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# THE RURAL POPULATION TURNROUND: A CASE STUDY OF NORTH DEVON

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THE RURAL POPULATION TURNROUND :

A CASE STUDY OF NORTH DEVON

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THE RURAL POPULATION TURNROUND : A CASE STUDY OF NORTH DEVON  
by NICOLA JANE BOLTON

This thesis examines the most striking recent change in Britain's population geography, namely the redistribution from urban to rural areas. Its particular focus is on the transition from depopulation to repopulation in remote rural localities: a trend referred to as the population turnround. Although the 1981 Census revealed the general spatial patterns of population change, there is still a dearth of detailed information which can explain how and why the population turnround in remote rural areas has occurred. Little is known about the migrants, their reasons for moving or their impact on the host area.

To answer these kinds of questions, the project makes a detailed study of the population turnround in North Devon. A variety of data sources were used but the most important was a specially conducted questionnaire survey involving 300 personal interviews in South Molton and contiguous parishes.

The survey recorded the enormous diversity of in-migrant households: simple stereotypes in which retirement migration or "back to the land" lifestyles predominate could not do justice to the heterogeneity of the migrants and their motives. Moreover, although many had left their former place of residence (often the South East or the Midlands) for social and environmental reasons, they had often come to North Devon because of employment and business opportunities. Almost half were self-employed and operating small firms in fields such as tourism, retailing, crafts and professional services. Generally speaking, the host community had absorbed the newcomers with few obvious signs of conflict and tension.

This study underlines the dangers of seeking uniform patterns or simple explanations for rural population growth. Instead, by developing a locality based approach, it argues that it is the interaction and fusion of various local and national conditions which explain a remote rural area's experience of the population turnround.

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This thesis is dedicated to my  
parents for their support throughout  
my many years of education

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## CHAPTER ONE : THE POPULATION TURNROUND

### 1.1 THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

This thesis examines the most striking recent change in Britain's population geography, namely the redistribution of population from urban to rural and remote rural areas. The results of the 1981 Census showed that the fastest growing areas of the country were mainly remote rural regions, whilst those declining most rapidly were the largest cities and conurbations. In the period 1971-81 all British cities over 250000 in size lost population, with the exception of Plymouth (Robert and Randolph 1983), whilst rural counties such as Cornwall, Somerset, Norfolk, Powys, and the Highlands and Islands region all grew by more than 10% (Champion 1981). Thus in many remote rural areas the traditional pattern of depopulation has given way to repopulation.

This population turnround is not confined to Britain: indeed, all advanced industrialised countries have undergone similar demographic changes over the last two decades with a population redistribution away from the metropolitan areas to rural, and remote rural regions (Vining and Kontuly 1978, Vining and Pallone 1982).

It is noteworthy that these population changes have occurred during a sustained period of minimal natural growth. Over the last two decades many western industrialised countries have experienced stagnation or

small levels of natural increase in their total population number. For example, Britain's population increase over the decade 1971-81 was a mere 0.57% in comparison with the 5% increase experienced in each of the two previous decades (Champion 1986). Moreover, it is important to note that within countries experiencing the urban-rural population shift, the level of natural change has been not only low, but also relatively uniform over space and without major, urban-rural contrasts. Hence the striking population changes that are observed and analysed in this project are mainly a response to changing internal migratory patterns.

The last decade has witnessed a growing body of literature related to the population turnaround. Whilst there is a measure of agreement as to its spatial patterns there is as yet much less consensus as to its causes. By means of an area case study, it is this project's intention to examine and explain a remote rural area's experience of recent in-migration. Thus the focus of the thesis is on detailed local scale research in North Devon. Given the intention to examine population growth in the study area, it was decided to start the analysis from a broad academic base which would enable either one main cause or a number of different causes to emerge as the reason(s) why resurgence has occurred in this particular locality. This approach was adopted in preference to focussing exclusively on one particular explanation of the

population turnaround (such as industrial relocation or retirement migration), and assessing its role and influence in bringing about population and socio-economic changes in a particular locale. This research does not, therefore, seek to test one particular hypothesis but rather to assemble a body of data from which one or more explanations of rural population growth might emerge as being of special significance.

To achieve this objective a household questionnaire survey was undertaken by personal interviews in South Molton and contiguous parishes. The South Molton area is a remote part of North Devon where many parishes until 1971 had experienced population decline for at least a century. Over 300 questionnaires were completed amongst a sample of both in-migrant and stayer households. The results of this survey form the major data set for this research. However, in order to set the questionnaire survey in an appropriate context, local census data at the parish level were examined. Also, consideration was given to the role of planning policies and infrastructure development (particularly industrial and housing provision within the fieldwork area).

Before proceeding with an examination of North Devon's experience of population revival, it is intended to review the literature relating to the spatial patterns and possible explanations of the population

turnround. This opening chapter, sets the scene by addressing the problem of terminology and definitions, and discussing in particular, the ambiguities inherent in the term counterurbanisation. Then the chapter examines briefly the existing literature on the population turnround, both in the UK and overseas. The next section looks at the plethora of explanations which supposedly account for the population turnround. The discussion considers in turn four main hypotheses, namely household-led and firm-led explanations, state intervention and structuralist theories. This is followed by a brief section which examines post-war community and policy change in rural Britain. This literature review then provides the backcloth for a more detailed statement of the aims of this research project.

## 1.2 COUNTERURBANISATION : THE ISSUE OF DEFINITION

The key terminological issue in the field of rural population resurgence is the precise meaning of the much used term "counterurbanisation". One approach to the definition of counterurbanisation is to suggest it is simply the opposite of urbanisation. Thus Tisdale (1942) writes,

"Urbanisation is a process of population concentration. It implies a movement from a state of less concentration to a state of more concentration."

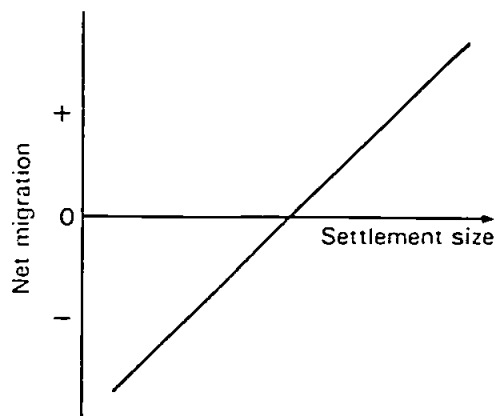
Following Tisdale's definition, Berry (1976) defined counterurbanisation as:

"a process of population deconcentration, it implies a movement from a state of more concentration to a state of less concentration."

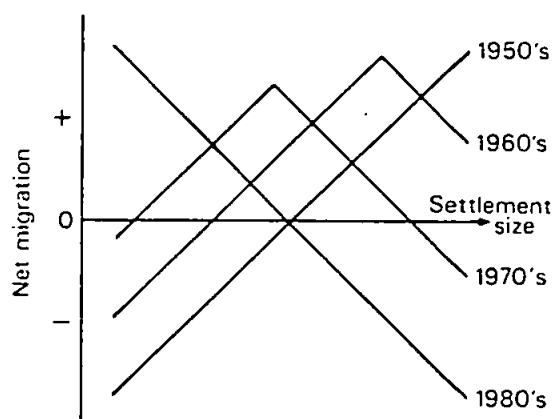
Consequently, Berry (1976) identifies increasing size, density and heterogeneity as characteristics of urbanisation, while decreasing size, density and heterogeneity are characteristics of counterurbanisation.

Fielding (1982) utilises this definition of counterurbanisation to show in graph form the replacement of urbanisation by counterurbanisation, as illustrated in Figure 1.1. In the case of Britain and many other western industrialised countries, urbanisation had been occurring from the early 19th Century until about 1950. This stage is illustrated by Figure 1.1(i) in which the level of in-migration is positively associated with settlement size. But between 1950-80 this well-established pattern changed with the largest cities being the first to experience decline, see Figure 1.1(ii). From 1950 counterurbanisation increasingly became the dominant pattern leading to population growth being "inversely correlated with settlement size" (Fielding 1982), as shown in Figure 1.1(iii). Thus by 1980, those settlements experiencing the highest rates of growth (in percentage terms) were to be found at the bottom end of the settlement hierarchy, and in the remote rural areas. Broadly, therefore, the work of Berry (1976) and Fielding (1982) considers counterurbanisation in terms of the relationship between settlement size and net migration.

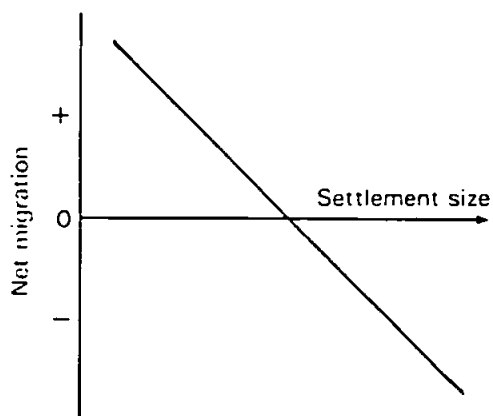
FIGURE 1.1 NET MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT SIZE 1950-80



(i) Urbanisation Dominant 1950



(ii) A Possible Sequence 1950-1980



(iii) Counterurbanisation Dominant 1980

Source: Fielding 1982

Robert and Randolph (1983) have also contributed towards defining the term counterurbanisation. Their key point is the need to differentiate between decentralisation and deconcentration. For them decentralisation is the movement out from a central city to other parts of the expanding city region. Thus decentralisation encompasses the city's daily urban system (labour market). On the other hand, deconcentration is defined as the movement down the urban hierarchy, so that the areas of growth are well removed from any commuting zone or domination from a metropolitan area and involve a different set of labour market areas (Robert and Randolph 1983).

