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Disadvantage in English Seaside Resorts: a typology of deprived neighbourhoods

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ABSTRACT

Socio-economic disadvantage experienced by residents of English seaside resorts has been growing over the last decade, and academic and practice-based research is providing better insights into the causes, internal dynamics and appropriate policy responses to these issues in coastal communities. This paper examines the nature and extent of disadvantage in English seaside resorts through analysis of a specially devised spatial and temporal database, which draws together various publicly available sources beyond the population census and Index of Multiple Deprivation. Using univariate, bivariate and multivariate analyses of this database, a new typology of highly deprived resort neighbourhoods has been devised, with clear implications for the formulation of more targeted policy responses. The results also indicate the persistence, complexity and distinct spatial clustering of deprivation, which establishes a case for a much stronger geographical emphasis in future research and policy agendas, including third sector partnerships.

KEYWORDS: Disadvantage; deprivation; seaside resorts; neighbourhoods; typology; UK

1. Introduction: Poverty, multiple deprivation and coastal areas

English seaside resorts have experienced a significant period of restructuring in recent decades and many are suffering from a range of economic and social problems, which are more readily associated with inner-city areas than quaint holiday destinations (Agarwal & Brunt, 2005, 2006; Shared Intelligence, 2008; Walton & Browne, 2010) and locations associated with high levels of well-being (Page et al., 2017). Despite recognition of these problems, many policy debates continue to suggest that tourism could be a panacea to solve all the ills of regions and localities, typically as a major generator of employment (see British Hospitality Association, 2017; Walton & Browne, 2010; Johnson & Thomas, 1990; Penrose, 2011). Industry studies herald tourism as the fourth largest employer in the UK, with considerable potential to generate further employment growth in the future (Deloitte & Oxford Economics, 2013). Yet within the context of many coastal communities, long-term tourism development has been a poisoned chalice because the unskilled, low paid and seasonal nature of employment in the sector has fashioned a major societal issue of poverty and deprivation. In some cases, this social problem has damaged the image of resorts, with negative representations featuring in the media. For example, in Lupton's (2003) *Poverty Street*, one of the 12 most deprived areas in the UK was a coastal resort in England. Meanwhile, popular media television programmes such as *Benefits by the Sea* aired in 2015 illustrate the impact of deprivation in coastal communities: namely, unemployed migrants in receipt of benefits (e.g. see Davies, 1994) housed in hostels converted from bed and breakfast and hotel establishments as a result of declining visitation.

Although much has been written within the academic and policy literature about the socio-economic problems associated with many coastal destinations, surprisingly, detailed understanding of the causes and the factors driving social disadvantage in these environments is scant. There has been limited debate on the effects of both seasonality (see Ball, 1993) and economic restructuring on deprivation in coastal localities with a significant visitor economy. Several studies in the 1980s and 1990s alluded to the apparent structural problems of employment and economic development in seaside resorts (e.g. English Tourist Board, 1991). Only the emergent critical debates in tourism geographies (e.g. Britton, 1991) have begun to challenge the policy rhetoric that tourism brings positive economic benefits to localities, building on the seminal studies of the 1970s (e.g. Bryden, 1973). It is therefore pertinent that this paper begins to expand the international debate on the costs and benefits of long-term

tourism development in coastal communities and its impact on residents (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997). It is only relatively recently that structural changes, which have occurred in many coastal resorts since their perceived heydays of the 1950s and 1960s, have begun to be acknowledged. Beatty & Fothergill (2007), for instance, analysed patterns of coastal employment and the slow growth and restructuring that occurred in local labour markets. Such changes are likely to be reflective of the global shifts in capital (e.g. see Dicken, 2014) and behaviour changes towards cheap overseas holidays by air and sea (Urry, 1988)¹.

Additionally, the lack of understanding of disadvantage within coastal communities is compounded by the fact that these localities have remained largely absent from major studies undertaken of poverty and deprivation. Such neglect is rather surprising given that this research is traditionally rooted within the social sciences and was stimulated by many of the seminal studies of the nineteenth and twentieth century in specific localities (Booth, 1888; Rowntree, 1901, 1941) and at a national scale (e.g. Townsend, 1979; Mack & Lansley, 1985; Lansley & Mack, 2015). The key focus within the trajectory of poverty and deprivation research in urban geography (see Johnston, 1991 for example) (and the emergent welfare geography – see Smith, 1974, 1977), and sociology (see Shildrick & Rucell, 2015) is on the use of multivariate analysis to understand the complexities of spatial and social patterns, and the causes of deprivation (see Shaw, 2015 for a review). Critics within radical geography and critical sociology, drawing upon Marxist interpretations, for example, argue that poverty and deprivation are a function of a capitalist system and the inequalities it generates (Peet, 1977). In contrast, neo-liberal attitudes believe in state intervention to target the dimensions of poverty and deprivation as a means of the redistribution of wealth through taxation and state spending.

In the context of coastal resorts, Agarwal & Brunt's (2006) study utilised the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) (2000) to depict higher levels of deprivation that existed in 87 English seaside resorts. The research built on advances in social science, as more sophisticated government data were assembled and made publicly available for analysis based on measures of income, employment, health deprivation and disability, education skills

¹ The English Tourist Board (1991) *The Future for England's Smaller Seaside Resorts* report outlined the scale of decline in visitation as a result of consumers shifting to overseas holidays. Based on their analysis of four resorts (Weymouth, Bognor Regis, Skegness and Morecambe), the study found that at least 50% of the staying market had declined since the 1970s.

and training, and barriers to housing and services. As Deas, Robson, Wong & Bradford (2003: 883) argued, these data-sets represented ‘a commendable advance in terms of the development of techniques to quantify deprivation’. Although Agarwal & Brunt’s (2006) study was the first of its kind to draw attention to deprivation within the English seaside, it was limited by data availability and did not focus exclusively on resorts or their neighbourhoods. Moreover, Beatty and Fothergill (2003: 9) referred to seaside resorts as ‘the least understood of Britain’s “problem” areas’, a statement that was later reinforced by the Communities and Local Government (CLG) *Select Committee on Coastal Towns* (House of Commons CLG, 2007: 42). More recent scholarship has advanced ongoing debates surrounding coastal communities and deprivation focusing on different elements of the problems that impact upon the multi-faceted causes and contributors to multiple deprivation. For example, studies of housing (Sage et al., 2012; Smith, 2012; Ward, 2011, 2015), in-migration (Beatty & Fothergill, 2007; Leonard, 2015; Sage et al., 2012), race (Burdsey, 2016), regeneration (Forte, 2009; Leonard, 2014), crime and youth (Tickle, 2014) were undertaken within particular coastal towns. Yet individually these studies do not provide an overarching analysis of the experience of disadvantage at a national scale.

In light of these shortcomings, this paper provides an updated detailed examination of the nature and extent of disadvantage within English seaside resorts based on the latest Census data from 2001 and 2011. More specifically, it undertakes a micro-level analysis of disadvantage within the resorts containing the most deprived neighbourhoods and investigates the factors that may explain the causes of such deprivation. The study is couched generally within the scholarship on urban disadvantage and is conceptually underpinned by the related theories of multiple deprivation and social exclusion, which have evolved in an interdisciplinary context within social science. This paper draws on a unique seaside resort database constructed from the IMD (2010) and a wide range of socio-economic variables drawn from the Census and other publicly available sources (2001-2011). A combination of univariate, bivariate and multivariate empirical analyses elucidate the differential incidence and spatial distribution of disadvantage within resorts. The study findings reveal that various facets of population composition and place factors impact differentially on manifestations of deprivation within seaside resorts. The paper advances the understanding of deprivation in seaside resorts by focussing upon the micro-geographies within coastal communities and proposes a new typology of deprivation comprising four types of highly deprived resort neighbourhoods.

The paper begins with a general introduction to disadvantage and moves on to examine its links with multiple deprivation and social exclusion. These terms have become operationalised to move from generic analyses of poverty to more specific societal questions that the public sector has popularised to achieve a greater degree of fairness and redistribution of resources to disadvantaged groups, socially and spatially. This analysis is followed by discussion of the relevance of disadvantage to the English seaside, the socio-economic problems being experienced and the causes of such difficulties. The third part of the paper details the methodology and research methods employed, followed by the presentation and discussion of the study results in the fourth part. The paper ends with consideration of the implications of the findings. This study seeks to make a significant contribution to policymaking by identifying the internal dynamics of resort change in relation to disadvantage, specifically, patterns of socio-spatial disadvantage and the way in which place- and population-based factors influence the outcome. Such knowledge is applicable to other post-mature coastal resorts globally, which are experiencing similar difficulties (European Tourism Universities Partnership, 2000; English Tourist Board, 1991).

2. Disadvantage and the English seaside

Disadvantage is widely understood to refer to combinations of socio-economic and socio-demographic attributes, which expose people to the risk of living in poor social and economic conditions (Whelan et al., 2007). Disadvantage has many forms and may be absolute or relative, as emerged in many of the seminal studies of poverty (e.g. Townsend, 1979; Mack and Lansley, 1985). It can, for example, include having limited family assets, a poorer standard of education, a lower paid job or insecure employment (i.e. seasonal employment in resorts and zero hour contracts), living in housing of a poor standard and trying to bring up a family in difficult circumstances (i.e. an absence of income and reliance upon foodbanks and payday loans). The longer people live in stressful economic and social circumstances, the greater the physiological and psychological attrition that they suffer. Given its links to the distribution of financial material resources, the study of disadvantage has traditionally focused on poverty which then evolved into the study of relative deprivation (e.g. Townsend, 1979) through to the more sophisticated analysis of multiple deprivation (Millar, 1997; Walker, 1997) once more overarching government datasets became available. However, more recently, it has been incorporated into studies of social exclusion, which focus on

disadvantaged groups or disadvantaged areas amongst whom, or within which, the incidence of disadvantage is disproportionately high.

2.1 Multiple deprivation and social exclusion

Multiple deprivation is primarily concerned with combinations of adverse circumstances and the impact upon the quality of people's lives (Berghman, 1995), particularly on their ability to play a full part in the life of their community or society (Whelan et al., 2004). Social exclusion is a concept that refers to 'the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society' (European Communities Commission, 1993: 1). Some recent notions of social exclusion also have connotations with the development of a civil society with its ultimate objective of ensuring full participation by all citizens irrespective of the community or social and economic background (see Edwards, 2013).

Although there are a wide range of views about what the term social exclusion means in different societal contexts (Silver, 1994), in theoretical terms, there appears to be very little difference between this term and multiple deprivation (Whelan et al., 2004). Both are multi-dimensional concepts that focus on the detachment of individuals and communities from societal participation. In practice, however, deprivation has been traditionally associated with a narrower emphasis on living standards and on the lack of financial or material resources at the disposal of individuals and communities, which can be traced to the landmark study by Rowntree (1901) and the concept of the life cycle of poverty and the primary poverty line. As Walton & Browne (2010: 37) suggest that 'while poverty and the poor must have existed [at the coast] their details were not refined into indices of multiple deprivation – misery was mostly your own and largely went unrecorded' a featured also noted in Walton (1978) treatise on the *Blackpool Landlady*².

In contrast, social exclusion emphasises the importance of relational aspects of life – social, cultural or political as well as distributive or material - that may lead to individuals, population groups or communities living a life that differs significantly from the mainstream

² For example, in the leaner years of the Edwardian period, the resort of Blackpool saw between 14% - 15% of the town's population being supported by a relief fund based on charitable donations and outside of the peak seasons, Walton & Browne (2010) point to the sharp seasonal drop in business within resorts.

of society (Jakes, 2015). Byrne (1999) traces the emergence of social exclusion in the social sciences and how the structure of society and exercise of power determines the lives of certain groups. There is a stronger emphasis in the exclusion literature on relational issues: that is, 'inadequate social participation, lack of social protection, lack of social integration, and lack of power' (Room, 1995: 105). Social exclusion is therefore a broader concept than multiple deprivation 'encompassing not only low material means but also the inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life, and in some characterisations, alienation and distance from mainstream society' (Duffy, 1998: 241). According to Room (1995: 243), it is a dynamic process 'of becoming detached from the organisation and communities of which society is composed and from the rights and obligations that they embody', and it may vary between the individual, household and the local community in its spatial dimension.

