indicate who) ---
No ---
Don't know ---

21. Is there anyone not in your present household (parents/children/friends) who you would consider in any decision to move away?

Yes (indicate who) ---
No ---
Don't know ---

22. Other than people are their any reasons which you feel would contribute significantly in any decision to move or stay?

23. Finally, would you be prepared to answer any further questions at a later date?

Table two: Migration History of respondent

Place	Place Code	Type of accommodation	Rented Owned Tied	Time spent there/approx. dates	No. of people when first moved in	Relationship to respondent	Main reasons for moving from
							Go back to Q19

Appendix 2: Coding categories used for questionnaires

Characteristics of Household

Household classification derived from Census 1991 Household and Family Structure (10% sample)

	Characteristics	Code	Modification by author
No family	1 person	1	1a=widowed 1b=divorced 1c-single
	2 or more persons	2	Includes those living in communal accommodation and siblings
One family			
Married couple - No children	without others	3	3a= Below pensionable age 3b= over pensionable age
	with others	4	4a=below pensionable age 4b= over pensionable age
Married couple-with children	Without others		
	with dep. children	5	
	with non-dependent children only	6	6a=female non dependants 6b= male non-dependants
	With others		
	With dependent children	7	This represents those that have multi-generation families
Cohabiting couple family -no children			
	without others	9	
	with others	10	
Cohabiting couple family with children	Without others		
	with dep. children	11	
Lone Parent Family	Without others		
	with dep. children	15	
	with non-dep. children only	16	
	With others		
	With dep. children	17	
Households with 2 or more families			
	With dep. children	20	
	With non-dep. children	21	

Distance Moved

	Code
Within Wards	1
Between Wards same Districts	2
Between Districts same County	3
Between Counties or within regions	4
Between Regions or from Scotland	5
Outside Great Britain	6
Between neighboring districts	7
Between neighboring counties	8

Regions were categorised in accordance with OPCS (1989) Regional Trends (HMSO)

Motives

Codes For Motives for Moving		Individual	Grouped
		Code assigned	
Housing	Better/larger House	1	A
	Smaller/cheaper house	2	A
	Change of Tenure	3	A
	Specific housing type	4	A
Employment	Change of employment	5	B
	Partner's job/Other household member	6	B
	Loss of job	7	B
	Retirement	8	B
	Tied move	9	B
	Move for training or education	10	B
Household transitions	To form independent household	11	C
	Marriage	12	C
	Cohabitation	13	C
	Children	14	C
	Divorce/separation	15	C
	caring for relatives	16	C
	Other changes in household structure	17	C
	Death of relative	18	C
Environment	Negative reasons (pollution, crime etc.)	19	D
	Positive reasons (Peace tranquility)	20	D
	Community/location crucial	21	D
Ties	Previous residence in area	22	E
	Relatives already in residence here	23	E
	Previous knowledge of area gained though		E
	Friends	24	E
	Holidays	25	E
	Evacuation	26	E
Education	move to area for good schools	27	F
Personal	Misc. reasons(e.g. not getting on with neighbors, accident etc)	28	G

Appendix 2: Coding categories used for questionnaires

Employment and Social Class

Employment Coded according to the Standard occupational Classification (OPCS 1990). These volumes enabled job titles to be assigned codes, which could then referred to an ascribed social class.

Social Class	Code	
Professional, etc occupations	I	Grouped as 'Professionals'
Managerial and technical occupations	II	
Skilled occupations		
Non-manual	IIN	Grouped as 'Non-Professionals'
manual	IIM	
Partly skilled occupations	IV	
Unskilled occupations	V	

OPCS (1989). Regional Trends 24. London, HMSO.

OPCS (1990). Standard Occupational Classification. London, Employment Department Group and the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

Place Type

Place Type	
Open Countryside	OC
Hamlet	H
Village	V
Small Town (rural/urban)	ST (u/r)
Large Town	LT
Suburb	SUB
Inner city	IC

Appendix 3: Interview check-list

Introduction

- Check Household details for any changes
- Use this as means of re-introduction

Residence History Analysis

(Referring to previously completed table, check for consistency) Begin chronologically....