Clearly the term counterurbanisation has both a spatial and temporal dimension. In a spatial sense counterurbanisation is linked to deconcentration rather than decentralisation. The temporal dimension is that whilst counterurbanisation is part of the general process of a declining urban system observed from about 1950, the term relates specifically to the pattern of deconcentration which became especially evident during the late 1960's and throughout the 1970s. Unfortunately, it appears that in practice these definitional characteristics have not always been adhered to, the term counterurbanisation has often been applied in other ways, and without precise definition (Drewett et al 1976). One such example is provided by Kennett and Spence (1979) who write,

"The new wave of net in-migration to British rural areas is probably part of the same decentralisation - deconcentration process away from our cities, commensurate with extended commuting hinterlands."

This quote illustrates the failure to differentiate between decentralisation and deconcentration and to recognise the different types of rural areas within Britain. It seems that rather than the term representing an objective and agreed definition, it has become very ambiguous and used in different ways. This situation led to Dean et al (1984a) to note that the word counterurbanisation had become so confused it was "well on the way to reification," and Cloke (1985) to write that it had "become a stretched and diluted catch-all phrase."

This confusion has been compounded as the term counterurbanisation is also used in a social sense. Fielding (1982) in recording the different explanations for the population turnaround refers to the "counterurbanisation model." This model reflects the emphasis in the American literature on residential preferences, the individual's aspirations, and the desire for freedom and space (Berry 1976, Zelinsky 1978, Zuiches 1981). The definition of counterurbanisation in this context focusses on the rejection of metropolitan lifestyles as one possible explanation which might account for rural population revival. Counterurbanisation has become both ambiguous and value laden : it is used both as a technical definition and



as a means of explanation. Pattern and process have been confused.

In order to avoid this confusion, it was decided not to use the term in this thesis. A principal benefit of this approach is that by avoiding the word counterurbanisation the explanation of the population turnround is not pre-judged. Instead the terms population turnround, and urban-rural population shift are adopted in this thesis to refer to the migration-led growth in rural and remote rural areas outside the main commuting zones of major cities. This thesis, therefore, focusses on the pattern and process of what Robert and Randolph would term deconcentration.

### 1.3 POPULATION TURNROUND: SPATIAL PATTERNS

#### 1.3.1 The International Context

This section reviews the international context of the population turnround and paves the way for a more detailed analysis of Great Britain's experience. The identification of the population turnround in many advanced industrial societies has been one of the most striking features of this phenomenon (Court 1984). Although this section focusses on the USA and Western Europe, it is noteworthy that evidence of rural population resurgence has also been found in many other countries such as Canada (Bourne and Simmons 1979), Japan (Fielding 1985, 1986, Yamaguchi 1984) and

Australia (Holmes 1981, Burnley 1981, Hugo and Smailes 1985, Smailes and Hugo 1985). Indeed, many researchers have attempted international comparative surveys (de Jong 1975, Drewett 1979, Vining and Kontuly 1978, Hall and Hay 1980, Vining, Pallone and Plane 1981, Vining and Pallone 1982). Unfortunately, the breadth of these surveys is such that they can easily fail to distinguish sufficiently well between the different population patterns of decentralisation and deconcentration. Often the problems of interpreting this kind of comparative work relate to the studies' areal definitions (see for example Vining and Pallone 1982). Although more detailed and spatially disaggregated research has been published recently (Van der Knaap and White 1985, Findlay and White 1986), the important message here is that every country's experience of the population turnaround is unique. Care must be taken, therefore, to avoid over-generalisations as a means to finding common patterns and international uniformity.

The United States was the first country where research identified the population turnaround. The first indication that profound population shifts were occurring was the distinct regional pattern of change which emerged in the 1960s. Research by Morrison and Wheeler (1976) and Long and de Are (1982) showed that at the regional scale there has been a shift away from the traditional urban and industrial areas of the north and east, and towards the south and west.

Vining and Strauss (1977) have suggested that US urban-to-rural trends represent a "clean break" from the established population pattern of urbanisation. In seeking to assess this clean break hypothesis much research has attempted to reveal the extent to which the non-metropolitan areas which have experienced population growth since the late 1960s are merely those located adjacent to metropolitan areas, thereby representing merely the next stage in the process of decentralisation (Gordon 1979). For example, the work of Beale and Fuguitt (1976) and Beale (1976) examined the population and migration differences between counties adjacent to, or not adjacent to, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs). Although the largest population increases were found within the commuting hinterlands of metropolitan areas, by the mid-1970s even these areas were performing less well. Research undertaken by Sternlieb and Hughes (1975) and Morrison and Wheeler (1976) produced findings which also underlined the significance of the population growth taking place in the remoter rural areas.

Long (1981) furthered this analysis by examining population movement down the settlement hierarchy. Interestingly, Long's analysis (1981) provides clear evidence of deconcentration by showing that whilst small settlements in metropolitan counties grew in both decades (1960-70, 1970-80), small settlements in non-metropolitan counties experienced a population

turnround: having declined between 1960 and 1970 they grew between 1970 and 1980. This concurs with other research on settlement size and population change (Beale 1981) and has encouraged the study of the relationship between residential preferences and settlement size and growth (Zuiches 1980, 1981).

There has been a number of local scale detailed studies which have examined the population turnround in terms of rural change and community impact. These include work on California (Bradshaw and Blakely 1979), the Ozark Plateau (Dailey and Campbell 1980), the Upper Great Lakes Region (Voss and Fuguitt 1979) and Maine (Ploch 1980). In addition, there has been a growing interest in the household locational decision-making process (Williams and Sofranko 1979, Williams and McMillen 1980, Zuiches 1980, 1981), as well as attempts to explain this process (Blackwood and Carpenter 1978, Ilvento and Luloff 1982, Adamchak 1987). Although there is recent evidence to suggest a slowing down in the pace of non-metropolitan growth in the US (Richter 1983, Forstall and Engels 1984), the population turnround remains a key feature of the country's recent population history.

In turning now to consider studies based within Western Europe research highlights three important recent changes - a halt in the natural population increase, a reversal in traditional internal migration patterns and a change in the composition of the

international migration flows (Findlay and White 1986). It is the first two trends which are of particular concern here. Fertility has declined everywhere since the early 1960s so that most countries now have rates close to, or below the critical 2.1 replacement level, whilst internal migration is for many countries the key dimension in demographic change.

Following the publication of the 1980-82 European round of censuses, Fielding (1986a) has updated his earlier work (Fielding 1982) on the population turnaround in 14 countries. Out of all 14 countries, only Spain now demonstrates urbanisation as the dominant trend (Fielding 1986a, Dewdney and White 1986). For six countries - Austria, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal and Switzerland - there is no significant relationship between net migration and population density, meaning urbanisation had come to an end. Of greatest interest are the remaining seven countries - Belgium, Denmark, France, The Netherlands, Sweden, the UK and West Germany - where from 1970 the population turnaround replaced urbanisation.

For three of these countries, Norway, Denmark and France there is especially useful supporting evidence both from Fielding (1986a) and from other studies. All three countries experienced a falling natural fertility rate (Court 1985, 1986, Ogden and Winchester 1986) alongside striking internal migratory trends. Whilst in Norway, the Oslo Fjord region had a declining proportion

of the national population from the mid-1960s (Fielding 1986a), both the Hovedstad region in Denmark (the Copenhagen area) and the Ile-de-France (Paris) region lost population in absolute figures. The Ile-de-France's net migration loss between 1975-82 amounted to -440000 (Fielding 1986). Alongside this trend of urban decline was the growth in a wide range of small and very small settlements. This led Jones (1983) to write in relation to France's population changes,

"perhaps the outstanding theme is that France appears to have succumbed whole-heartedly to the counter-urbanisation trend which has been one of the key processes in more mature Western European countries in recent years."

Similarly, research on Brittany (Dean 1986, Perry et al 1986) also supports this view although the authors stress that it was only from 1975 that net in-migration was contributing to the region's overall growth rather than the natural excess of births over deaths.

In order to understand rural population growth in Europe more fully, it is necessary to consider whether its main feature is decentralisation or deconcentration. Certainly it would appear that Norway is experiencing demographic changes which are more akin to decentralisation, than deconcentration (Hall and Hay 1980, Myklebost 1984, Fielding 1986a). This contrasts, however, with the population experiences of Denmark and France. Court (1985, 1986) writes that between 1965-74 it was the Danish municipalities with urban areas of less than 2000 population which experienced the highest

rates of annual increase. Likewise in France, the revival of small settlements away from the country's major urban settlements has led authors to emphasise the pattern of deconcentration rather than decentralisation (Ogden 1981, 1985, Ogden and Winchester 1986).