More recently, new forms of exclusion have been identified (Miliband, 2006). 'Wide exclusion' refers to the large number of people disadvantaged on a single or small number of domain-specific indicator(s). 'Deep exclusion' refers to those who are disadvantaged on multiple and overlapping dimensions, whilst 'concentrated exclusion' refers to the geographic concentration of problems and to 'area exclusion'. Thus, 'deep' and 'area' exclusion occur where different factors combine to trap individuals and areas in a spiral of disadvantage, resulting in severe negative consequences for quality of life, well-being and future life chances. These conditions have been epitomised in many studies of the inner city since the 1960s, where a downward spiral of decline has compounded the spatial concentration of excluded communities in areas which have sometimes been further excluded through gentrification and urban renewal. Social exclusion is universally regarded in the academic and policy literature as involving severe, multi-dimensional disadvantage. However, despite recent advances in the study of multiple deprivation and social exclusion, both are still not particularly well understood in some spatial settings in the UK. The absence of social exclusion research in English seaside resorts and rural areas is in contrast to the extensive research undertaken in urban environments.

2.2 Multiple deprivation, social exclusion and the English seaside

While there is widespread recognition that many English seaside resorts are exhibiting characteristics of multiple deprivation and social exclusion, their presence and the reasons

behind their occurrence are unclear. This situation is partly because there is spatial unevenness in the economic performance of resorts (Agarwal, 2005), and partly because many resorts have not declined as a result of a loss of their tourism economic base, which has invariably been blamed for their predicament. The latter point is illustrated by Beatty & Fothergill (2003) who undertook the only UK national study of the economies of forty-three seaside towns over the period 1971-2001. Far from declining, Beatty & Fothergill (2003) found that seaside towns had experienced increases in employment and population, with the latter fuelled by steady flows of in-migration. However, alongside such growth, Beatty & Fothergill (2003: 6) also found claimant unemployment to be ‘well above the level in surrounding areas and in a few towns it is high by national standards’, and ‘high levels of recorded permanent sickness among the working age population’ (p. 41). In a later study, employment supported by seaside tourism in 121 resorts since the start of the recession in 2008 was shown to stand at 212,000 direct jobs, with a growth of 5,000 jobs between 2006 and 2008. Much of the growth was, however, spatially uneven, with growth focused on the south coast and smaller resorts in the Southwest, while the larger, traditional resorts, such as Blackpool, had experienced considerable contraction in tourism-related employment (Beatty et al., 2014).

Further evidence of the challenging socio-economic problems that many English seaside resorts are experiencing (Table 1) was presented in a report undertaken by the House of Commons CLG Select Committee (2007). The report noted that coastal areas tend to have relatively low wage, low-skill economies with seasonal employment, which created conditions for economic under-performance. The Committee observed it was ‘particularly struck by the demography of many coastal towns where there is a combination of trends occurring, including the outward movement of young people and the inward migration of older people’³, which leads to a burden on the local public sector (House of Commons CLG, 2007: 3). A range of housing issues in coastal areas were also highlighted related to a ‘dual economy’ of private, premium housing, which had created conditions of unaffordability (owing to high levels of second home ownership), together with cheap rented flats in converted former tourist accommodation, which provided disproportionate levels of unsuitable accommodation as well as empty homes but, ironically, high levels of

³ This process of migration is a well established pattern that has evolved through time as initially discussed in Law & Warnes (1976).

Table 1 Key issues facing English seaside resorts (after House of Commons CLG, 2007)

Changes in tourism trends
- evolving tourist market (e.g., day trippers, short breaks, second holidays, conferences)
Low wage rates, part-time and seasonal employment
High levels of deprivation indicators
- poor levels of education, skills and training
High levels of in-migration of
- young, low-skilled migrants
- people aged 35 and over
- people aged 65 and over
High levels of out-migration of youth for education and opportunities
A range of housing issues, including
- a lack of affordable housing due to high levels of second-home ownership
- disproportionate levels of unsuitable accommodation
- high levels of Houses of Multiple Occupation associated with tourist accommodation stock and transient population
Transient populations
Many 'vulnerable' residents
- on sickness-related benefits, in care homes and hostels (young and old people)
Peripheral locations and weak transport links

homelessness. A disproportionately high number of people claiming sickness and disability benefits in coastal resorts were attracted by the availability of cheaper accommodation (House of Commons CLG, 2007). The incidence of relatively high numbers of houses in multiple occupation (HMOs) and of vulnerable children and adults, together with the burden which the in-migration of such segments of society places on the local public sector, represents a distinctive feature of coastal resorts.

In terms of specific academic research about multiple deprivation and social exclusion in English seaside resorts, the first major national study undertaken by Agarwal & Brunt (2006) revealed variability in its form and severity. Based on the profiling and analysis of selected Census (2001) variables relating to key socio-economic characteristics, it was found that, although there was remarkable similarity in the composition and extent of multiple deprivation, there was evidence that some of the most deprived resorts were characterised by particular socio-economic variables (Table 2). Such a finding enabled the identification of a typology, which distinguished 'all resorts' from others labelled 'young', 'old' and 'wealthy' on the basis of specific socio-economic characteristics exhibited. This typology not only suggested that 'social exclusion is affecting differentially different sections of the

community’, but also implied that ‘there may be several different causes of multiple deprivation’ (Agarwal & Brunt, 2006: 667).

Table 2 Typology of English seaside resorts (after Agarwal and Brunt 2006: 666)

Type	Characteristics
‘All resorts’	High proportions in terms of average age, retired, white, with long-term illness or permanently sick or disabled, providing unpaid care, unemployed, no qualifications, one person households, lone parents with dependent children, without central heating, without car
‘Young’	As above but higher proportions of lone parents and unemployed
‘Old’	As above but particularly elderly population, lower unemployment but higher health related problems
‘Wealthy’	As above but pockets of deprivation masked by wealthier wards, often with high average house prices

Beatty et al.’s (2008) later bench-marking study of 37 seaside towns with populations above 10,000 also suggested diversity in experience. It found that, in terms of the three economic domains of the IMD (2007), namely income, employment and education, skills and training, four resorts appeared to be in the least deprived quartile and a further six appeared twice. These resorts included Bognor Regis, Exmouth, Bournemouth, Sidmouth, Swanage, Whitstable/Herne Bay, Whitley Bay and Southport, which, with the exception of the latter two situated in the Northeast and Northwest of England respectively, are all located on its south coast. At the other end of the spectrum, six resorts fell into the most deprived quartile in all three of the economic domains of the IMD 2007 and a further five appear twice. In all, eleven seaside resorts, including Bridlington, Skegness and Whitby (Northeast), Morecambe and Heysham (Northwest), Clacton, Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft (East), Thanet (Southeast) and the Southwest resorts of Torbay, Penzance and Ilfracombe, were identified as having the greatest economic problems. While this study sheds light on the extremes of multiple deprivation and social exclusion in seaside towns, explanations for such differences are contested.

2.3 Causes of multiple deprivation and social exclusion

There has been considerable debate about the causes of the socio-economic problems of English seaside resorts. Beatty & Fothergill (2003) found that poor economic performance

was related to unemployment, whereas Shaw & Coles (2007: 47) stated that ‘many of the difficulties appear to relate to patterns of migration and the low wage economy associated with many parts of the tourism sector’. In contrast, work undertaken for the CLG suggested that their predicament was not the product of one factor alone. Instead, it was the outcome of the interaction of demographic, economic and social factors (Shared Intelligence, 2008). Based on the perceptions and views of managers in ten employment-deprived resorts, a lack of economic diversity was highlighted as being the main driver, whilst the transience and immigration of vulnerable households was also perceived to be the most influential demographic contributor. The economic factors that were thought to be responsible include under-employment and unemployment, a weak job market dominated by low skilled and seasonal employment, a weak and unbalanced housing market, an unfit and disinvested physical fabric, and low demand and low prices. Meanwhile, localised multiple deprivation particularly ill-health, poor educational attainment, low skills and incapacity, were suggested as being the primary social factors (Shared Intelligence, 2008).

Insights into the cause(s) of the socio-economic problems of English seaside resorts may also be gleaned from the theoretical roots of local area exclusion, which argue that processes within localities and their relationship with the wider area in which they are situated are also important. Such processes are likely to have a determining influence on an individual’s life opportunities and living standards (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2001; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Lupton, 2003). In particular, areas and neighbourhoods are characterised by: (i) intrinsic ‘hard-to-change’ features and, by (ii) population characteristics. In terms of the former, these aspects include location, transport, infrastructure, housing and economic base. They are also usually determined by local factors and broader sub-national influences (Lupton, 2001; North & Syrett, 2006). With respect to the latter, changes in population composition are strongly linked to intrinsic characteristics - not least because workers locate close to employment. Thus, people with low skills and earning capacity, including some new migrants, move into areas dominated by lower quality and lower cost housing. The population composition and dynamics are also attributed to sub-national influences or the quality and availability of housing (Lupton, 2001).

However, just because of the concentration of socially deprived and/or excluded individuals and households within the local population or because of the nature of the area itself, the idea that where people live affects their ability to participate in key domains of

modern life has not been universally accepted. The extent to which place matters has been the subject of contentious debate, with many commentators dismissing or downplaying the role of area effects, and instead suggesting that family and the individual (Gordon, 1996; Kleinman, 1999; Buck & Gordon, 2004) as well as circumstances (Dorling, 2001) are more important. Nevertheless, the role of geography or space *per se*, together with the contribution of the environment in which people live (place oriented factors) and the social ecology of seaside resorts (people oriented factors), adds a further dimension to potential explanations for the causes of multiple deprivation and social exclusion in English seaside resorts. In attempting to examine the latter within these environments, and to assess their relationship(s) to disadvantage, it is exactly these issues which are explored in the third part of this paper.

3. Methodology

This research employed a quantitative approach undertaken in three stages. Given that there is no standard seaside resort definition, together with the lack of data available specifically pertaining to these environments, the first stage involved the identification of the resorts to be included in the database. The second stage was concerned with the selection of variables and database construction, whilst in the third, a micro level analysis of multiple deprivation and its association with the resort's socio-economic characteristics was undertaken.

3.1 Identification of seaside resorts

This stage began at the local authority district level. Based simply on their proximity to the coast, the 354 districts that exist across England were sub-divided into either 'coastal' or 'inland' categories. This categorisation follows similar exercises that have been undertaken in other coastal areas internationally (see Hynes & Farrelly, 2012 for one such example).

A total of 84 were classified as 'coastal' and were subject to further area classification to enable a distinction to be made between 'seaside' and 'coastal' districts. Following a similar procedure employed by Agarwal & Brunt (2006), definitions of 'seaside' were differentiated from 'coastal' based on the importance of tourism employment. However, a much higher threshold of 8.2% or above employment in tourism-related businesses was adopted instead of the 3% threshold used in Agarwal & Brunt's (2006) study, in order to compensate for the

under accounting of tourism jobs that fall outside of the standard industrial classifications which comprise this statistic. Thus, of the 84 local authority districts initially classified as ‘coastal’, 24 were re-classified as ‘coastal’, because they appeared to be less reliant on tourism and 60 as ‘seaside’. However, not all these ‘seaside’ districts contained identifiable seaside resorts defined as settlements that have a beach and a population of above 10,000 in the 2001 census. Therefore, of the 60 districts classified as ‘seaside’, 39 contained resorts and were relabelled ‘seaside with resort’ and 21 did not.

The next step was to identify specific resorts. This procedure involved the creation of a list of all places in each ‘seaside with resort’ district with a beach, which was informed by the UK Coast Guide (2010) and Enjoy England (2010) websites and by careful scrutiny of Ordnance Survey maps. In addition, since the Census 2001 data did not correspond directly to seaside resorts, Census Area Statistic (CAS) wards were used instead to establish the population of settlements within each of the 39 ‘seaside with resort’ districts. Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs), a sub-ward geography being the smallest unit of analysis at which many statistics are available, were matched to identifiable settlements and population figures were then assembled. In the 39 districts with resorts, 58 individual seaside resorts were identified, comprised of 1,686 LSOAs or neighbourhoods.