- Start with place where grew up/born – could you describe it? Environment –local area
- What did parents do (occupation) (if appropriate)?
- Schooling- formative/opportunities available in terms of subsequent moves?
- Moves as child –how clear are memories?
- First independent move – circumstances surrounding that move (what were economic and social conditions like/opportunities available) attempt to ascertain the ease of movement and how it was perceived at time. Was their move a 'typical' move of the time?
- Subsequent moves – Discuss each move in greater detail. Remember initial reason give and probe around to ascertain general conditions at time.

❖ Employment situation, (type of work, position, degree of choice)
❖ Personal circumstances, family pressures etc -ties
❖ Feelings about the move often give greater indication of reasons behind.

- In most recent move – specific reasons for moving into rural area?

Overview

- Any specific move seen as particularly formative, did they realize it at time?
- Any strategies that had? Explicit or implicit? Did these get talked about in the household? How were decisions reached?
- Current residence? Foreseeable moves has this changed at all?

Appendix 4: Supplementary data tables

Age distribution of samples with respect to 'head of household'

Age cohorts	No HH in total sample	% of Total sample	No. of HH in Tynedale	% of Tynedale sample	No. of HH in Rutland	% of Rutland sample
20-24	7	3	5	4	3	2.4
25-29	11	4	6	4.8	5	4
30-34	20	8	12	9.6	8	6.4
35-39	19	8	9	7.2	10	8
40-44	22	9	12	9.6	10	8
45-49	27	11	9	7.2	18	14.4
50-54	30	12	8	6.4	22	17.6
55-59	24	10	10	8	14	11.2
60-64	24	10	12	9.6	13	10.4
65-69	25	10	17	13.6	7	5.6
70-74	21	8	16	12.8	5	4
75-79	13	5	6	4.8	7	5.6
80-84	6	2	3	2.4	3	2.4

Social class by occupation by case study area

Count of HH CLASS (A+B)		Total	Rutland	Tynedale
Professional occupations	I	49	32	17
managerial and Technical occupations	II	126	65	61
Skilled occupations (Non-manual)	IIIM	28	11	17
Skilled occupations (manual)	IIIN	31	9	22
partly skilled occupations	IV	13	8	5
unskilled occupations	V	3	0	3
	Grand Total	250	125	125

Occupations of interviewees in sample

		Tynedale ec active	ec inactive	Rutland Total Ec active	Ec inactive
Managers and administrators	1	25	11	47	20
Corporate managers	1A	8		36	
Managers/proprietors in agricultural services	1B	17		11	
Professional occupations	2	23	4	34	21
Science and engineering	2A	4		3	
health	2B	1		5	
Teaching	2C	15		11	
Others	2D	3		15	
Associate Professionals	3	19	2	11	7
Science and engineering	3A	2		2	
health associate	3B	5		4	
others	3C	12		5	
Clerical and secretarial occupations	4	10	10	11	9
clerical occupations	4A	7		5	
secretarial	4B	3		6	
Craft Related Occupations	5	14	7	11	8
skilled constructive	5A	6		5	
skilled engineering	5B	3		1	
other skilled	5C	5		5	
Personal and Protective service	6	9	7	9	2
Protective	6A	2		2	
Personal	6B	7		7	
Sales Occupations	7	6	8	2	1
Buyers, Brokers	7A	2		1	
other	7B	4		1	
Plant and machine operatives	8	10	2	6	2
Industrial plant and machine operators	8A	7		5	
drivers and Mobile machine	8B	3		1	
Other occupations	9	8	6	4	
other occupations in agriculture, forestry and Fishing	9A	3		3	
Other elementary occupations	9B	5		1	
			248 57		270 70

Household Structure of case study area

No. of deps	No of HH in total sample	as a % of sample	Tyne	Tyne as a % of sample	Rut	Rut as a % of sample
0	174	70	91	72.8	83	66.4
1	28	11	10	8	13	10.4
2	33	13	14	11.2	22	17.6
3	12	5	9	7.2	4	3.2
4	2	1	1	0.8	1	0.8
5	1	0	0	0	1	0.8

NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN EACH HOUSEHOLD

NO. IN HH	TOTAL	TOTAL AS A %	TYNE	TYNE AS A %OF SAMPLE	RUT	RUT AS A % OF SAMPLE
1	50	20	29	23.2	21	16.8
2	107	43	53	42.4	54	43.2
3	42	17	21	16.8	21	16.8
4	26	10	10	8	16	12.8
5	23	9	12	9.6	11	8.8
6	1	0	0	0	1	0.8
7	1	0	0	0	1	0.8