Obviously the European experience of rural population resurgence is varied and reflects national and local differences in demographic and economic circumstances. Nonetheless, it is clear that there has been a general trend for the populations of large cities to stabilise or decline and for rural and remote rural areas to grow. Finally, it is worth noting that recent evidence indicates that Europe is following the US' latest pattern of change and that the population turnaround could be a spent force (Drewe 1985, Findlay and White 1986). Despite this most recent change, the population turnaround is still a key feature of many countries' internal migratory trends which will now be explored further in the context of Great Britain.

#### 1.3.2 Evidence from Great Britain

In Great Britain the 1981 enumerated population was overall only 0.57% larger than the comparable figure at the previous census in 1971 and shows some variation between the home countries, with England's population increasing by 0.4%, Wales by 2.2% and Scotland's falling by 2.1% (Robert and Randolph 1983). In fact, the total level of inter-censal change for Great Britain

was the smallest on record, this reflecting primarily a fall in the birth rate unaccompanied by a commensurate decline in the death rate (Champion 1986). These trends are demonstrated by Table 1.1 which gives Great Britain's components of population change between 1961/66 and 1983/84.

Nonetheless, despite a considerable volume of research, there is disagreement between some leading authors (Randolph and Robert 1981, Champion 1981, 1983, Hamnett and Randolph 1982, Gilg 1983), as to whether Britain is experiencing decentralisation or deconcentration. The key to this problem lies in the extent to which remote rural areas can be identified separately from other rural areas, and can be statistically disaggregated. Thus this section will examine both the temporal and spatial dimensions of demographic change in Britain, and in so doing will provide the context for the more detailed examination of the remote rural area of North Devon, which forms the major element of this research programme.

In turning to the temporal characteristics of population change first, the 1971 and 1981 Census results point to an increased level of out-migration from conurbations and large towns to the surrounding areas (Champion 1976, OPCS 1981). Between 1961 and 1971 it seems that decentralisation was the dominant trend because although Britain's metropolitan areas experienced population decline this can largely be



TABLE 1.1 COMPONENTS OF POPULATION CHANGE IN GREAT BRITAIN

1961-84

Mid-year to mid-year	Population at start of period	Components of change (mid-year to mid-year) (000s)				
		Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Net migration	Other changes+
1961/66*	51,380	954	617	+337	-1	+21
1966/71*	53,167	904	628	+276	-50	+15
1971/72	54,369	832	644	+188	-39	+20
1972/73	54,537	778	654	+124	-	+9
1973/74	54,671	724	647	+77	-72	+9
1974/75	54,685	694	654	+40	-69	+20
1975/76	54,676	663	664	-1	-22	+11
1976/77	54,664	630	643	-14	-24	+10
1977/78	54,636	639	648	-9	-34	+29
1978/79	54,621	692	656	+36	+4	+13
1979/80	54,675	716	642	+74	+4	+3
1980/81	54,756	713	640	+73	-74	+28
1981/82	54,784	695	653	+42	-82	+24
1982/83	54,768	695	644	+51	-19	+4
1983/84	54,804					

Note: \* Components of change shown as annual averages

+ Changes in numbers of armed forces plus adjustment to reconcile differences between estimated population change and the figures for natural change and net civilian migration

Source: Champion 1986

accounted for by the related population increase experienced in the rural zones adjacent to metropolitan areas.

The results of the 1981 Census, however, show that Britain's population geography has more recently been undergoing a still more fundamental change. The data show an accelerated decline in the population of major cities, such as Manchester (-17%), Glasgow (-15%) and Greater London (-10%). Between 1971-77, Greater

London lost nearly half a million people (Kennett and Spence 1979). The most striking feature of the 1971-81 Census, however, was the unanticipated growth in areas of Britain which had the lowest population densities. For example, the highest regional record of growth was found in the three Scottish Island areas which averaged 20.4% (Pacione 1984).

Demographic change and particularly remote rural rejuvenation did not accelerate uniformly over the decade. Despite some shortcomings, the use of the Registrar General's annual mid-year estimates does enable shorter-term trends to be identified (Kennett and Spence 1979, Robert and Randolph 1983). A breakdown of the 1960s figures reveals that the sudden surge of population redistribution between 1971-74 had already been anticipated by an increase in growth rates during the early and mid-1960s, before a deceleration in the late 1960s. Similarly, the striking rates of rural and remote rural population growth of the early 1970s were followed by a slowing down between 1975-79, by which time the dispersal process had passed its peak (Champion 1983). More recent evidence also assembled by Champion (1986a, 1988) and Stillwell (1985) confirms for the early 1980s, the generally reduced pace of urban decline and rural growth.

In focussing on the 1981 Census results, first at the regional scale, it is interesting that whereas the South East lost population between 1971 and 1981, a

rapid rate of growth was recorded by the two most rural regions of England, which are East Anglia (11.7%) and the South West (6.0%). Moreover, there was a reduction in the net migration losses of Scotland and the Northern Region. Rather than drawing the traditional distinction between the 'North' (population decline) and the 'South' (population growth), it may be more appropriate to draw a distinction between the more metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions. However, research which operates at the regional scale fails to distinguish rural areas from remote rural areas (Champion 1981a), and thus provides only a very crude indication of the population turnaround: a sub-regional level of analysis is clearly essential.

One attempt at a sub-regional scale of analysis has been to examine county population change in relation to population densities (OPCS 1982). Between 1971-81 all counties with densities of over 12 persons per hectare, experienced population decline (OPCS 1982), whilst most of the rural counties at the other end of the spectrum (0.75-1.5 persons per hectare), experienced relatively large population increases. Table 1.2 shows population change between 1961-81 in Britain's areas of lowest population density. An examination of demographic change in these 20 most rural counties of Britain shows that the Scottish Island areas, Powys, Shropshire, Cornwall, Somerset and Norfolk all grew by more than 10%. Furthermore, only one of these areas

TABLE 1.2 POPULATION CHANGE 1961-81 IN BRITAIN'S AREAS OF  
LOWEST POPULATION DENSITY

Area*	Population density 1981 (persons per ha)	Population % 1961-71	Change % 1971-81	Difference %
Highlands	0.07	7.1	3.4	-3.7
Scottish island areas	0.15	-7.0	20.4	+27.4
Borders	0.21	-3.7	0.8	+4.5
Powys	0.22	-3.0	11.4	+14.4
Dumfries & Galloway	0.23	-2.2	1.3	+3.5
Tayside	0.52	-0.1	-1.5	-1.4
Grampian	0.54	-0.4	7.3	+7.7
Dyfed	0.57	0.2	4.3	+4.1
Gwynedd	0.60	3.2	4.5	+1.3
Northumberland	0.60	1.9	7.3	+5.4
Cumbria	0.71	1.3	1.5	+0.2
North Yorkshire	0.80	9.0	6.3	-2.7
Lincolnshire	0.93	7.4	8.7	+1.3
Central	1.04	7.5	3.8	-3.7
Shropshire	1.08	13.2	11.4	-1.8
Cornwall	1.21	11.2	12.8	+1.6
Somerset	1.23	11.8	10.0	-1.8
Norfolk	1.29	10.6	10.8	+0.2
Devon	1.42	9.2	6.0	-3.2
Wiltshire	1.49	15.1	6.5	-8.6
National average	2.39	5.3	0.3	-5.0

\* County (England and Wales) and Region (Scotland)

Source: Champion (1981)

(Tayside) grew at a slower rate than the national average between 1971-81 (Pacione 1984). Thus although this level of analysis also fails to distinguish in a precise way between rural and remote rural areas, or between settlement sizes within a county, it does suggest that deconcentration was in operation during the decade 1971-81.

Further evidence of population deconcentration is given in Table 1.3. Very few remote rural districts lost population during 1971-81, most of the exceptions being small declining mining or industrial communities (Moseley 1982, 1984). Moreover Table 1.3 demonstrates that the decline within the conurbations has not necessarily been compensated for by growth in their commuting hinterlands. For example, Outer London lost some 5% of its population between 1971-81. During the 1970s, therefore, deconcentration was an important spatial trend and led Champion (1981) to emphasise the significance of this demographic change:

"This process is considered to be a revolutionary change in settlement pattern as opposed to the further lateral extension of development related to the existing set of metropolitan centres."