3.2 Data selection

The study's second stage was primarily concerned with the construction of a national seaside resort database, drawing, in the first instance, on the IMD (2010) as this research predated the release of the IMD (2015). This multi-relational dataset is based on 38 indicators grouped across seven domains relating to ‘income’, ‘employment’, ‘health and disability’, ‘education, skills and training’, ‘barriers to housing and services’, ‘living environment’, and ‘crime’. It provides a relative ranking of sub-ward areas or neighbourhoods across England according to their level of deprivation. The index is ideally suited to the purposes of this analysis as it covers a range of different but related aspects of deprivation, which together are indicative of multiple deprivation and social exclusion (McLennan et al., 2011). As these data do not correspond directly to resorts, available LSOA data were collated and matched to the identified 58 seaside resorts.

In order to ascertain the influence of resort socio-economic performance on multiple deprivation and social exclusion, a wide range of socio-economic data were assembled from sources such as the Census, the Home Office, the Office of National Statistics (ONS) and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). Given that a chief characteristic of social exclusion studies to date has been the variation in indicators employed to measure it (see Levitas et al., 2007 for a review), together with the reality that no measure is perfect and ‘data availability often determines what is included’ (McClennan et al., 2011: 29), this study drew on insights provided by the extant literature and used two types of indicators.

The first measured the factors that impinge on the fortunes of residents and population mix in an area (e.g., economic factors such as industrial structure, and physical factors such as housing stock). The second type of indicator was that of population composition and dynamics. Population characteristics are important because of their determining influence on labour supply, household structure, service needs, social networks and norms, culture and preferences. Initially, 67 variables were selected as being indicative of these indicators. However, given the need for the data to match the identified 58 seaside resorts, only data available at LSOA or neighbourhood level were included in the analysis. Thus, combined with the IMD data, 50 variables were selected in total, reflecting a range of demographic, housing, wealth, poverty, health, education, employment, economic structure dimensions.

3.3 Resort level analysis

The third stage entailed a micro-level analysis of multiple deprivation within seaside resorts. The ‘resort’ LSOAs were recoded into national quartiles and quintiles based on their rankings calculated in the overall IMD for 2004, 2007 and 2010. The data were subject to cross-tabulations and chi-square analyses so that their association with deprivation could be assessed. A series of scatterplots were produced of the ‘resort’ LSOAs to establish the extent to which multiple deprivation was associated with other aspects of deprivation within seaside resorts. Further interrogation of the data involved a specific focus on the most deprived 20% resort LSOAs.

To explore whether there are different types of deprived resort neighbourhoods, the data were analysed using the Principal Component Analysis method (PCA). PCA is a common technique in the social sciences which can best be described as a multivariate statistical

technique that employs an orthogonal transformation of the dataset to convert a range of potentially correlated variables into a set of uncorrelated variables (i.e. the 'principal components'). It has been widely used in studies of multiple deprivation given the need to synthesise the complex datasets measuring the different facets of deprivation to derive generalisations from the data analysis (see Dunteman, 1989 on the use and application of PCA). PCA enables one to identify similarities and differences within the data to determine the minimum number of factors that accounted for the maximum variance. It was therefore a useful technique for reducing a larger set of variables into a smaller set called 'principal components', which explained most of the variance in the original variables. Prior to its use however, four assumptions relating to the suitability of the dataset need to be satisfied. These related to the: (a) sample size; (b) the occurrence of correlations amongst factors included in the PCA; (c) the presence of a linear relationship between all of the variables; and (d) the absence of outliers as these can have a disproportionate influence on the results (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001 for a fuller review). On the first iteration of the PCA, the Keiser Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (MSA) for 42 of the individual variables included in the analysis was greater than 0.5. However, eight variables had values below 0.5 and were consequently removed. The PCA was computed again and all the required assumptions were satisfied.

In order to ensure that each variable was associated with a component, PCA with varimax rotation was specifically deployed. Reference to eigenvalues is the most common and reliable method for extracting components. Thus, all with eigenvalues greater than 1 were regarded as significant and all with less were discarded. In addition, all variables with a factor loading greater than 0.4 were removed. Eight components initially emerged. However, the analysis revealed that the eighth had only two variables loading onto it, which were subsequently removed and the analysis was re-run on the 40 remaining variables. Having once again satisfied the required assumptions (Table 3), a seven-component solution emerged which explained an acceptable 78.74% of the total variance.

A hierarchical cluster analysis using the K-means method was applied to the data for the 399 resort LSOAs that fell into the worst performing national quintile in the Index of Multiple Deprivation (2010) to elucidate similarities between the nature and causes of deprivation within seaside resorts. This threshold was considered appropriate since it is used by the CLG and other organisations when defining deprived neighbourhoods in assessments

of applications to access regeneration funds (McLennan *et al.*, 2011). In order to identify the existence of any characteristic features and distinctiveness of these clusters, their compositions were explored through the application of One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) *F*-tests and Tukey's post-hoc tests. These tests enabled the mean for each to be inspected against the overall mean for all 399 deprived resort neighbourhoods, thereby highlighting those components and their corresponding variables that differentiate each of the clusters. From these variables, Z scores were calculated and plotted, thereby generating a detailed profile of each cluster.

4. Results

4.1 Incidence of multiple deprivation

As a starting point, univariate and bivariate analyses were used to investigate the incidence of multiple deprivation within the 39 identified 'seaside with resort' districts and their corresponding LSOAs. This examination revealed there to be statistically significant differences in deprivation levels across each of the multiple deprivation summary indicators between these areas and other district types. The degree, extent and local concentration of multiple deprivation was significantly lower in 'inland', 'coastal' and 'seaside without resort' districts ($p = <0.001$). Moreover, higher levels of deprivation were found within 'seaside with resort' districts when compared with other inland, coastal and 'seaside without resort' district LSOAs. Thus, this analysis revealed that not only are 'seaside with resort' districts associated with higher levels of multiple deprivation, but also that multiple deprivation is more prevalent and concentrated within them.

Further investigation of the incidence of multiple deprivation within the 58 identified seaside resorts or, in other words, amongst the 1,686 resort LSOAs or neighbourhoods, using correlation analysis, showed there to be similarities between the levels of overall multiple deprivation and specific forms of deprivation experienced. The results indicated that those resort LSOAs or neighbourhoods which ranked highly on the overall Index of Multiple deprivation (2010) also tended to rank highly in terms of being deprived in terms of its income ($r = 0.96$), employment ($r = 0.95$), health ($r = 0.88$), education ($r = 0.78$) and crime ($r = 0.74$) domains. The correspondence of overall deprivation with 'living environment

deprivation' and 'housing and services deprivation' is, however, somewhat weaker (r values of 0.63 and 0.24, respectively).

Table 3 PCA appropriateness and assumption test results

Assumption	Tests used	Test 'rules'	Study result	Assumption satisfied
1. Large enough sample sizes are required in order for PCA to produce a reliable result	Sample to variable ratio	The ratio of a minimum of 5 to 10 cases per variable or larger has been recommended as a minimum sample size (Gorsuch, 1983)	There were 399 cases and 40 variables, providing a ratio of 9.97 to 1	√
	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) for set of variables	The overall MSA is 0.50 or higher (Kaiser, 1974)	The overall MSA for the set of variables included in the analysis was 0.812	√
	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (MSA) of individual variables	Variables with a MSA of less than 0.50 must be removed (Kaiser, 1974)	The MSA for 42 of the individual variables included in the analysis was greater than 0.50;	√
2. The occurrence of correlations included in the PCA	Factorability of the correlation matrix	The correlation matrix for the variables must contain 2 or more correlations of above 0.3 or greater; there are not more correlations above 0.8 than 0.3 (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001)	Of the 780 correlations in the matrix, 346 were greater than 0.3 and 8 were greater than or equal to 0.8	√
	Bartlett Test of Sphericity	Must be statistically significant	A statistically significant result was obtained, this being $p < 0.001$ ($\chi^2 = 33427.766$, df. 780)	√
3. The presence of a linear relationship between all of the variables	Review of scatterplot graphs	A straight line must comfortably fit through the data	A review of scatterplot graphs revealed a series of small scatters about the line	√
4. The absence of outliers	Review of scatterplots graphs score values and residuals	There must be no data points which differ from the rest of the data	There were no outliers contained within the scatterplot graphs reviewed	√

Moreover, in terms of the experience of multiple deprivation within English seaside resorts, out of the 1,686 resort LSOAs identified, 519 or 30.7% fell into the worst performing 25% in

England, of which thirty-one ranked in the most deprived 25% of LSOAs on all seven domains of the IMD (2010). The majority (55.7%) featured in the most deprived 25% on five or more domains, and almost all (98.1%) were in the most deprived 25% of LSOAs on three or more domains.

When compared over time, there appears to be little change in the level of deprivation being experienced in resort LSOAs. Between 2004 and 2010, it appears that deprivation for five out of the seven deprivation domains (education and skills, health, living environment, crime, and housing and services) worsened, whilst during the same period, employment and income deprivation slightly improved, evidenced by decreased percentage of resort LSOAs falling into the most deprived national quartile. The domains which had the highest proportion of resort LSOAs in the most deprived quartiles in both 2004 and 2010 were the ‘economic’ domains (employment, income, and education and skills), the ‘health deprivation and disability’ domain and the ‘living environment deprivation’ domain. In contrast, the ‘crime’ and ‘barriers to housing and services’ domains had the highest proportion of resort LSOAs in the least deprived quartiles in both 2004 and 2010. In relation to national quartiles, quintiles and deciles, the data revealed a skew in resort LSOAs towards the very deprived. This skewness is slightly more pronounced in 2010 than in 2004, and serves to demonstrate that multiple deprivation at the English seaside has increased in both severity and extent over time.

When the 1,686 resort LSOAs are matched to their corresponding seaside resorts, it was revealed that more than four-in-five (86.2%) of the 58 resorts have at least one LSOA in the upper quartile of most deprived LSOAs of England when tested against the IMD (2010). With the exception of the ‘access to housing and services’ domain and, to a lesser extent, ‘crime’, a similar pattern is evident for the other seven domains. This trend does not appear to have changed significantly since 2004. More specifically, a number of resorts were identified as experiencing particular problems evidenced by the fact that many had LSOAs in the highest deprivation quartile in five or more deprivation domains. In all, 289 resort LSOAs fell into this classification and were located within 39 individual resorts (Table 4). Of these, thirteen resorts had more than 25% of their neighbourhoods affected by deprivation. Furthermore, seven resorts had a third or more of their neighbourhoods suffering from deprivation, which, in order of prevalence were: Margate, Blackpool, Hastings, Ilfracombe, Dover, Fleetwood and Skegness.

Table 4 Particularly deprived English seaside resorts (after Jakes, 2015)

Resort	Size	'Seaside' district	English Region	Number of LSOAs in most deprived quartile on five or more LSOA level domains	Total number of LSOAs within the seaside resort and % of LSOAs falling into the most deprived quartile on five or more LSOA level domains	
					(n)	(%)
Margate	L	Thanet	SE	13 *(1)	27	48.1
Blackpool	L	Blackpool	NW	44 *(22)	94	46.8
Hastings	L	Hastings	SE	23	53	43.4
Ilfracombe	M	North Devon	SW	3	8	37.5
Dover	M	Dover	SE	6	18	33.3
Fleetwood	M	Wyre	NW	6	18	33.3
Skegness	M	East Lindsey	EM	4	12	33.3
Scarborough	L	Scarborough	Y&H	11	34	32.4
Penzance	M	Penwith	SW	4	13	30.8
Great Yarmouth	L	Great Yarmouth	E	11	36	30.6
Folkestone	L	Shepway	SE	9	31	29
Brighton	L	Brighton and Hove	SE	28 *(3)	101	27.7
Torquay	L	Torbay	SW	11 *(1)	43	25.6
Morecambe	M	Lancaster	NW	5	21	23.8
Littlehampton	M	Arun	SE	4 *(1)	17	23.5
Ramsgate	L	Thanet	SE	6	26	23.1
Clacton-on-Sea	L	Tendring	E	6	32	18.8
Heysham	M	Lancaster	NW	2	11	18.2
Eastbourne	L	Eastbourne	SE	10 *(2)	59	16.9
Weston-s-mare	L	North Somerset	SW	8	48	16.7
Lowestoft	L	Waveney	E	7	42	16.7
Bournemouth	L	Bournemouth	SW	16 *(1)	107	15
Southend-on-Sea	L	Southend-on-Sea	E	15	107	14
Bognor Regis	M	Arun	SE	2	15	13.3
Weymouth	L	Weymouth & Portland	SW	4	31	12.9
Ryde	M	Isle of Wight	SE	2	16	12.5
Whitby	M	Scarborough	Y&H	1	9	11.1
Bexhill-on-Sea	L	Rother	SE	3	28	10.7
Whitstable	M	Canterbury	SE	2	21	9.5
Southsea	L	Portsmouth	SE	3	32	9.4
South Shields	L	South Tyneside	NE	5	55	9.1
Paignton	L	Torbay	SW	3	34	8.8
Herne Bay	M	Canterbury	SE	2	23	8.7
Brixham	M	Torbay	SW	1	12	8.3
Burnham-on-Sea	M	Sedgemoor	SW	1	12	8.3
Hove	L	Brighton and Hove	SE	5	63	7.9
Thornton-Cleveleys	M	Wyre	NW	1	21	4.8
Crosby	L	Sefton	NW	1	32	3.1
Southport	L	Sefton	NW	1	60	1.7

Notes: Using the 2001 census population figures at LSOA level, the 'large' (L) resorts are those resorts with a population more than or equal to 40,000; the 'mid-sized' (M) resorts are defined as those which have a population between 10,000 and 39,999; English regions include Southeast (SE), Southwest (SW), Northeast (NE) and Northwest (NW).

* (n) denotes resorts that had LSOAs rank among the 25% most deprived nationally on all seven deprivation domains (and the number of LSOAs

4.2 Nature of disadvantage

The PCA and cluster analysis revealed a number of interesting findings relating to the nature, causes and consequences of neighbourhood disadvantage in English seaside resorts. Table 5 details the seven emerging components and correlating variables, along with their factor loadings, eigenvalues, and percentages of explained variance. The first component, labelled ‘white, working class social housing neighbourhoods with disadvantages’, consisted of ten variables that accounted for 26.19% of the total variance and when taken together, relate to unemployment and low incomes. The second component, named ‘limited access to employment opportunities’, accounted for 22.12% of the total variance and incorporated positive correlations with eight variables, most of which are associated with the percentage of the working population claiming benefits of various descriptions. The third component - ‘high levels of benefit claimants, much poor health’ - was composed of nine variables, which described 11.20% of the total variance. These variables were associated with the percentage of the working age population claiming incapacity, disability and/or out-of-work benefits and with the presence of dependent children from lone parent families.

Meanwhile, the fourth component termed ‘prime working age demographic’ explained 6.65% of the variance and consisted of nine variables, which together suggest that this component was characterised by fewer dependent or pensionable people and by a larger percentage of the population of working age who are young, non-white, living in over-crowded conditions and who lack access to private transport. The fifth component labelled as ‘older demographic profile’ accounted for 6.08% of variance and incorporated six variables that revolve around a greater percentage of people of pensionable age, who are living in a single person household. In contrast, the sixth component, ‘professionals, tourism jobs, private renters and poor housing’ consists of seven variables and explained 3.16% of the total variance. Here, a mixed picture was exhibited that was associated, on the one hand, with households living in over-crowded conditions, who lack or share a bath, shower and inside toilet and who live in a high crime area. On the other hand, it was also related to those who are self-employed or who are classified as managers and/or professionals, whose jobs are tourism-related, and who live in privately rented accommodation. The seventh component, labelled ‘mixed private housing neighbourhoods with

Table 5 Results of PCA

Component and correlated variables	Factor loadings	Eigenvalues	% of explained variance
<i>1: White, working class social housing neighbourhoods with disadvantages</i>			
		10.476	26.190
• % of working age pop. in employment, classified as other white collar	-0.872		
• % of working age pop. with no qualifications	0.774		
• % of working age pop. in employment, classified as other manual	0.770		
• % of working age pop. with higher education (i.e., level 4/5 qualifications)	-0.768		
• Median gross annual household income	-0.740		
• % of working age pop. in employment, classified as skilled manual	0.528		
• % of dependent children receiving child tax-credit in out-of-work families	0.402		
• % pop. White	0.407		
• % of working age pop. in employment, classified as managers and professionals	-0.515		
• % of all occupied household spaces rented from council/social	0.446		
<i>2: Limited access to employment opportunities</i>			
		8.8846	22.115
• % of working age pop. claiming Job Seekers Allowance (JSA)	0.919		
• % of working age pop. claiming JSA for over 6 months	0.894		
• % of working age pop. claiming JSA for over 12 months	0.841		
• JSA claimants as % of Out-of-Work benefits claimants	0.823		
• JSA claimants (aged 18-24 years) as % of working age pop.	0.764		
• % of household spaces vacant	0.685		
• % of working age pop. claiming Out-of-Work benefits	0.535		
• % of households without access to a car or van	0.454		
<i>3: High levels of benefit claimants, much poor health</i>			
		4.481	11.202
• % of working age pop. claiming Incapacity Benefit/Severe Disability Allowance	0.905		
• % of working age pop. claiming Income Support	0.867		
• % of working age pop. claiming Disability Living Allowance	0.772		
• % of working age pop. claiming Out-of-Work benefits	0.708		
• % of working age pop. claiming Employment and Support Allowance	0.617		
• % of older people receiving Pension Credit Guarantee Element	0.596		
• % of dependent children receiving child tax-credit in out-of-work families	0.504		
• % of dependent children in lone parent families	0.409		
• % of all occupied household spaces owned	-0.437		
<i>4: Prime working age demographic</i>			
		2.661	6.653

• % of older people receiving Pension Credit Guarantee Element	0.526		
• Demographic dependency ratio	-0.852		
• % pop. working age	0.851		
• % pop. pensionable age	-0.677		
• % of households living in overcrowded conditions	0.557		
• % of households without access to a car or van	0.535		
• % pop. White	-0.492		
• Median age of population	-0.485		
• % of all occupied household spaces owned	-0.501		
<hr/>			
<i>5: Older demographic profile</i>		2.432	6.081
• % pop. pensionable age	0.669		
• % of households single pensioner	0.873		
• Median age of population	0.768		
• % pop. Children	-0.727		
• % of households single person	0.708		
• % of households lone parent with dependent children	-0.589		
<hr/>			
<i>6: Professionals, tourism jobs, private renters and poor housing</i>		1.445	3.612
• % of households living in overcrowded conditions	0.517		
• % of working age pop. self-employed	0.810		
• % of working age pop. in employment, classified as managers and professionals	0.708		
• % of all employee jobs that are tourism-related	0.710		
• Crime rank	0.603		
• % of households lacking/sharing bath/shower or inside toilet	0.450		
• % of all occupied household spaces rented privately	0.482		
<hr/>			
<i>7: Mixed private housing neighbourhoods with high levels of home ownership</i>		1.157	2.892
• % of households with no central heating	0.804		
• % of all occupied households rented from council / social housing	-0.719		
• % of all occupied household spaces rented privately	0.533		
• % of all occupied household spaces owned	0.504		
<hr/>			

high levels of home ownership’, comprised four variables that explained 2.89% of total variance and which are associated with owned and privately rented household spaces and with households with no central heating.

Having reduced the data to seven principal components, the cluster analysis then allocated the 399 worst deprived resort neighbourhoods to four clusters. Table 6 presents the ANOVA F-test results or, in other words, the means for each of the principal components included in the analysis across the four clusters, which enabled the components which differentiated each cluster to be identified. A positive mean indicated that the LSOAs in this cluster have, on average, higher scores on this component than all the other deprived resort neighbourhoods. Conversely, a negative mean indicated that the LSOAs in the cluster have, on average, lower scores on this

Table 6 Summary statistics of cluster analysis of English seaside resort disadvantage

Component	Cluster 1 Mean	Cluster 2 Mean	Cluster 3 Mean	Cluster 4 Mean
1: White, working class social housing neighbourhoods with disadvantages	0.3633	0.0341	-0.0216	<u>-1.4584</u>
2: Limited access to employment opportunities	<u>1.2280</u>	-0.3202	-0.3123	-0.6457
3: High levels of benefit claimants, much poor health	-0.2249	0.1047	-0.0004	-0.2090
4: Prime working age demographic	<u>0.2825</u>	<u>-0.1466</u>	<u>-1.1404</u>	<u>2.1307</u>
5: Older demographic profile	0.4810	<u>-0.3916</u>	<u>1.0640</u>	0.3416
6: Professionals, tourism jobs, private renters and poor Housing	-0.1140	-0.2741	<u>1.4985</u>	<u>0.9828</u>
7: Mixed private housing neighbourhoods with high levels of home ownership	-0.0274	0.0832	-0.0715	<u>-0.5515</u>
Number and % of resort LSOAs (n=399)	88 (22%)	243 (61%)	41 (10%)	27 (7%)

Note: Underscore (_) denotes the differentiating components

component than all the deprived resort neighbourhoods. Overall, the data revealed that, whilst component 4 (i.e., prime working age demographic) was important in determining the composition of all four clusters, the majority of components are only important in determining the composition of one or two clusters. In contrast, component 3 (high levels of benefit claimants, much poor health) was unimportant in determining which neighbourhoods are in a

cluster. Based on this assessment, each cluster was profiled according to the main characteristics exhibited. Each point corresponded to a different variable and the numbers on the scale represented the difference from the mean value for that variable. In Figures 1-4⁴, the mean is denoted by the red ring at 0 and the value of each variable can be seen by the amount that the blue line (showing the difference from the mean for each value) is above or below the red line.

Cluster 1 ('Unemployed households with low incomes and social disadvantages') was found to be the second largest category, incorporating 88 out of the 399 (22%) deprived seaside resort neighbourhoods (Figure 1). The demographic structure was characterised by an above-average proportion of residents of working age and a below-average proportion of young people and pensioners. This cluster was significantly different from others in terms of above-average proportions of empty dwellings and Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) claimants, including long-term and youth unemployment. In addition, the cluster was characterised by above-average proportions of routine and low-skill occupations, lack of qualifications, lack of a car or van, children in lone-parent families, children in out-of-work families, accommodation lacking basic facilities and overcrowded households. Not surprisingly, given the unemployment associated with this cluster, it has the lowest level of household income.

Cluster 2 ('Social housing neighbourhoods with young population in unstable families'), was by far the largest of deprived seaside resort neighbourhoods in this study (243 neighbourhoods or 61%) (Figure 2). Although this cluster had few values that were high or low in comparison to the others, the negative status of both the 'older demographic profile' and the 'prime working age demographic' components suggested that there are fewer residents of working-age and older people, and more children and young people than the average. The proportion of children living in out-of-work families was above the mean as was the proportion of children in lone-parent families. In fact, this cluster exhibited the highest incidence of lone-parent households. It also exhibited the highest incidence of social housing (and lowest incidence of private-rented

⁴ Figures 1-4 are spider charts (also called radar charts) which represent multiple data on a two-dimensional chart. These charts have an axis starting at the centre of the diagram, emanating out to the edge and enable multiple variables to be compared against different measures or factors.