By contrast, however, authors such as Gilg (1983), Robert and Randolph (1983) and Hamnett and Randolph (1982) see the 1981 Census results not as a break with the past but as simply a further continuation of a process whose origins lie in the late 19th Century. For example, Robert and Randolph (1983) write,

TABLE 1.3 POPULATION CHANGE FOR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF  
DISTRICTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES 1961-81

Category of district	No of districts	Population present on census night	1971-81 pop change (000s)	(%)	1961-71 pop change (%)
England & Wales	403	49011	262	0.5	5.7
Greater London boroughs	33	6696	-756	-10.1	-6.8
1. Inner London	14	2497	-535	-17.7	-13.2
2. Outer London	19	4199	-221	-5.0	-1.8
Metropolitan districts	36	11235	-546	-4.6	0.5
3. The principal cities	6	3486	-386	-10.0	-8.4
4. Others	30	7749	-160	-2.0	5.5
Nonmetropolitan dists	334	31080	1564	5.3	11.8
5. Large cities (over 175000 population in 1971)	11	2763	-149	-5.1	-1.4
6. Smaller cities					
7. Industrial districts	16	1687	-55	-3.2	2.2
(a) Wales & 3 northern regions of England	39	3348	42	1.3	3.7
(b) Rest of England	34	3320	158	5.0	12.1
8. Districts that include new towns	21	2165	283	15.1	21.8
9. Resort & seaside retirement districts	36	3335	156	4.9	12.2
10. Other urban, mixed urban-rural and more accessible rural districts					
a) Outside South East	42	3793	307	8.8	21.9
b) In South East	57	5656	354	6.7	22.1
11. Remoter, largely rural, districts	78	5013	468	10.3	9.7

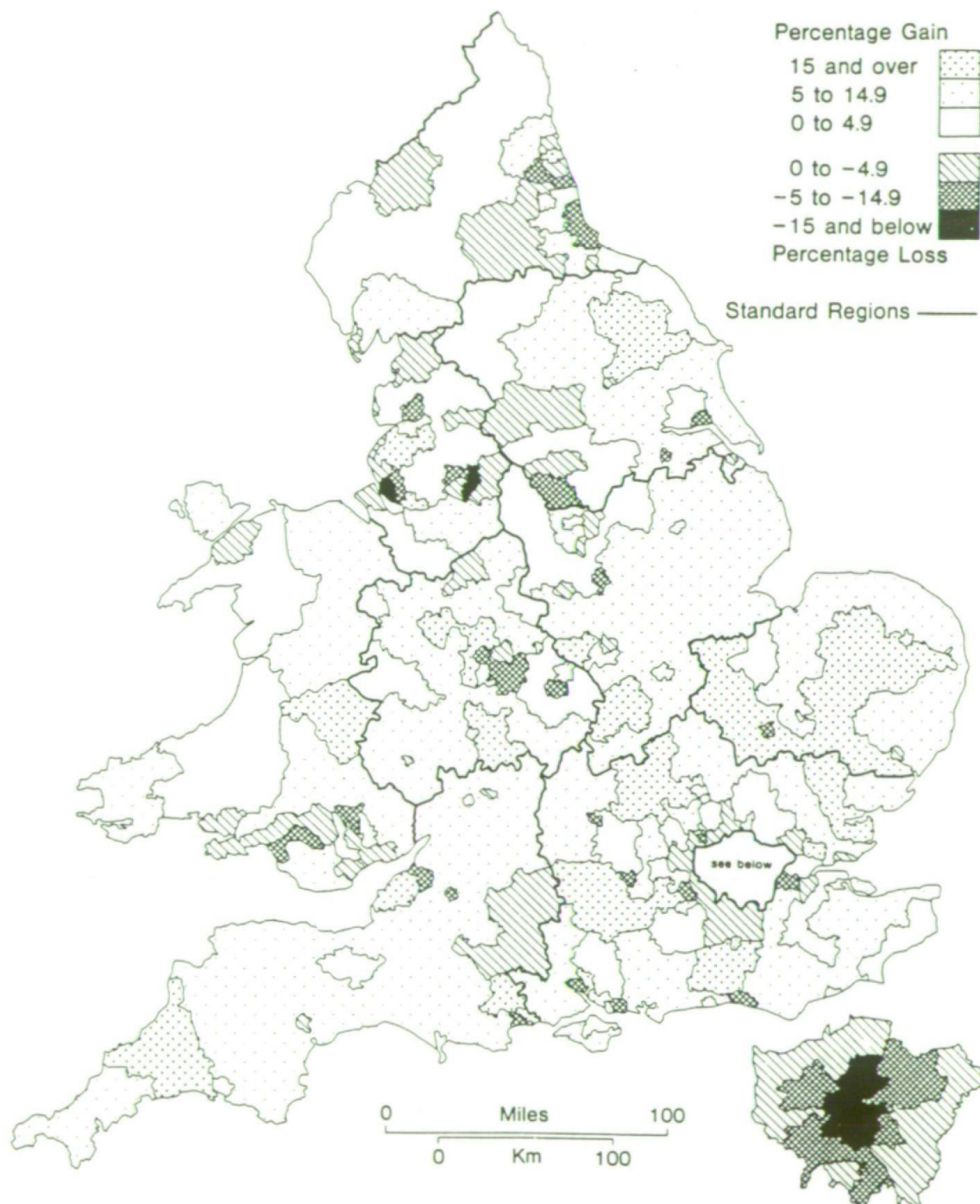
Source: Champion (1981)

"What England and Wales has experienced in its rural fringes is an augmentation of the forces which led to the development of, for example, Finsbury and Clerkenwell in the 19th Century and Park Royal and Dagenham in the inter-war years. This population has moved out first from the central city to suburbs within the city regions, and then out of the major metropolitan areas altogether to smaller "daily urban systems" or to adjacent rural districts."

It appears that Champion is at odds with Robert and Randolph, as he sees the repopulation of remote rural areas in terms of a more radical and innovatory process and a more definite break from the past. This difference of opinion is partly explained, however, by the authors adopting different measures of change. While Champion analyses population change mainly in terms of percentage rates, Robert and Randolph use the absolute level of change. Figure 1.2 demonstrates that the highest percentage increases have been experienced mainly by rural and remote rural areas. In contrast, Figure 1.3 shows that the highest levels of absolute increase are to be found in an arc of 50-150km around London.

A more recent analysis provided by Champion (1986,1986a) based on the functional regions framework, developed at Newcastle University, shows a regular urban-rural contrast in terms of the 1971-81 population growth rate. Interestingly, this is demonstrated by Champion (1986) in both percentage and absolute terms. Similarly, much of the local based research appears to support Champion's assertions. For example, research on

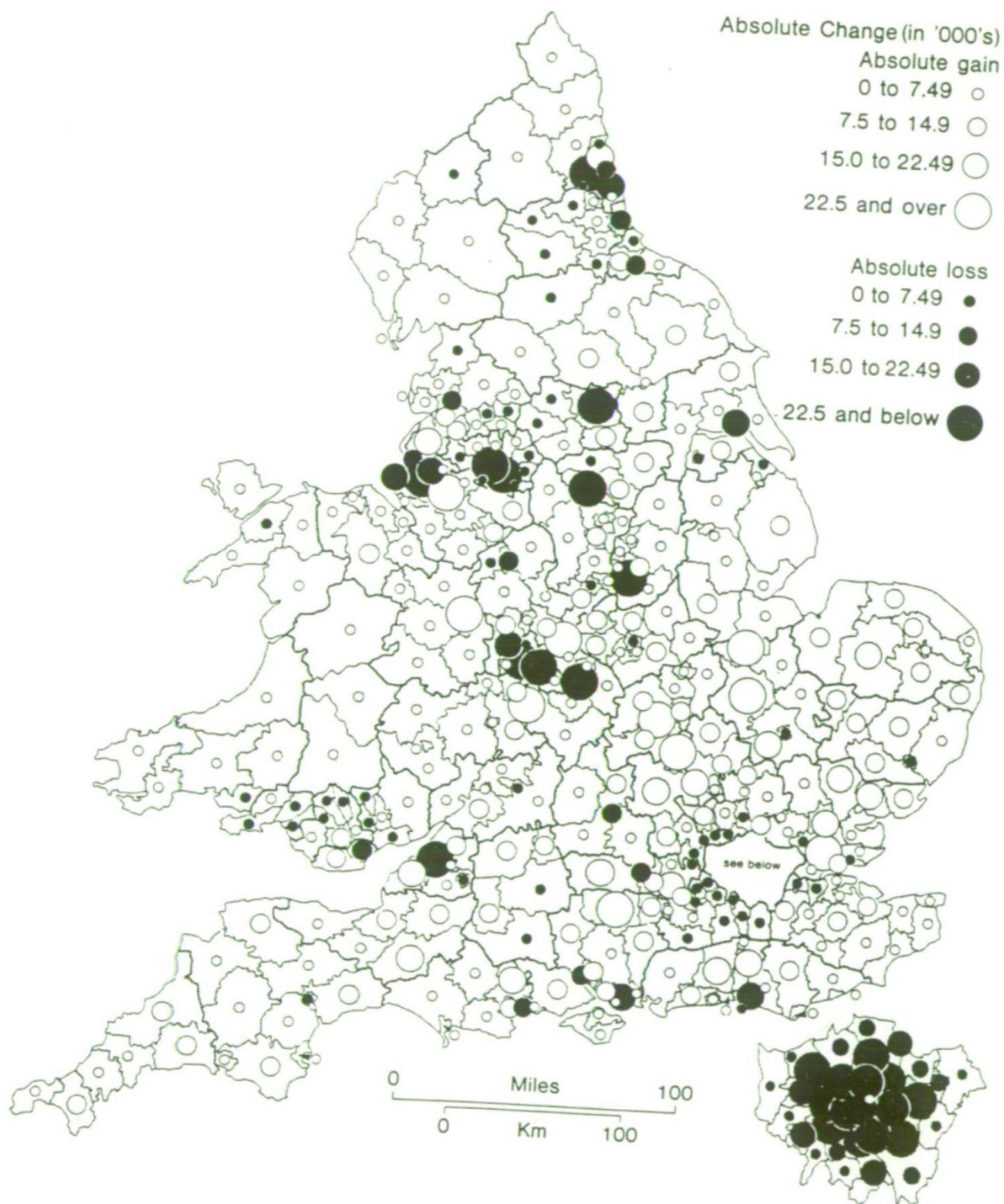
FIGURE 1.2 PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGE, 1971-81 FOR  
LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES



Source: Robert and Randolph 1983



FIGURE 1.3 ABSOLUTE POPULATION CHANGE, 1971-81 FOR LOCAL  
AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES



Source: Robert and Randolph 1983

remote rural areas in Cornwall and Scotland shows a population revival taking place at the local scale (Dean et al 1984, Perry et al 1986, Jones et al 1984, 1984a, Forsythe 1980, 1983). Jones et al (1984) point out that whilst Scotland's population increase is widely ascribed to North Sea oil-related developments, analysis of the 1981 Census shows substantial growth in many, often outlying, rural areas, seemingly unaffected by oil development. Moreover, all these surveys reveal the significance of long-distance in-migration to the respective areas, rather than short, intra-regional moves.