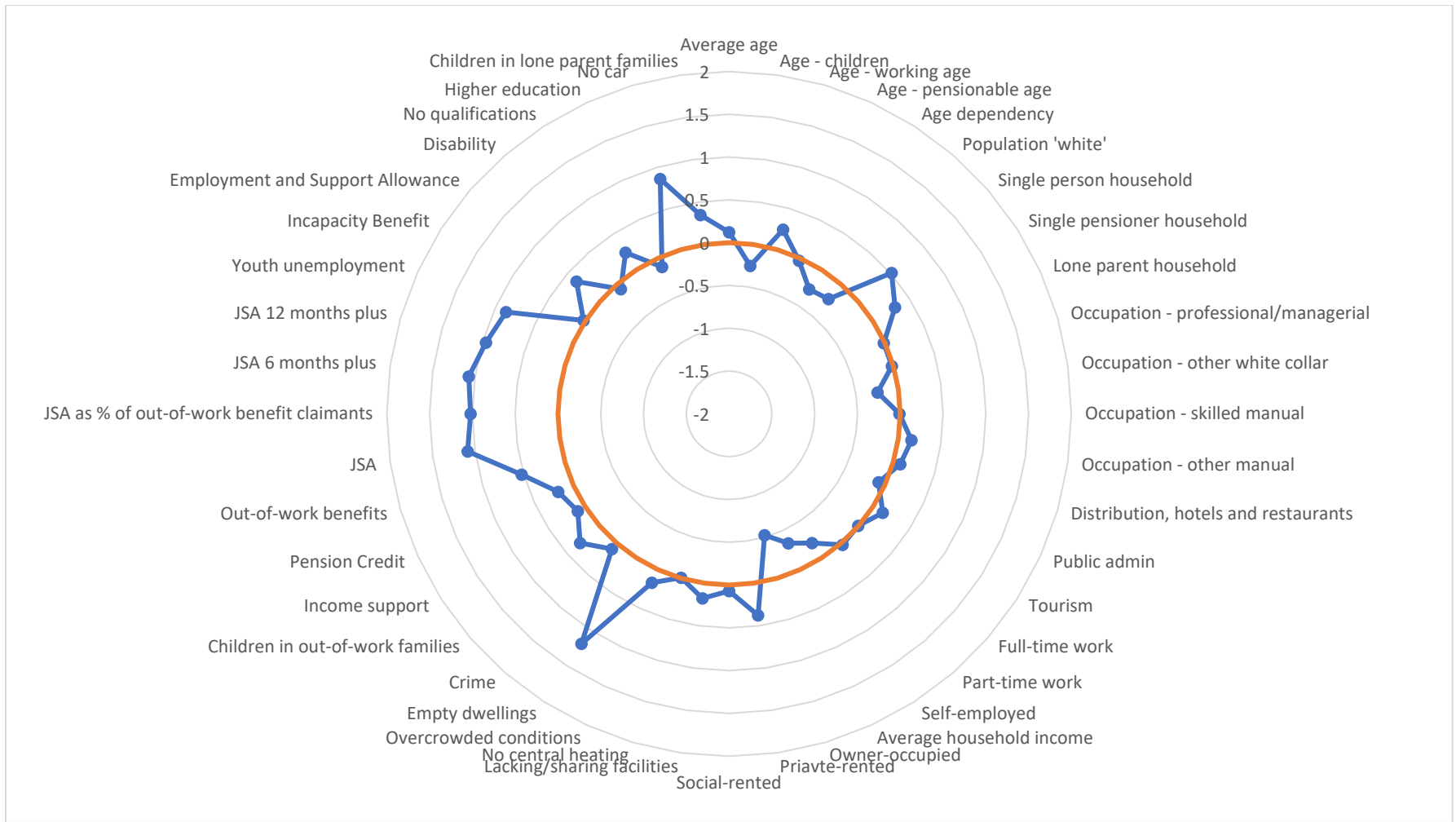


Figure 1 Cluster 1 profile: Unemployed households with low incomes and social disadvantages

housing), and the proportion of households lacking/sharing amenities and living in overcrowded conditions was below average. Crime was also less of an issue.

Cluster 3 ('Older population, lower unemployment but higher health-related problems') consisted of 41 deprived seaside resort neighbourhoods, or 10% of the total (Figure 3). This cluster was characterised by an elderly age structure with few persons in the 0-15 age group and a below-average proportion of persons of working age. The cluster had the highest average age and demographic dependency rate of any cluster. There was also an above-average incidence of single-person households with occupants above pensionable age and poorer than average health. As well as having the highest score for people over pensionable age, the cluster included both the highest proportion of working age residents claiming Incapacity Benefit and Disability Living Allowance. Occupations tended to be in the higher managerial and professional groups and in distribution, hotels and restaurants (including tourism) and, of these, many were part-time. The incidence of owner-occupied housing was the highest of any cluster. Levels of privately rented accommodation and households living in overcrowded conditions, lacking/sharing amenities and without central heating were also above average.

Meanwhile, Cluster 4 ('Areas in flux with ethnic minorities, solo living and private renters living in poor housing conditions'), was the smallest of the cluster groups (27 neighbourhoods, 7%) (Figure 4). It exhibited a predominance of working-age residents and thus there were few young people and people over pensionable age. Ethnic minorities (that is, ethnic groups other than white) formed a much larger percentage of the population of the cluster than they did of the population of any other cluster and the deprived resort neighbourhoods as a whole. Apart from these demographic variables, which strongly differentiated this cluster from the three others, it was also differentiated by a number of housing-related variables, including a higher proportion of persons living alone, many renting privately, and living in poor housing conditions. Crime was also more of an issue. Additionally, this cluster was characterised by lower levels of benefit claimants/poorer health (although many older people that are resident claim Pension Credit), an above-average level of household income and few working-age residents with no educational qualifications.

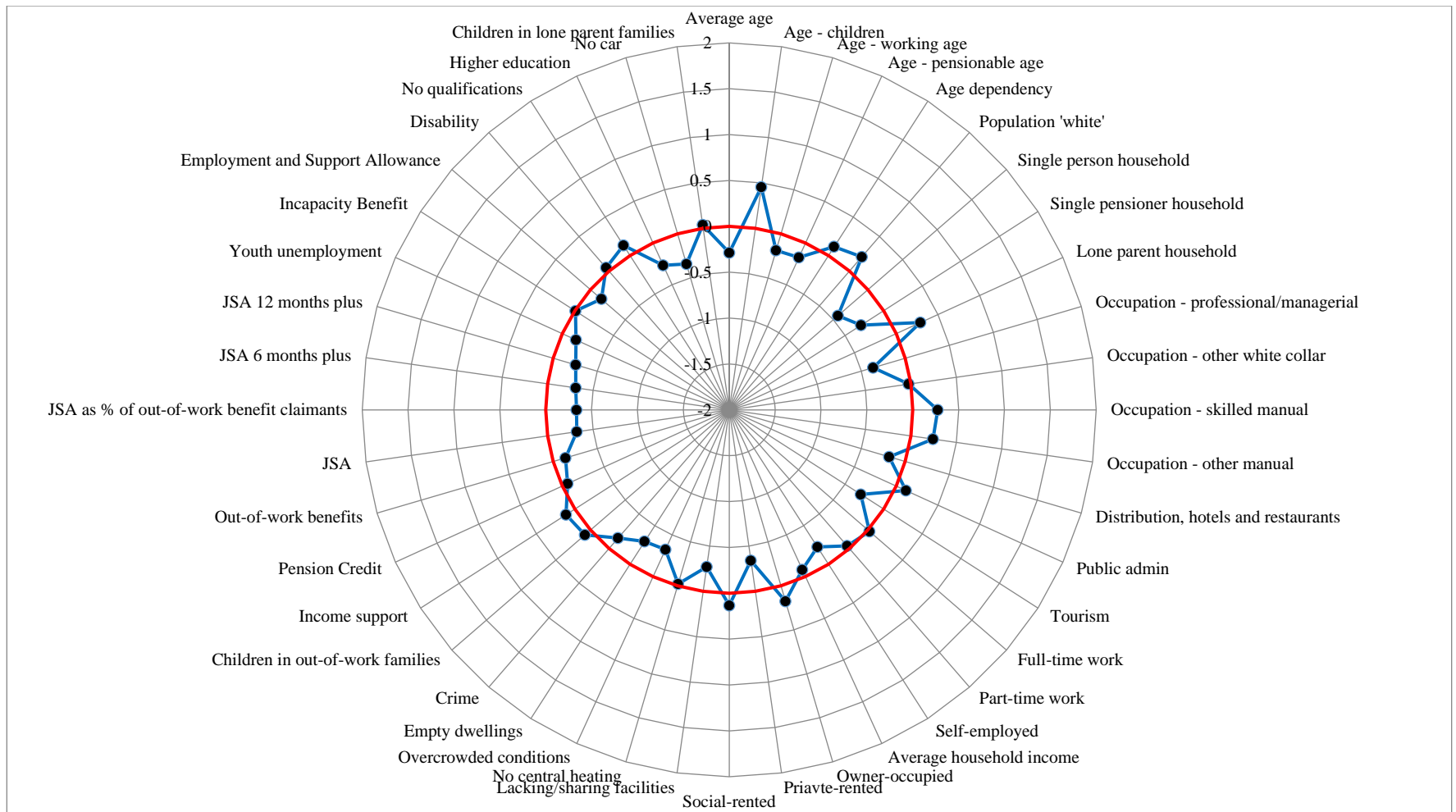


Figure 2
Cluster 2 profile: Social housing neighbourhoods with young population in unstable families

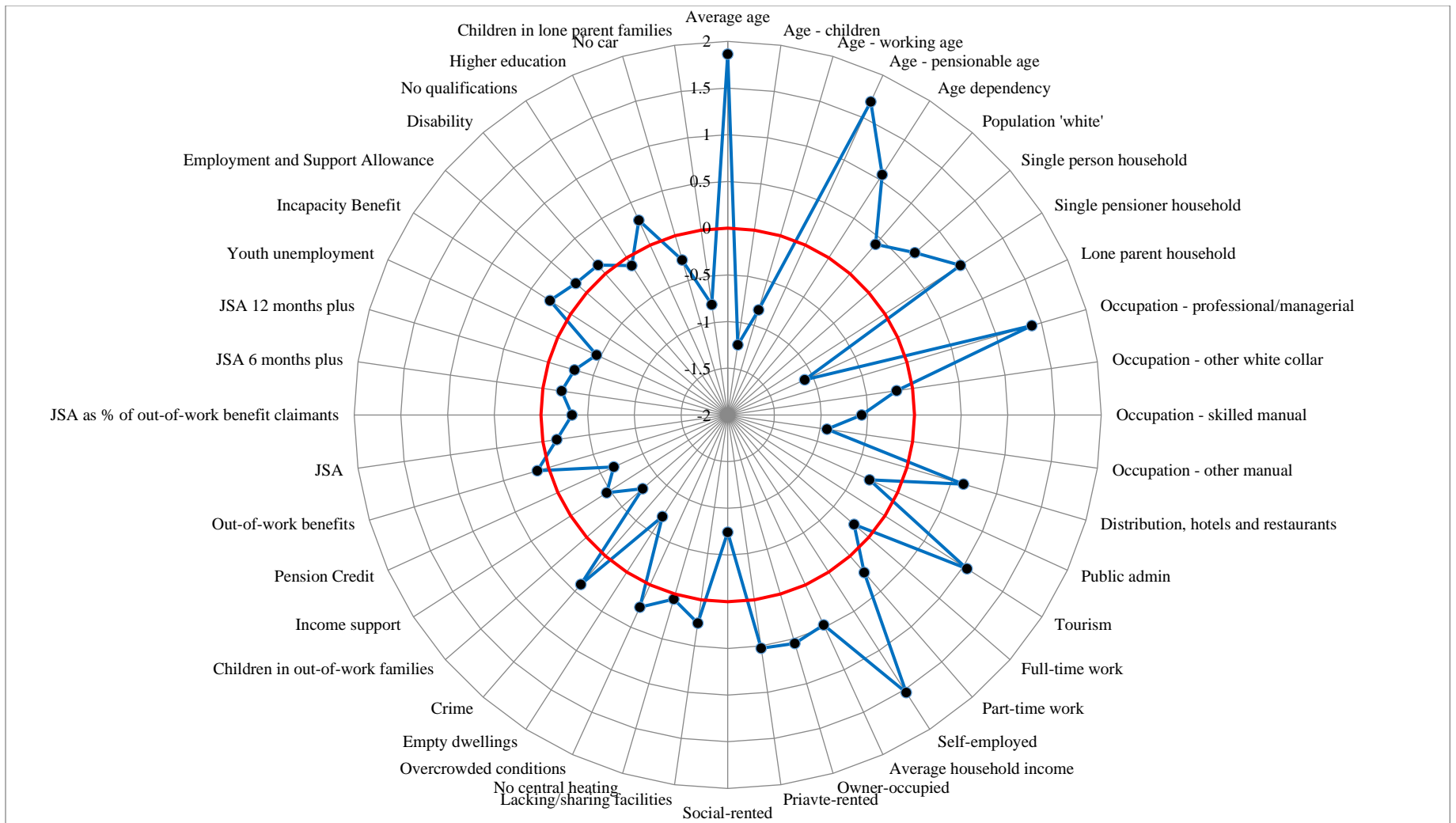


Figure 3 Cluster 3 profile: Older population, lower employment but higher health related problems