In summary, therefore, the British evidence suggests that although decentralisation was clearly in operation throughout the 1960s and 1970s, there appears increasing support also for the role of deconcentration. Thus at a broad level, Britain's experience seems to conform to that of the US. Whether these trends point to a break with the past (and perhaps a rejection of the urban way of life), or whether remote rural areas are simply starting to experience urbanisation pressures is still a matter of contention.

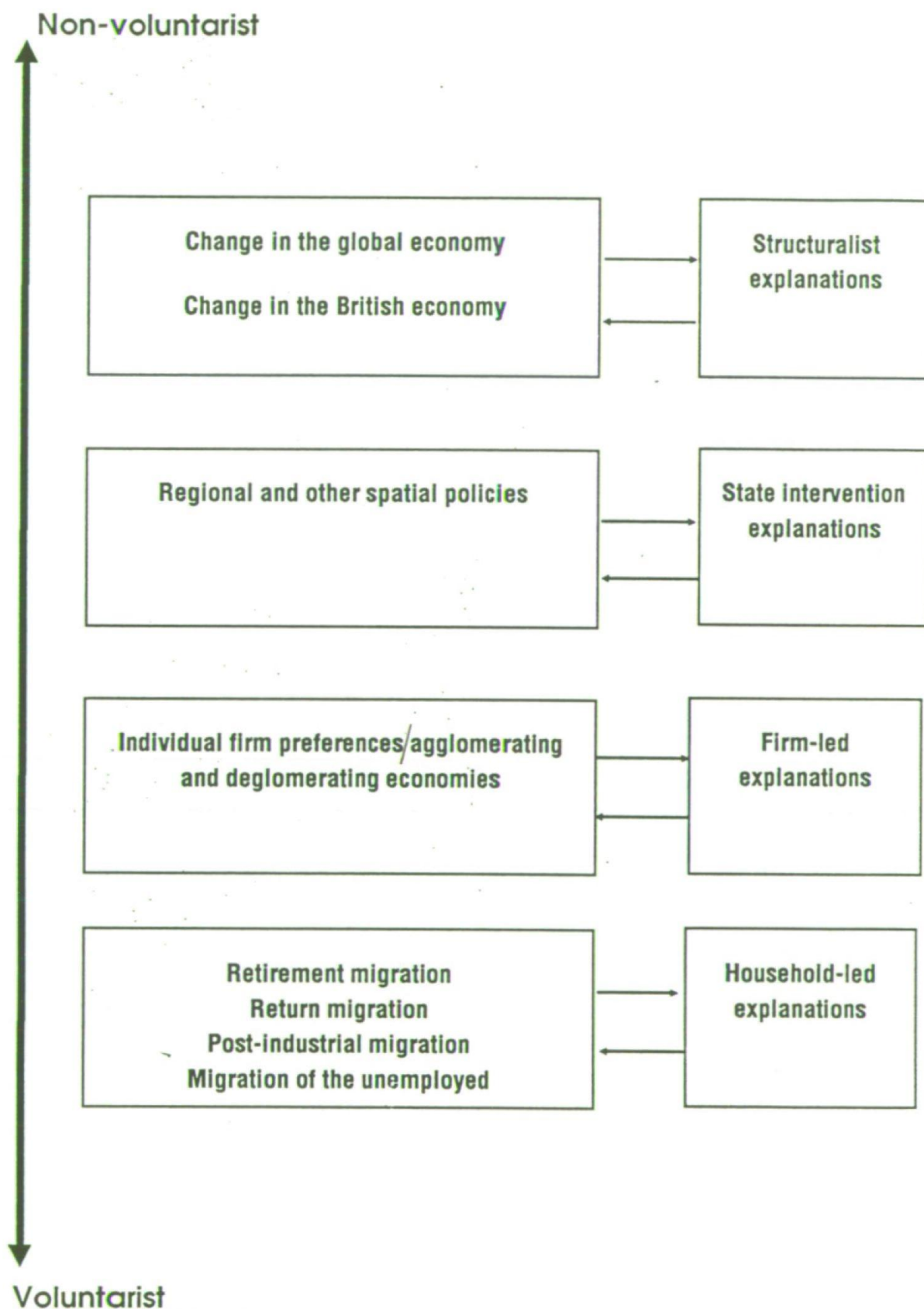
## 1.4 POPULATION TURNROUND : CONTRASTING EXPLANATIONS

### 1.4.1 Introduction

Linked to the documentation on where population changes have occurred has been a growing body of literature on the processes which may have caused these internal migratory trends. The literature reveals a plethora of possible explanations (Moseley 1984, Perry et al 1986) : however four main groups of theories are proposed in this section and are best thought of in terms of a spectrum (see Figure 1.4) composed of household-led and firm-led explanations, explanations relating to state intervention and structuralist explanations. Figure 1.4 , therefore, ranges from ideas which focus on household preferences and action to explanations which place the individual household within the context of the changing structure of the national and international economy. Thus the following schema moves from a voluntarist to a non-voluntarist conception of the population turnaround, and from a focus on micro- to macro-level considerations.

Before turning, however, to these four main explanations one other possibility must be explored briefly. Some authors have suggested that the population turnaround is essentially a product of the particular form in which the relevant population data are presented. For example, some authors have argued that the identification of urban decline and rural

**FIGURE 1.4 CONTRASTING EXPLANATIONS OF THE POPULATION  
TURNROUND**



growth is due, in part at least, to the underbounding of urban areas during a period of rapid suburbanisation (Hamnett and Randolph 1982, Gordon 1979). Whilst this may account for population growth in proximate rural areas it clearly has less relevance in the remote rural regions. The other statistical argument is linked to the decline of agricultural employment which previously fuelled rural-to-urban migration : perhaps rural population growth is due to fewer people moving out rather than people moving in. Whilst this has some validity, it is important to note that agricultural employment decline is still continuing, albeit at a reduced rate, and that the scale of population growth in many rural areas far exceeds that which could be accounted for by change in the agricultural labour force. Having, therefore, set to one side these statistical challenges to the reality of increased urban-to-rural migration the discussion can now proceed to consider the major models of explanation.

#### 1.4.2 Household-Led Explanations

This hypothesis is based on the premise that people are free to move and choose their residential location. It highlights the preferences of a variety of migrants, who share a desire to live in a rural or small town setting. This explanation is linked to the notion of consumer sovereignty (Perry et al 1986) and has been dominant in the American literature. It has been

referred to by Fielding (1982) as the "counterurbanisation model". The model works through individual preferences (in favour of the rural rather than the urban) being expressed in household relocation and population redistribution (Fliegel and Sofranko 1984). This in turn causes the various market systems to react accordingly, and there are demand-led responses in the housing and transport systems and the industrial and commercial property markets. Berry (1976) has been a main proponent of this model along with other researchers such as Beale (1976) and Bourne (1980). An understanding of residential preferences is considered a key element in this hypothesis, and much emphasis has, therefore, been placed on attaining a greater knowledge of different community sizes (Zelinsky 1978, Zuiches 1980, 1981).

One element within the counterurbanisation model are those migrants that move to a rural area for environmental reasons but who still look to a high order urban centre for their employment and material standard of living. Generally, this category of migrants would be associated with long-distance commuting. If this is a substantial trend in the rural periphery, the population turnaround is more likely to represent the next stage in the urbanisation of the countryside, rather than representing a break with past population patterns.

In Britain, as elsewhere, the arcadian image of

rural life has often been said to exert a powerful influence (Williams 1975). Since 1945, retired persons seeking a less pressurised environment have formed one of Britain's main migratory groups and over the years they have moved further out into remote parts (Davies and Davies 1983). Thus some research has focussed on the decision-making process taken by a predominantly older/retired and advantaged sector of the population who consciously decide to leave their present location for what they perceive as a more desirable environment (Law and Warnes 1982, Warnes 1982, Warnes and Law 1984). It has also been suggested (Court 1984) that in the case of many retirees, their children will have been living independently several years prior to retirement, and the family home will on retirement be perceived as too large. Hence relocation after retirement could be interpreted as a "delayed decision to trade down to a small dwelling in another area" (Court 1984).

In England, the south coast and East Anglia have been the main receiving areas of retirement in-migration. Other coastal areas which have attracted retirees are North Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, whilst inland areas have included the Cotswolds, the Welsh Borders and the Lake District (Law and Warnes 1981). It is important, however, to note that only 10% of elderly persons move on retirement and that the propensity to move depends on income, class and health.

Three other groups which feature prominently in household-led explanations will be considered briefly. Firstly, there are the post-industrial/partial employment migrants. This group purposefully seek out a remote rural environment which is devoid of the pressures found in urban areas and which lies outside any metropolitan spheres of influence. These factors enable the migrant households to opt out of a materialist way of life, and practice a more informal and alternative lifestyle (Ford 1983). As a stereotype example one might expect to find,

"Individuals and families and communes cultivating small-holdings of a size often considered non-viable by commercial standards, rearing goats, keeping bees, fishing, dyeing, weaving, painting, running potteries and small craft shops, performing odd jobs in the building trade and so forth".

Perry 1983.

These kinds of migrants form part of an explanation in which the population turnaround is not merely an extension of the suburbanisation - decentralisation process. Such explanations also differ from Fielding's (1982) counterurbanisation model because it is unlikely that the arrival of these migrants will have such a profound effect on the various market systems. For example, it is unlikely that these newcomers will be seeking full-time paid employment or a modern high standard house. Research already carried out in Scotland (Jones et al 1984, 1984a, 1986) and in Cornwall (Dean et al 1984, Perry et al 1986) does lend



some support for the post-industrial/partial employment hypothesis. Rather than a major move towards self-sufficiency, however, the results seem to show a cut in the in-migrants' incomes, some self-sufficiency farming and a high propensity towards self-employment and part-time work (Jones et al 1984).

Another element within household-led explanations is return migration. This has, however, generally been linked to the recession thesis and the economic crisis beginning in 1973/74 (Perry et al 1986). Return migration links individual preferences (to get back to one's place of origin) with wider forces in the economy. The argument rests partly also with the USA's experience of the 1930s depression when migration streams from rural areas to the industrial cities temporarily ceased, and many returned to the homeland because of urban poverty and high unemployment levels. However, Fielding (1986) notes that the development of the welfare state since the war has cushioned many against this type of extreme poverty, and that the declining agricultural labour force provides little opportunity for the urban employment to be absorbed in the countryside. Nonetheless, the recession is recognised as having influenced return migration levels in Britain (Hedger 1981, Bell and Kirwan 1979, 1981, McNabb et al 1978), albeit the economic crisis does not coincide particularly well with the turnaround which had its roots in the 1960s.

Finally, the unemployed migrant (return or other-wise) could be an important element in the urban-rural shift. This group, being socially and economically disadvantaged, are unlike other groups which feature in the household-led explanations (who are typically middle-class and obviously have the money to satisfy their residential preferences). With the increase in unemployment levels, and the availability of social security payments, it is possible that the unemployed have been moving from the declining industrial cities to draw their dole in more pleasant surroundings. Many of Britain's remote rural areas are also major tourist/resort areas (Webber and Craig 1976). Fielding (1982), however, shows that there are few if any advantages for moving while unemployed and except perhaps among the single, this type of migration is unlikely to be on a significant scale. There are as yet very few examples of research which has looked at the migration patterns of the unemployed (DaVanzo 1978, McNabb et al 1978, Perry 1978).

To date, many empirical studies on the population turnaround have supported one or more of the ideas which come under the umbrella of household-led explanations. However, such studies often depend entirely on a household questionnaire, an approach which can lead to disproportionate emphasis being given to the decision-making process of the individuals and households concerned, rather than recognising the

factors that compete and constrain people's movement patterns. Voluntarist explanations of the turnaround may fail to recognise that in practice, financial, family and other circumstances often seriously limit the individuals' freedom to choose where to live.

Nonetheless, although it is important to be aware of the limitations of household-led explanations the objections should not be overstated. During the post-war period there have been significant improvements in travel and communications and a range of other social and economic changes, such as increased disposable incomes and higher owner-occupation levels, which have enabled greater personal mobility and freedom of locational choice (Phillips and Williams 1984). Indeed, it would perhaps be misguided to accept uncritically Fielding's (1986) assertion that, "it is only a minority of people in strictly limited situations that are in a position to act out their preferences." Moreover whether households are viewed as exercising real, independent choice or simply mirroring structural changes in the national and international economy, research on household decision-making does have a significant role to play in helping to understand the process of urban-to-rural movement.

#### 1.4.3 Firm-led Explanations

The second set of explanations in Figure 1.4 are firm-led and recognise that through business relocation

population shifts also occur. This perspective focusses on the individual business rather than the motivations and aspirations of the individual migrants. The approach is, however, similar to the people-led scenario in that they share the assumption that questioning the decision-makers is a useful research methodology.

Drawing upon neo-classical theory firm-led explanations see business migration as an adjustment to the changing economic opportunities and pressures as firms move to exploit more profitable locations. A key role is, therefore, played by agglomeration diseconomies in metropolitan areas and deglomeration economies in rural non-metropolitan areas (see for example Fothergill and Gudgin 1979, 1982, Keeble 1980).

Research carried out on agglomeration diseconomies emphasises the negative aspects of metropolitan areas vis-a-vis rural locations. For example, Miles (1982) in a review of this approach lists ten possible factors which might explain the spatial decentralisation of manufacturing over the last two decades. These include, the lack of room for in-situ expansion of present industrial premises, deteriorating city infrastructure, traffic congestion including problems of access, general age of capital, high land costs, rents and rates, lack of appropriate labour, high incidence of labour poaching, unpleasant residential properties, city planning restriction and the high cost of labour.

The first point that business premises are often cramped, old and inefficient is fundamental: limited space within metropolitan areas is often considered the key to industrial relocation. Fothergill and Gudgin's (1982) contribution to this type of analysis has been considerable. Out of all the above points they consider:

"The simple and over-riding cause of the rural-urban shift in industrial location is the lack of space for physical expansion faced by a larger proportion of factories in urban areas. Although other advantages may exacerbate the relative decline of the cities, the constraining role of the continuous built-up area is sufficient by itself to account for all other characteristics."

If firms remain within physically constrained areas they must forgo plans for expansion or divert extra production to another branch site. Firms which wish to remain profitable, will re-locate or establish branch plants outside the metropolitan areas. Inevitably these changes will in turn influence and shape the redistribution of population.

In contrast, the attractions of non-metropolitan areas are manifold and industry has relocated because of the availability of space for industrial development (enabling in-situ expansion), cheaper land rents and rates, cheaper unskilled labour, a pleasant residential environment and the availability of government grants and incentives (Miles 1982, Gripaios 1984). Furthermore, the traditional problems of rural isolation have supposedly diminished due to unprecedented

improvements in communications and new developments in information technology (Clark and Unwin 1981, Hudson and Williams 1986). Even the problems of obtaining planning permission for development in rural areas have diminished considerably (JURUE 1983).

So far this section has explained industrial dispersal away from metropolitan areas but has not considered whether the trend is for short-distance moves (akin to the local decentralisation of population) or whether a more radical far-reaching process of industrial relocation is occurring. Certainly Kebble's (1976) research pointed to the importance of rural areas (which were considered non-industrial) rather than the urban periphery. Similarly, Fothergill and Gudgin's work (1982, Fothergill et al 1985, 1986) at the sub-regional scale confirms this pattern. Table 1.4 shows manufacturing employment change between 1960 and 1981 in six types of area in Great Britain. Apart from the actual volume of jobs lost, the table highlights the urban-rural contrast where the larger settlement, the larger the decline. Fothergill et al write (1986),

"An urban-rural contrast can be observed in all parts of Britain. In every region small towns and rural areas have fared better than larger settlements by a sizeable margin, an indication of the pervasiveness of the forces generating this shift in location. The decline in the number of manufacturing jobs in cities and the relative growth elsewhere has also redistributed jobs between regions. Highly urban regions have declined, more rural regions have grown".

In summary, this section has shown that while the

TABLE 1.4   MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT CHANGE BY TYPE OF  
AREA 1960-81

	Employment (thousands)		Change 1960-81	
	1960	1981	thousands	%
London	1338	650	-688	-51.4
Conurbations	2282	1295	-987	-43.2
Free standing cities	1331	950	-381	-28.6
Large towns	921	756	-165	-17.9
Small towns	1631	1609	-22	-1.4
Rural areas	527	655	+128	+24.2
Great Britain	8031	5916	+2115	-26.3

-----

Conurbations: Manchester, Merseyside, Clydeside, West  
Yorkshire, Tyneside, West Midlands.

Free-standing other cities with more than 250000  
cities: people.

Large towns: towns or cities with 100000 to 250000  
people.

Small towns: districts including at least one town  
with 35000 to 100000 people, plus  
coalfield areas.

Rural areas: districts in which all settlements have  
fewer than 35000 people.