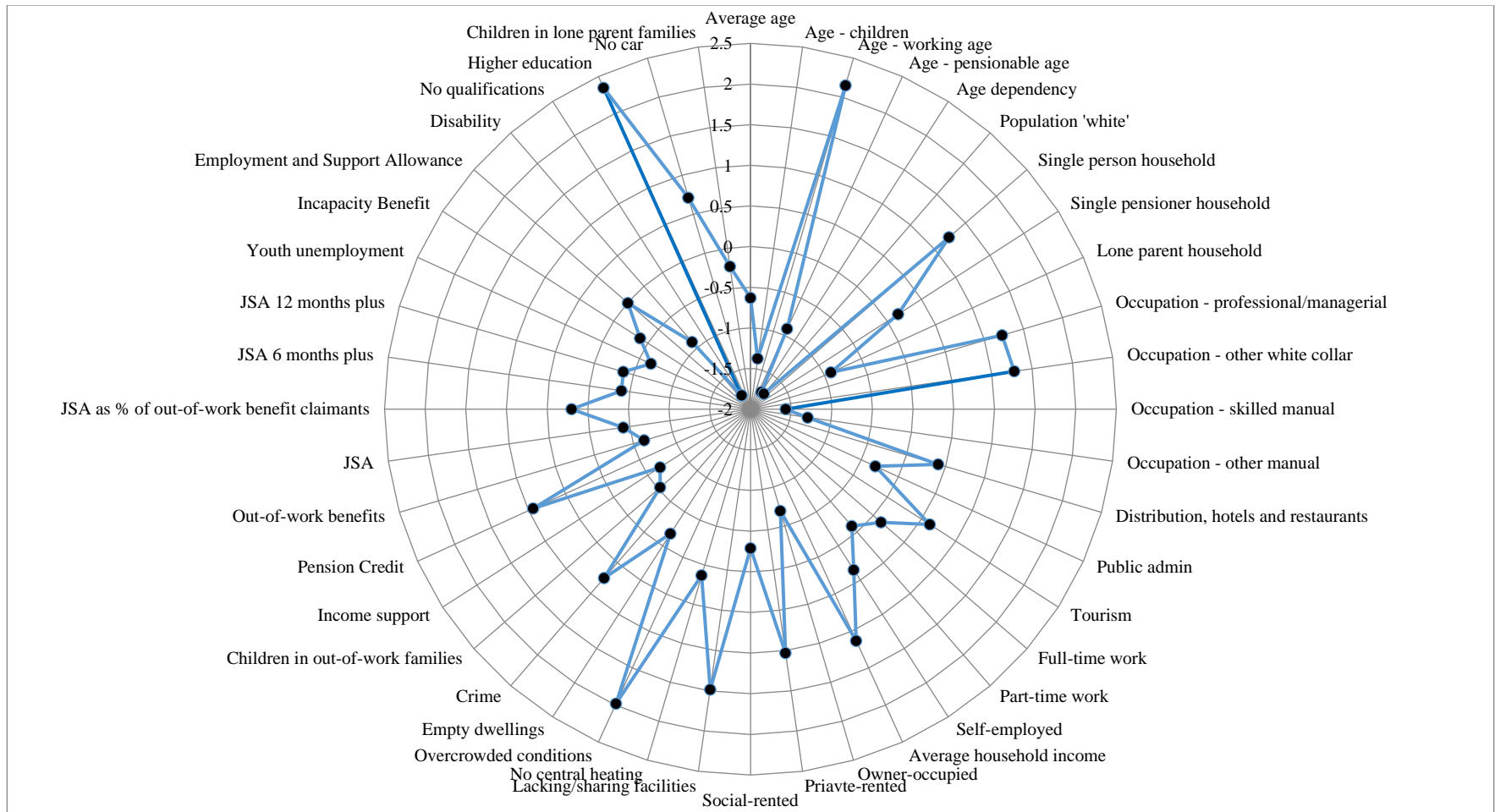


Figure 4: Cluster 4 profile: Areas influx with ethnic minorities, solo living and private renters living in poor housing conditions

When taken together, these study findings enabled the conceptualisation of a typology of deprived resort neighbourhoods that is differentiated by a variety of place and people-related variables (Table 7). Although all are highly deprived resort neighbourhoods, significant differences in deprivation were found between the clusters ($\chi^2 = 16.9$, $df = 9$, $p = 0.037$) as cluster 1 (unemployment) exhibited higher levels of multiple deprivation than might be expected. A total of 26.8% of LSOAs in the sample fell within the worst performing 5% of LSOAs in England on the IMD (2010), but for cluster 1 (unemployment) LSOAs, the figure was higher at 40.9%. The level of multiple deprivation for each of the other clusters was lower, being 23%, 24.4% and 18.5 for clusters 2, 3 and 4 respectively. Furthermore, when viewed against the most deprived 0-10%, cluster 1 (unemployment) emerged as the most deprived cluster (68.2%), followed by cluster 2 (social housing) (48.5%), cluster 3 (elderly) (43.9%) and cluster 4 (ethnic minorities) (40.9%).

Table 7 Typology of deprived resort neighbourhoods

Cluster	Differentiating variables	
	Place-related	People-related
1: Unemployed households with low incomes and social disadvantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above-average proportion: of empty dwellings; accommodation lacking basic facilities; over-crowded households 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above-average proportion of: working age people, but who have routine and low-skill occupations and lack of qualifications, lack a car or van; children in lone-parent families; children in out-of-work families; JSA claimants; long term unemployment, youth employment; low incomes • Below average proportion of: young persons and pensioners
2: Social housing neighbourhoods with young population in unstable families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above average proportion of: social housing • Below average proportion of: private rented housing; households lacking/ sharing amenities and living in over-crowded conditions; and, crime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Below average proportion of: residents of working-age; older people; children and young people • Above average proportion of: children living in out-of-work families; children in lone-parent families; lone-parent households
3: Older population, low unemployment but higher health-related problems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above average proportion of: owner-occupied rented accommodation; households living in over-crowded conditions; lacking/sharing amenities; without central heating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above average proportion of: elderly people with few persons aged 0-15 years; highest average age; single person households with occupants above pensionable age; poorer health; persons of working age claiming incapacity benefit and disability living allowance.
4: Areas in flux with ethnic minorities, solo living and private renters living in poor housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above average proportion of: private rented accommodation; people living in poor housing; crime • Below average proportion of: benefit claimants and those of poor health. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above average proportion of: people of working age; ethnic minority groups; persons living alone • Below average proportion of: young people and pensioners; household income; working age people with no educational qualifications.

The analysis revealed that the 399 deprived resort neighbourhoods related to 46 (out of 58) seaside resorts (Figure 5), and that 40 of these resorts contained deprived neighbourhoods characterised by ‘social housing neighbourhoods with young population living in unstable families’ (cluster 2). Thus, this group was well distributed across the seaside resorts of the

country, but particularly in the Southeast, in the Northwest and the Southwest. Deprived neighbourhoods characterised by ‘older population, lower unemployment, but higher health-

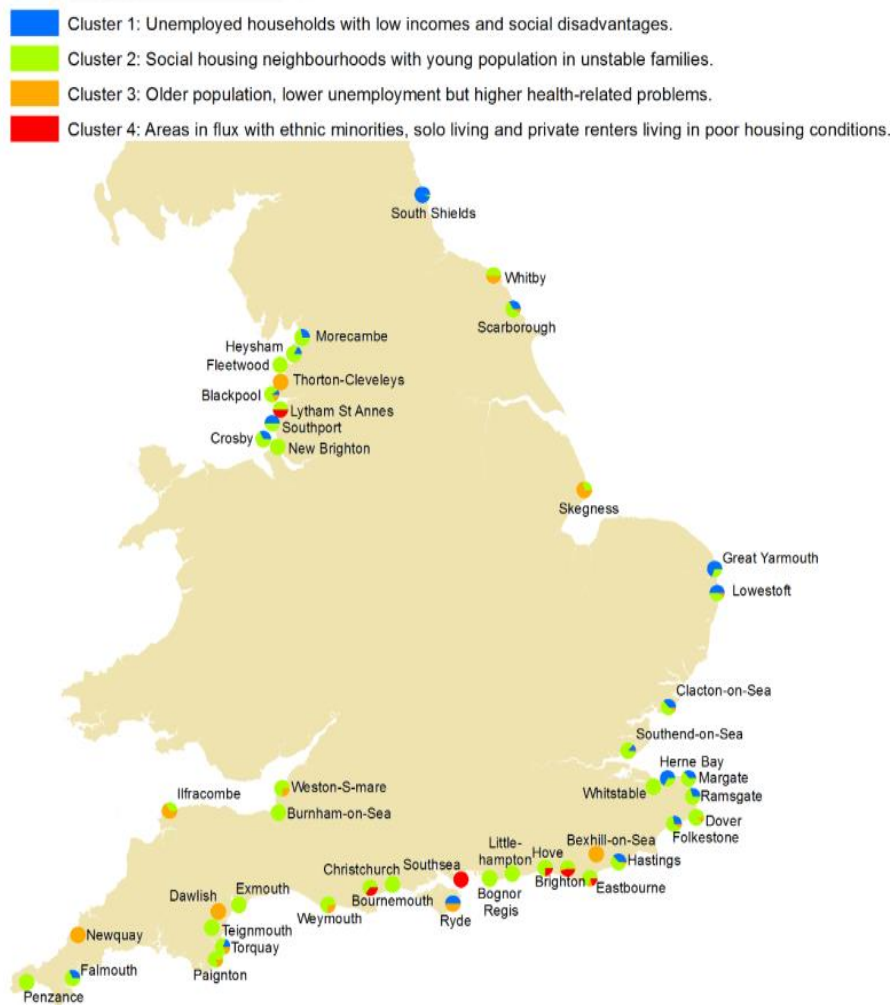


Figure 5 The national pattern of types of excluded resort localities (after Jakes, 2015)

related problems’ (cluster 3), corresponded to 22 seaside resorts and had a locus mainly in the Southwest, the Southeast and the Northwest. Households experiencing the most severe social and economic problems were grouped into cluster 1, which manifested itself in 19 resorts, but revealed a particularly strong incidence in resorts located in the East, the Northeast and the Southeast. Meanwhile, cluster 4 (‘areas in flux with ethnic minorities, solo living and private renters in poor housing’) was concentrated in six resorts located in the Southeast (20/137, 15%), the Southwest (6/72, 8%) and Northwest (1/83, 1%).

Further interrogation of the LSOA-level data revealed the complexity of the problems that resorts with higher levels of multiple deprivation appear to be experiencing. Groupings of factors associated with area decline emerge in the 25 most deprived resorts, but in different combinations. None of these resorts had LSOAs in all of the four clusters. Nine resorts, however, possessed LSOAs in three of the four clusters. These resorts, which might therefore be seen as experiencing more serious and complex multiple deprivation problems, are (according to their level of deprivation): Blackpool, Hastings, Folkestone, Scarborough, Clacton-on-Sea, Brighton, Lowestoft, Torquay and Southend-on-Sea (Figure 6). There are thus deprived seaside resorts in all regions of England, which are experiencing different combinations of two or more sets of problems, albeit to a greater or lesser extent. These tended to be resorts with populations of 40,000 or above suggesting that it is the larger seaside resorts that are suffering from a wider range of problems.

Within the majority of these resorts, similar deprived neighbourhoods are spatially clustered, but are often surrounded by other types of deprived neighbourhoods. In relation to the nine large sized resorts that were identified as experiencing three sets of problems, a common spatial configuration of deprivation within the resort was recognised. As exemplified by Blackpool (Figure 6), the neighbourhoods of cluster 1 (i.e., ‘Unemployed households with low incomes and social disadvantages’) and cluster 3 (i.e., ‘Older population, lower unemployment but higher health-related problems’) were mainly located along and behind the central seafront. In the middle and outer suburbs of the same resorts, the population appears relatively deprivation free. However, the local authority estates in the middle and outer suburban localities provided the principal loci for the ‘Young working-class households and unstable families’ of cluster 2, which is the largest cluster of deprived seaside resort neighbourhoods in this study. The smallest cluster, representing ‘Areas in flux with ethnic minorities, solo living and private renters in poor housing’ (cluster 4), related to six resorts overall. Only one of these resorts (Brighton) exhibited higher levels of multiple deprivation than might be expected. Nonetheless, as exemplified by Brighton (Figure 7), neighbourhoods in this group tended to be located mainly in near-seafront areas, reflecting the prevalence of cheap rental accommodation linked to the historical legacy of tourism (see Walton 1982, 2000 for more detailed analysis of the pattern of resort development through time to explain the growth of these areas). There are, however, examples of these types

of neighbourhoods in some outer areas of the resorts of Brighton, Bournemouth and Eastbourne, owing to the prevalence of low cost student accommodation.