Source: Fothergill et al 1986.

dispersal of manufacturing industry has extended into proximate rural areas, more profound changes have been taking place in Britain's rural periphery. Particularly noticeable has been the positive relationship between manufacturing growth and small settlement size in remoter areas. Research completed on rural industrialisation emphasises deglomeration economies and the importance of small settlements as opposed to regional centres (Moseley and Sant 1977, Hodge and Whitby 1979, 1981, D'Abbs 1974).

However, although industrial location change is likely to have a significant effect on demographic trends, market forces in the shape of agglomeration diseconomies and deglomeration economies may not be sufficient in themselves to explain the population turnaround. Not all those who move do so for job-related reasons, and to some degree the relocation of employment may be a response to, rather than a cause of population movements. Moreover, changes in employment location can be a response to state policies as well as market forces.

#### 1.4.4 State Intervention

Rather than focussing at the level of the individual migrant household or firm, this approach emphasises the role of the state in initiating socio-economic changes. It was Brian Berry (1976) who originally underlined the importance of post-war



government planning in promoting the population turnround in Western Europe. Taking Britain as an example, Berry focussed on the development of the New Towns as an explanation for the loss of population from the major cities. However, while Britain's New Towns have experienced high rates of growth, it is also estimated that they account for only about 10% of London's total population loss (Ash 1975, Hall 1981, Dennis 1978). Since the work of Berry (1976), state intervention as a possible cause of the population turnround has been given varying degrees of importance (Fielding 1982).

In defence of this approach it is widely accepted that the role of the state has been influential in many of Western Europe's post-war economies (Clout 1981, Blacksell 1981). Particularly significant has been the role of regional policy in countries such as Britain (for a general overview see Manners 1980, Law 1980, Goddard and Champion 1983), and France (Ardagh 1982, Hanley et al 1984). Britain's regional policy was largely developed during the 1950s and its aim was to re-direct investment to areas which were considered peripheral to the national economy, in both a social and a spatial sense. Thus both the old traditional industrial areas of the North of England and Wales were given aid alongside the country's most isolated rural regions such as Cornwall and North Devon. It was anticipated that this policy would reduce geographical

inequalities and reduce differential between core and periphery by creating jobs and a more buoyant economy in lagging areas. By the 1970s some commentators thought a degree of regional convergence had occurred (McCrone 1969, Keeble 1976). Others, however, (Dunford et al 1981, Pickvance 1981, Hudson and Lewis 1982) saw regional policy as a failure, particularly because over time and in response to the recession in the national economy, both major political parties in Britain abandoned the fundamental objective of regional policy, that of establishing full-time employment in all regions of need. Instead some commentators have suggested that regional policy has been maintained (albeit on a reduced scale) mainly for political mileage in order to gain extra votes and to be seen to be doing something for depressed regions (Massey 1979, 1981, Fielding 1982).

In terms of its influence on internal migratory patterns, there does appear to be a correlation between the timing of the population turnaround and the impact of regional policy in some remote rural areas. For example, from 1966 North Devon became a Development Area and during the following decade the district underwent considerable industrial and demographic expansion (D'Abbs 1974). To varying degrees these trends are also relevant in some other parts of Britain's rural periphery, such as Mid Wales (Wenger 1980, Perry et al 1986), Western Ireland (Breatnach 1985) and Scotland (Armstrong 1982).

It appears, however, that to use state intervention as an all-embracing explanation of the turnaround is inadequate. Three criticisms are especially significant in demonstrating the limitations of the state intervention perspective. Firstly, the population turnaround is clearly evident in countries which have only weak policy and development programmes for their "lagging" regions. Both the United States (Morrison and Wheeler 1976) and Canada (Hodge 1983, Hodge and Qadeer 1983) provide good examples. In Canada, Hodge (1983) writes that despite the absence of great policy design, there was an upsurge of small town renaissance during the 1970s. Nonetheless it is important not to overstate this point. Whilst there is no national policy, many local ones exist, the classic being the Tennessee Valley Authority which has operated for 50 years (Bradshaw 1984). Secondly, despite years of development aid being directed to problem regions, it is noticeable that state intervention has failed to reverse the population and economic decline in many parts of urban industrial Britain. In particular inner city areas with Development Area and Special Development Area Status have continued to experience decline (Massey 1981), which points to the ineffectiveness of government spatial policies. Conversely, population and economic growth have occurred in areas not in receipt of government aid. For example, East Anglia has never been designated a Development Area yet it was recorded as the

highest growth area in Britain for employment and population between 1967-1968 (Keeble 1980, Keeble and Gould 1985). The third criticism is that regional aid in Britain has often been diverted towards regions which include both city and rural areas. Not surprisingly, regional policy has generally been analysed in terms of one region's performance against another's, rather than in terms of rural/urban contrasts. Yet the population turnaround is associated with different settlement sizes within regions rather than socio-economic differences existing between regions. It is clear that the role of state intervention and spatial policy is not sufficient to provide in itself a satisfactory explanation of the population turnaround. Nonetheless socio-economic changes including population redistribution in some remote rural areas of Britain such as North Devon, have in part been the product of state intervention, and in particular the role of regional policy. This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3.

#### 1.4.5 Structuralist Explanations

The final explanation which might account for the population turnaround is broadly defined here as structuralist. This body of literature emphasises the point that for financial reasons relatively few people are free to exercise personal preferences, and thus population change is economically rather than environmentally or socially determined. For authors

such as Fielding (1982, 1985) and Massey (1983, 1984) industrial and employment change explain population change. A key feature of the structuralist perspective is that it places the population turnaround (which most western industrialised countries have experienced) within the context of the changing national and international economy. Two key concepts are identified - namely the changing geography of production, and the new spatial division of labour (NSDL).

Over the last three decades a new geography of production has emerged in most advanced capitalist nations: the trend has been from regional sectoral specialisation (RSS) to a hierarchical organisation of production. Broadly this process has resulted from the recent restructuring of industry. The British economy in the period after the 1950s suffered a profit crisis (Dunford et al 1981) which resulted in low industrial investment and declining international competitiveness. Indeed, many heavy industries experienced problems of excess capacity and had to cut costs radically, or face factory closures (Massey and Meegan 1978, 1982). In order to increase competitiveness, manufacturing industry has gone through a phase of restructuring which has meant reducing costs and introducing technological innovation.

This process of industrial restructuring has not only resulted in profound changes in the production process. In locational terms inner city areas have

suffered from both the complete closure of many of their older plants (Lawless 1981, Dennis 1978, Massey and Meegan 1982) and the movement of industry out to new greenfield sites in Britain's rural periphery. Moreover, through the increasing role of multi-national companies and the inter-nationalisation of capital (Murray 1972), there has been a fragmentation of the production process, and a separation of management and R&D from production (Clark 1981). For example, in Britain more of the routine production processes have been relocated in peripheral areas such as the South West (Massey 1983), the North East (Austin and Benyon 1979), Ireland (Perrons 1981) and Scotland (Firn 1975) whilst management and R&D which require prestige environments within easy reach of metropolitan centres have tended to stay mainly in the South East region.

Although Britain's rural periphery has been a beneficiary of considerable regional aid (as was discussed in Section 1.4.4), it is important to note that proponents of the structural explanation believe that financial inducements through regional policy do not provide an adequate explanation of the relocation of industry, and thus the population turnaround (Fielding 1985, Court 1985). Rather, other factors in the changing geography of production are more significant. From the literature, one ingredient seems particularly important - namely, the antagonistic relationship between capital and labour (Miles 1982). Cooke (1981)

for example, sees the recent industrial restructuring and industrial relocation as a "means for capital to try and overcome the barriers to capital accumulation imposed by labour". The constant friction between capital and labour is manifested by trade unionism (Hyman 1978) which is strongest in the old industrial centres, and weakest in remote rural areas where there is a reserve army of labour which is often malleable and non-unionised. For these reasons, remote rural areas have become attractive locations and this has resulted in a new spatial division of labour. Massey's (1983) research on Cornwall illustrates these points. Until the 1950s the manufacturing base of the county's economy was in decline. By the 1960s, however, this trend had reversed with manufacturing industries (particularly in the form of branch plants) moving into the area, and using relatively cheap, non-unionised female labour. For many women this was the first experience of working in full capitalist wage relations.

Court (1985) rightly points out, however, that to argue that the spatial and temporal dimensions of the changing geography of production and the new spatial division of labour are conformable to the population turnaround is not to prove a causal connection. To do this, it would be necessary to explore the migration streams and their role in local labour markets. Thus following this analysis, Fielding (1982) suggests that, unlike 150 years ago, manual and unskilled labour is no

longer the main migratory force. Instead, the present migratory force is predominantly composed of employees which Fielding calls functionaries, who move for reasons associated with their present job, which might involve promotion to or within the management level. Thus the relocation of industry to remote rural areas could cause an important flow of migrants to a region. Moreover, this migrant group is likely to have a significant effect on the class composition of the region.