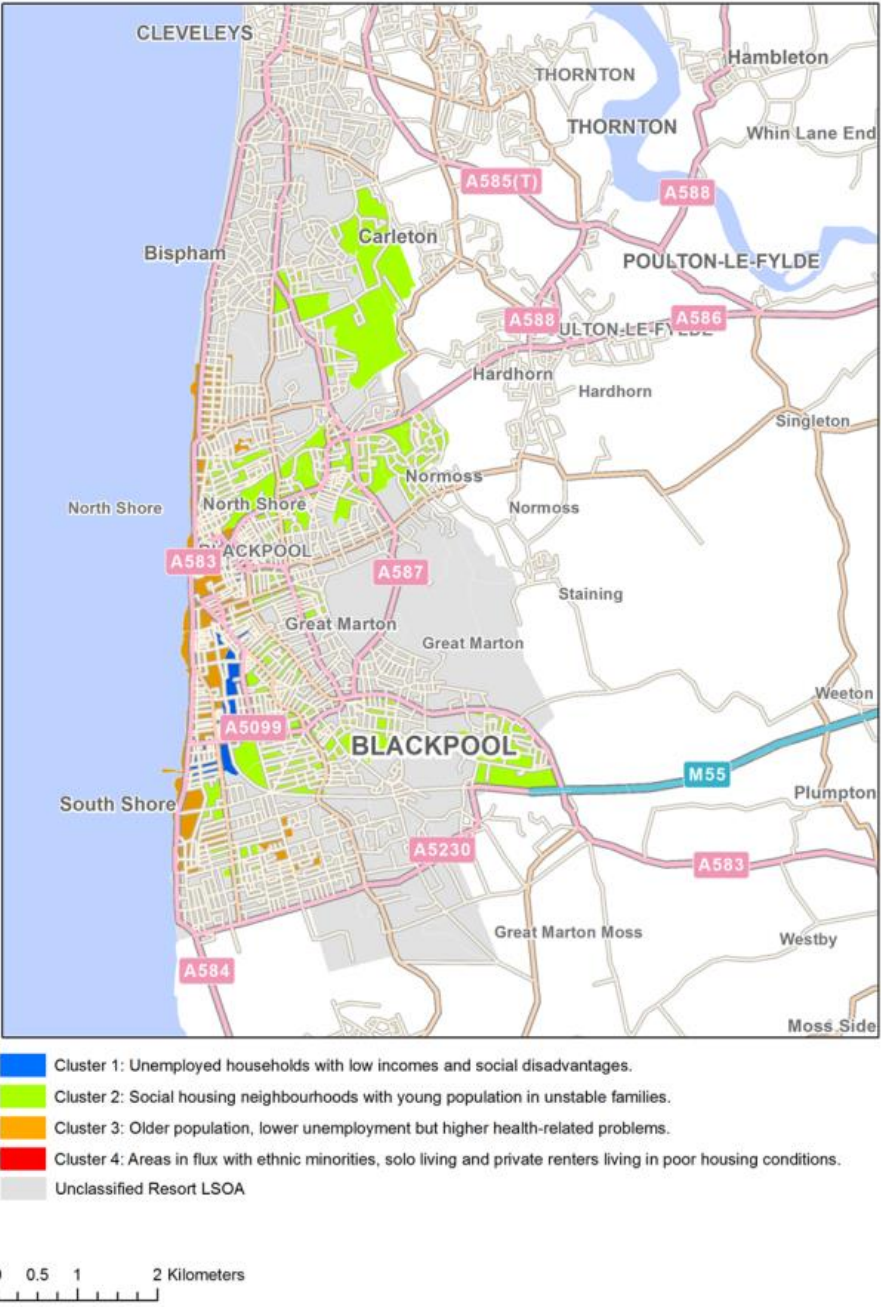


Figure 6 Blackpool’s deprivation (after Jakes, 2015)

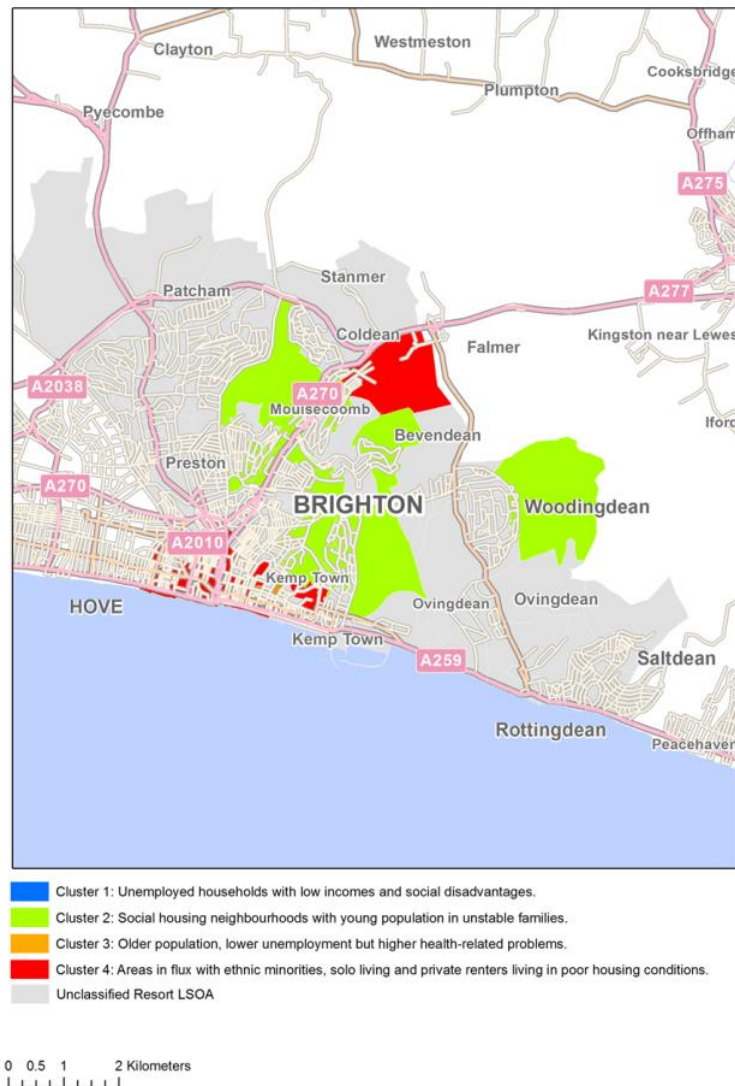


Figure 7 Brighton's deprivation (after Jakes, 2015)

5. Discussion and implications

This study makes a major theoretical contribution to the analysis of resident lives and living conditions in major seaside resorts in view of the paucity of previous studies on the subject: it uses a well-established research technique (PCA) and data sources that illustrate the complexity of the social geography of resorts, illustrating the theme which Smith (1974) aptly described as *who gets what, where, and how*. Few studies in tourism have examined the 'how', namely how a capitalist mode of production is premised on the notion of socio-economic inequality. Some of

the dynamics of change in resorts (e.g. in-migration of retirement migration and second home development, seasonal employment, poor employment conditions and low pay) contribute to the socio-economic polarities now evident in some resorts. This focus establishes a valid research agenda that remains low profile in the analysis of coastal resort tourism.

At a theoretical level, the study enhances also the understanding of the manifestation of disadvantage in seaside resorts in several ways. First, it demonstrates the diversity of deprivation experienced within English seaside resorts through the development of a typology of highly deprived resort neighbourhoods. Although developed in a specific context of deprived resort neighbourhoods, it is nevertheless valuable in enhancing understanding of the internal dynamics of resort change in England, which remains a topic where detailed knowledge is limited. Much of the debate of resort dynamics continues to examine the lifecycle concept and place development using the evolutionary economic geography approaches (see Brouder, Anton Clavé, Gill & Ioannides, 2017) that do not necessarily embrace socio-economic inequality and the underlying facets of the development trajectory. The internal social geography of resorts is therefore a neglected theme despite over 40 years of scholarly endeavour around tourism, including the geography of tourism (see Hall & Page, 2014). The assumption that English coastal resorts are quaint places to visit has been challenged more recently by VisitEngland (2014) research which indicates that the underlying dimensions of social exclusion and deprivation are now visible in some resorts and represent a marketing challenge. This research also highlights the impetus to address some of the visible signs of deprivation evident within the built environment. The VisitEngland (2014) study identified three themes related to coastal resorts based on consumer research:

- **The traditional English resort/town** that were ‘much maligned’, characterised by piers and arcades and epitomised by Blackpool and Skegness and associated with being ‘tacky, dated, faded, dirty (but cheap)’ and ‘ironic destinations’. Their appeal for a segment of the market was in recounting childhood memories and some were diversifying (e.g. Brighton);

- **The English Coastline** associated with ‘appealing images’ with scenic long stretches, such as Cornwall and Northumberland, offering a place to get away from it all, but the destinations involved were unclear; and,
- **Seaside Towns and nearby coast** comprising a ‘great base to explore’ characterised by quaint and distinctive places, such as Filey in Yorkshire, but the wider range of destinations were unclear despite being appealing to families seeking to avoid tackiness.

This research starts to highlight that a range of England’s coastal destinations are now being perceived as localities where deprivation and environmental degradation needs significant investment. The £14.2 million redevelopment of Hastings pier and new hotel development in Blackpool are just two such examples. The findings of the multiple deprivation study reported here, when compared with Agarwal and Brunt’s (2006) typology (Table 2), show a degree of overlap between the ‘old’ and ‘young’ resort types, with the former relating to cluster 3, whilst the latter has elements of clusters 1 and 2. More importantly, however, this typology extends existing understanding by highlighting the spatial variations in the incidence of deprivation in different localities amongst the four clusters. Despite local authority housing estates in the middle and outer suburbs of resorts emerging as the largest cluster of deprived neighbourhoods, the highest levels of multiple deprivation are associated with neighbourhoods grouped into cluster 1 (related to employment and worklessness), which represented the second largest cluster. This finding reinforces the more generic exploitative nature of tourism capital that demands peaked labour needs in high seasons and lower needs in the off-peak seasons, where the use of part-time and zero hour contracts compound the incidence of lack of high quality employment.

Second, this study highlighted the persistence of multiple deprivation in time and space and thereby confirmed the key finding of Townsend’s (1979) study, that poverty is a persistent theme in UK society, even during periods of full employment (e.g. 1950s and 1960s), and is a contributor to multiple deprivation. Other longitudinal studies of urban deprivation since the work of Townsend showed that there has been little significant change through time in the

characteristics and performance of the most deprived areas (Brennan *et al.*, 2000; Lupton, 2001; Orford, 2004).

Third, this study revealed the complexity of the problems being experienced within English seaside resorts and reinforced Agarwal (2006) and Beatty *et al.*'s (2008) contention that these are deep rooted problems. In this respect, this point illustrates Miliband's (2006) notion of 'deep exclusion' associated with multi-dimensional disadvantage. This characteristic was evident from the composition of the clusters, which displayed a wide range of place- and people-related problems (Table 7). With respect to the latter, many of these issues, such as high levels of unemployment and benefit claimants, high levels of permanent sickness and low skill economies, have been identified before (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003; Beatty *et al.*, 2014; House of Commons CLG, 2007). What makes this study particularly innovative is that it provides important insights into some of the causes of disadvantage in environments where the tourism economy is a highly specialised sector of the local economy and labour markets. The findings demonstrate that multiple deprivation and potentially social exclusion are affecting sections of the working-age population differently, and that there appears to be a direct relationship between the social ecology of resorts, notably population composition and characteristics, the environment in which people live (place) and disadvantage. In terms of social ecology, although a plethora of labour market difficulties beset English seaside resorts (Beatty *et al.*, 2008; Beatty *et al.*, 2014), such economic characteristics are much less important in terms of understanding the location of concentrations of deprivation, especially in relation to housing market characteristics.

With respect to the latter, this finding resonated strongly with conclusions drawn by the House of Commons CLG Report (2007); by the local area exclusion literature, which note the poor quality and lack of availability of housing as intrinsically hard to change features (Lupton, 2001); and by more recent research of coastal communities and deprivation. For instance, in a study of the seaside resort of Ilfracombe (North Devon, England), Ward (2011, 2015) found that HMOs were primarily responsible for disadvantage because they attracted individuals in receipt of housing benefit who were likely to have limited employment opportunities available to them. Additionally, Smith (2012) found HMOs to be a key factor in the concentration of deprived, unrelated multi-person households claiming housing benefit in Hastings (a resort situated on

England's south coast). Certainly this explanation would account also for the occurrence of cluster 4 ('Areas in flux with ethnic minorities, solo living and private renters living in poor housing conditions'), which Burdsey (2016) attributed to the dispersal of asylum seekers, refugees and people in regular migratory status. The relationship between low cost private rented housing and deprivation is, however, not strictly limited to housing benefit claimants. The example of Brighton (Figure 7) clearly demonstrates a link to the concentration of students in areas of low cost accommodation or 'studentification' (Smith, 2002: 6).

Fourth, this study highlighted the spatial clustering of deprived neighbourhoods or the existence of 'concentrated' or 'area exclusion' (Miliband, 2006) within resorts, and further served to further reinforce the relationship between place-based effects and disadvantage. Indeed, since private rented housing was a major presence in three of the four identified clusters, including three clusters that were predominantly found in inner resort neighbourhoods. The spatial location of deprivation appears to reflect the physical legacy of the tourist trade and the conversion of commercial holiday accommodation into care homes, hostels, HMOs and small flats. Thus, the analysis has confirmed the inaccuracy of the widely held assumption that urban deprivation in England is confined to the location of social housing (Brennan *et al.*, 2000; Lupton, 2001; Orford, 2004). Instead, the findings emphasise the potential for deprivation to be associated with low cost private rental housing catering for those in receipt of housing benefits (Ward, 2011, 2015), for university students (Hubbard, 2008; Sage *et al.*, 2012; Smith, 2011; Holton, 2016) and for ethnic minorities (Burdsey, 2016).

At a policy-level, the findings of this study demonstrate the importance of place- and people-related factors and that place actually does matter, reiterating a key proposition in Allen & Massey's (1984) text and a key feature of Hall & Page (2014) in relation to tourism. The role of place as a contributor to disadvantage is not circumstantial as professed by Dorling (2001). In coastal communities, implications of disadvantage are felt in very specific locations within the micro-geography of a resort. Since disadvantaged resort neighbourhoods diverge socially and economically in character, they require different packages of tailored interventions that are comprehensive and integrated in approach, which address people- and place-related factors over a sustained period of time. Thus, such approaches as advanced by Dorling (2001), need to

address several causal mechanisms at work and confront the structural dimensions of disadvantage. Only then, Dorling (2015) argues, will the social inequalities originating from disadvantage be addressed.

This objective, however, is not an easy task especially in light of the difficulties uncovered by Ward (2011) in translating national neighbourhood renewal policy to micro-level operations and in ensuring that all residents, rather than just some, benefit. The study revealed that resort neighbourhoods are complex and, as a consequence, any intervention should be also tailored to the specificities of the area concerned (i.e. place and people), and incorporate all factors promoting local area exclusion, albeit housing education, skills, employability, monetary advice, child-care, transport and crime. It is in this respect that the typology proposed in this paper is perhaps most valuable, as it identifies linked problems that certain social groups are experiencing, which can in turn be more effectively addressed. For instance, the difficulties apparent in cluster 1 (unemployment) suggest that individuals may be claiming 'out of work' benefits for a number of reasons, including sickness and disability, child care (in the case of lone parents) or other caring responsibilities or short-term employment options. Consequently, interventions to improve connection to the labour market will be vitally important, and a focus on the individual, as Dorling (2015) suggested, is paramount to success.

6. Conclusion

This study has made a major contribution to the analysis of tourism in its archetypal environment - the coastal environment - which in the UK has a history dating back to the eighteenth century (Walton, 1983). Its findings challenge many of the stereo-typical images of hedonistic activity where enjoyment and pleasure is had by all, as portrayed in the many marketing images of English coastal resorts. Whilst a significant literature on the resort life cycle has identified continuity and change in the development trajectories of resorts, in this study we have illustrated that multiple deprivation is a pervasive and enduring theme that has been in existence since the 1970s (and much longer) in some resorts. The tacit acceptance of tourism as a pleasure industry is a superficial social construction when one begins to probe below the surface at the patterns of socio-economic disadvantage which co-exist spatially with the pleasure

seeking activities of visitors. Additionally, the neglect of multiple deprivation within the policy-making arena has served to further compound the legacy of problems being experienced. Much of the policy in the 1980s and 1990s (see Department of the Environment, 1990, for example) highlighted the potential value of urban tourism development to transform environments in the inner city via regeneration strategies that would create new employment opportunities. In contrast, coastal resorts of England have in the main been ignored up until the House of Commons CLG Select Committee (2007) report. This was in spite of patterns of deprivation at the neighbourhood level which were on par with some inner-city environments, which have dominated the rhetoric on multiple deprivation in government policy.

By examining disadvantage within English seaside resorts, the extent, complexity and causes of the difficulties being experienced have been revealed. Such understanding significantly advances knowledge of resort change and of the relationships between multiple deprivation, social exclusion and disadvantage. Research has rarely examined disadvantage across a spectrum of social groups, across a number of exclusion domains, or within entire communities or marginalised areas. More specifically, the neglect of an individual's experience of disadvantage and deprivation in previous seaside resort research opens up a new avenue of inquiry in tourism studies and coastal urban regeneration that has international significance for other countries facing similar problems. The role that geography plays is extremely significant in understanding the current predicament of English seaside resorts, and it reiterates the arguments in Hall & Page (2014) on the role of applied geography in helping focus policymakers' attention on the spatial elements of deprivation. This debate is not new as the politics of resort regeneration, evident in Harloe, Pickvance & Urry (1990), illustrate that addressing the micro geographies of deprivation is a contentious and highly charged political issue as stakeholders may have opposing views.

This study is however particularly timely given that deprivation has recently resurfaced in submissions made to the changing policy environment for tourism in English resorts, with the replacement of economic development agencies (the former Regional Development Agencies) with a new public-private partnership model – the Local Enterprise Partnership (see Connell & Page, 2018; Kennell & Chaperon, 2010). Most notably, Kennell & Chaperon (2010) highlight the number of submissions from coastal resorts that raised issues of deprivation and related the

occurrence of deprivation in coastal towns to their peripheral location. Their study also illustrated the desire to shift tourism away from a public sector dependency model and towards private sector investment. However, these contentions do not auger well for future investment strategies where the public sector acts as a stimulator of regeneration. There are examples of successful public sector initiatives which have prioritised an anchor project around a significant cultural icon (e.g. the Turner Contemporary Gallery in Margate; also see Zebracki, 2018 and the impact of Banksy art murals) which have revived some coastal localities. A more wide ranging review in Walton & Browne (2010) outlines four resorts (Blackpool, Crosby, Folkestone and resorts in Lincolnshire that have used cultural projects to regenerate the seaside)

Yet it is debateable whether such activity has the ability to significantly impact on the entrenched problems of multiple deprivation and such examples of public sector initiatives are few and far between. For Clifford (2012), some of this inaction within specific localities is due to the absence of effective grassroots voluntary organisations capable of stimulating change. More specifically, he argues that there are:

‘very real geographical differences across England in the prevalence of voluntary organisations working at a neighbourhood scale. Overall, less deprived local areas have a much higher prevalence than more deprived local areas. While certain kinds of organisations are more prevalent in more deprived areas, including those working in the field of economic well-being, this reflects the presence of organisations which receive public funds. These patterns are consistent with a key element of ‘voluntary sector failure’, resource insufficiency, and the important role of government in ensuring resources are available in areas of particular need’ (Clifford, 2012: 1148)

Thus, the importance of the third sector is demonstrated here (see Giddens, 1998) in establishing a grassroots case for public-private-third sector partnerships to address multiple deprivation (Kunreuther, 2013). There is a much greater propensity for micro-geographical targeting that has failed in many regeneration schemes. Moreover, addressing inequality evidenced through multiple deprivation, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) (2005) pointed to the need for actions to address three drivers of decline. These were: (i) revitalising local economies

(e.g. removing barriers to work); (ii) stabilising local communities through improving housing and the local environment; and, (iii) improving health and education services, with a better targeting of areas of deprivation. What this approach illustrates is that a flagship regeneration project alone will not tackle multiple deprivation as a package of integrated measures is required. There is a key role in this style of intervention for third sector involvement though the success of this approach is inevitably predicated on there being the capacity and presence of third sector partnerships across coastal resorts to tackle disadvantage.

Furthermore, it is clear that large reports and checklists are not a recipe for making a fundamental difference to the entrenched problems of coastal resorts as it is only through targeted intervention that these issues can begin to be addressed. This approach is clearly starting to happen as evidenced by the DCLGs (now the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government) creation of a Coastal Communities Fund in 2012 and the establishment of Coastal Community Teams (CCTs) in 2015 to develop a common vision and strategic plans for their area (e.g. 110 CCTs were given £10,000 to help progress a local economic development plan; see the example of Fleetwood Coastal Community Action Plan produced by Wyre Council and Fleetwood Together, 2016). Although multiple deprivation as such does not feature in this intervention, as these plans were designed to ‘unlock barriers to economic development and create sustainable economic growth and jobs’, they constitute one facet of the ODPMs (2005) integrated approach to addressing multiple deprivation. The thinking is that addressing economic development issues is the root to stimulate local area change. According to the Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2018):

‘the Coastal Communities Fund Round 5 is now open with £40 million available for spend from April 2019 to end of March 2021. Funding goes to projects over £50,000 that will ultimately lead to regeneration and economic growth whilst directly or indirectly safeguarding and creating sustainable jobs...Since 2012, the Coastal Communities Fund has invested £174 million into 295 projects UK-wide... This fund could start the regeneration of a much loved building or asset such as pier, park, 1930s lido or promenade....The first Coastal Revival Fund round provided £3.7 million to support 92 projects in coastal areas’.

This level of funding is highly significant given that, since the global financial collapse over a decade ago, public funding for initiatives designed to address multiple deprivation has become scarcer. Although charitable funding such as the Big Lottery has directed some funding to projects that are in coastal areas with high levels of deprivation, this priority is not part of an integrated government project to tackle the micro geographies of disadvantage at a neighbourhood level. Much of the funding is typically public -sector oriented towards individual one-off projects that are often infrastructure based such as restoring a Victorian or Edwardian pier rather than a package of integrated measures that are people-focused on addressing the causes and impact of multiple deprivation. Arguably, as Walton & Browne (2010) demonstrate from survey of local authorities in coastal England, multiple deprivation remains a major barrier to achieving regeneration in the most affected resorts.

This study is important in enhancing understanding the societal issues experienced within coastal communities, as more recently, within the UK, disadvantage as opposed to deprivation, has become a key criteria in debates over public sector assessments of the funding of localities, evidenced by the 'Fair Funding Review' of current resource distribution to local authorities (DCLG, 2017). Featuring within this review was a recognition that multiple deprivation, and not just income deprivation that has traditionally informed previous assessments, should be used as a tool for ascertaining local needs. This task is likely to be made easier with a new multiple deprivation index due for release in 2019. The case for using multiple deprivation as a focus for intervention therefore remains strong: not least because 'decades of urban regeneration seeking to tackle the problems faced by disconnected neighbourhoods have failed to make significant inroads into poverty as measured by related proxies such as jobs, employment and worklessness' (Rae et al., 2018: 11). Thus, a new, more targeted approach at the micro scale is now needed given that 'the apparent failure of urban regeneration to significantly improve economic outcomes may also point to wider shortcomings in policymakers' understandings of the causes of area disadvantage' (Rae et al., 2018: 12). Moreover, Rae et al. (2018: 12) argue that there is a 'mismatch between regeneration activities delivered at the local level to address problems that have wider spatial origins, such as the uneven distribution of the proceeds of national economic growth'. Certainly, in the medium- to long-term, revitalising England's coastal resorts, especially the areas within them that suffer the worst examples of multiple deprivation, needs a

fresh perspective. Such a realisation is timely to consider now so that when the current public sector period of austerity is removed and public funding is hopefully freed up, the potential of a public-private and third sector partnership approach can be implemented more fully and underpinned to stimulate positive socio-economic change in the most deprived resort areas through an integrated to addressing multiple deprivation.

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