Despite recent attempts to link structuralist theory to actual data (Court 1986), there is still a dearth of hard core empirical research in this area. Even Massey's (1983) work in Cornwall could be considered tenuous because of its weak empirical base. Moreover, there has been little research or analysis to see whether the in-migrants to remote rural areas do correspond to Fielding's functionaries. Equally relevant are the criticisms of structuralism which relate to its determinist nature (Aglietta 1979). Sayer (1985) in a generally sympathetic critique of radical research notes that the significance of concepts such as 'spatial division of labour' and 'changing geography of production' has been over stated. One example is cited. There is a widespread belief that multi-national branch plants located in the rural periphery, are relatively insecure (Austin and Benyon 1979, Healey 1982, Healey and Watts 1986) and that their choice of location is governed by the search for cheap labour



(Massey 1983). In Britain, however, evidence shows that multi-nationals are often more secure than indigenous capital (Sayer 1985), and that rural female wages are not appreciably lower than in other areas. Although the structuralist approach is useful in that it places rural population growth in the context of the changing national and international economy, it can be applied in a too determinist manner, and for many of its key tenets there is insufficient empirical support.

### 1.5 RURAL COMMUNITY CHANGE AND RURAL POLICY

#### 1.5.1 Rural Community Change

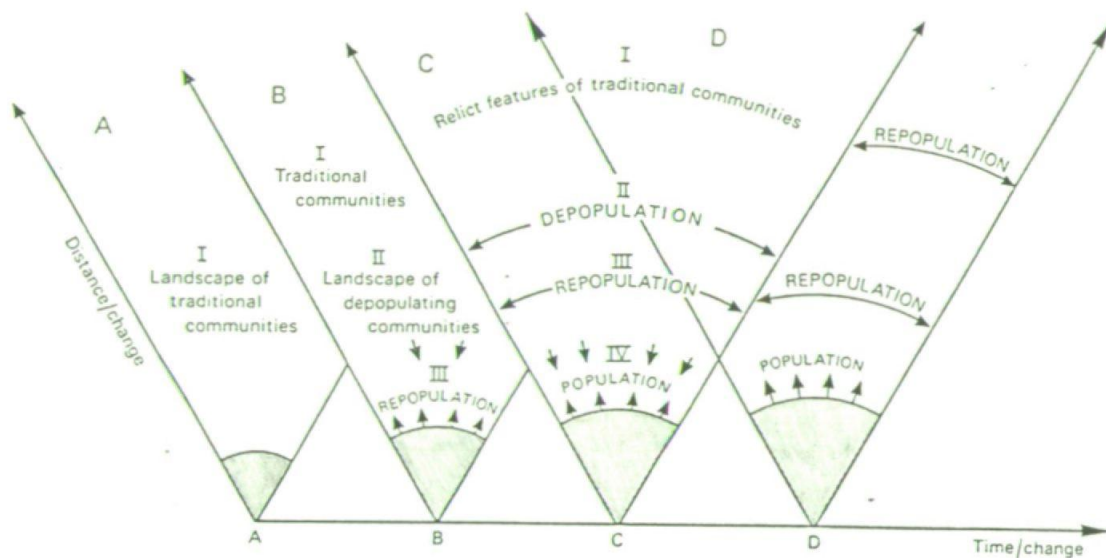
Population and employment growth (both in rural communities on the urban fringe and more recently in more remote areas) have been key ingredients in the process of community change. Newby (1979) writes that the traditional character of many lowland English villages has been destroyed by the twin assaults of the drift from the land of agricultural labour and creeping urbanisation through an influx of commuters, second-home owners or retired couples.

This pattern of community change has been central to much rural research. For example, Bracey's (1964) and Thorn's (1968) study of changing rural communities near Bristol and Nottingham, Ambrose's (1974) study of Ringmer in Sussex, Connell's (1974,1978) study of Surrey

and Glyn-Jones' (1977) study of Ivybridge. From the literature there appear to be three common characteristics common to these in-migrants. Firstly, they often represent an advantaged sector of the population, able to select their new residential location. Secondly, these migrant groups have a bucolic image of rural life and wish to preserve the traditional physical character of the village and surrounding countryside (Lowe and Goyder 1983). Thirdly, the migrants are urban-orientated and are often responsible for superimposing an urban set of values onto the receiving areas (Pacione 1984). This has resulted in striking inequalities and conflicts between the in-migrants and much of the host community. Housing, for example, is a key issue because through repopulation and the associated increase in demand for homes many locals are priced out of the housing market (Pacione 1980, Shucksmith 1981, Dunn et al 1981, Clark 1981, Clark 1982, Phillips and Williams 1984).

This pattern of population change and creeping urbanisation is clearly demonstrated in Lewis and Maund's research (1976, 1979) and their development of a time-space model (Figure 1.5). Given the date of Lewis and Maund's research (1976) it is not surprising to find their model accounting only for the repopulation of the more accessible countryside. Thus a new time-space dimension has been added to Figure 1.5 (Surface D) which takes into account the more recent population turnaround

FIGURE 1.5 A TIME-SPACE MODEL OF POPULATION CHANGE



Adapted from Lewis and Maund, 1967

#### SURFACE A

Pre-industrial phase with one urban centre surrounded by rural communities (I).

#### SURFACE B

Urban industrialisation has begun to attract labour from the more accessible rural communities, alongside a declining demand for agricultural labour. Thus some communities begin to experience depopulation (II). But some middle classes have begun to move out from the town which is called repopulation (III).

#### SURFACE C

Depopulation is still a marked characteristic of most communities, which are generally found in the remote areas. Repopulation is accelerating and has reached beyond the daily commuting range. The retired, from the largest group in this migration stream. Finally the population zone (IV) which is closest to the town characterised by expanding dormitory villages, and attracts young middle-class families, who commute daily to work.

#### SURFACE D

Population growth in the urban periphery continues and the process of demographic resurgence extends into the more remote rural areas where depopulation no longer continues. Instead these zones have experienced population increases and industrial expansion, which corresponds to deconcentration.

in remote rural areas (albeit it is a matter of contention whether this represents continued urban expansion or a clean break with past trends).

Studies of rural community and population change have proceeded through a variety of stages and used a range of different conceptual frameworks (for a full review see Phillips and Williams 1984, Bradley and Lowe 1984). Much of the early work centred on concepts such as the urban-rural dichotomy (Tonnies 1887) and the urban-rural continuum (Frankenberg 1966). However, this work lost favour during the mid- and late 1960s when Pahl advocated a new approach using managerialist perspectives (Pahl 1965, 1966). This work largely paved the way for researchers in the 1970s to focus on class and power-based issues in the countryside (Newby 1972, 1980, Ambrose 1974, Newby et al 1978, Little 1984), and to interpret host in-migrant conflicts in terms of a class analysis. More recently locality studies have tried to link changes in particular rural locations with wider changes in the national and international economy (Newby 1986, Cooke 1986, 1986a). Importantly, this work explores not only how broader structural forces shape local change but also how locations themselves influence the precise nature and extent of the change which they experience (Massey 1983, Cooke 1981, Gillighan 1984, Urry 1984).

### 1.5.2 Developments in Rural Policy

The pressures of population and social change during the post-war period have to some degree been shaped by government and local authority planning policies. Certainly, these changes have raised a range of planning issues which central and local government planners have had to address. In particular, the threat to the traditional character of the rural landscape due to the urbanisation of the countryside has resulted in a strict conservationist planning policy in many rural areas as a way of preventing ad hoc housing and industrial developments (Pacione 1984).

One aspect of post-war settlement planning which is particularly relevant to rural repopulation is key settlement policy. The main principle behind this policy is that savings can be achieved by concentrating resources and services in a few selected centres rather than dispersing them throughout a range of settlements (Woodruffe 1976). Thus this concept works on the basis that it is uneconomic to provide or operate some services in settlements below a certain threshold of population and that it is advantageous to concentrate population in a limited number of settlements where these thresholds can be reached (Clope 1979). In practice, key settlement policy has been extensively used by planners both to stem depopulation from declining rural areas and to avoid sporadic growth in pressurised rural areas (Clope 1979, 1980, Woodruffe

1976). In counties such as Devon, where the key settlement policy was originally introduced to reduce depopulation it was hoped that by concentrating resources in a few selected settlements, growth would in time spread down the settlement hierarchy (Myrdal 1957, Hirschmann 1958) so that eventually even the smallest of hamlets would benefit.

In areas which have experienced population revival and where key settlement policy has been operative it might be argued that the policy has succeeded. However, there is little evidence to support the view that it is key settlement policy which has brought about the demographic revival. Rather, there has been much criticism of the key settlement policy, its implementation and its divisive nature (Clope 1979, Glyn-Jones 1979, Short 1983). Moreover, Gilder (1979) provides a critique on the economic rationale behind key settlement policy. In practice, rather than growth spreading outwards to the periphery growth often becomes excessively centralised and channelled towards the particular chosen settlement as illustrated in Glyn-Jones' (1979) study of Hatherleigh in Mid Devon. More generally it seems that the designation of particular places as key settlements may shape the geography of population change at the local level but it cannot explain why whole areas have gained or lost population.

Another key aspect of post-war planning has been

the growing concern for the protection of the countryside. This has been expressed primarily in the designation of National Parks, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB), nature reserves, Heritage Coasts, green belts, Areas of Great Landscape Value, country parks, National Nature Reserves and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs). It has been estimated that more than one third of the land area of the UK is now covered by these policies of restraint (Phillips and Williams 1984). Clearly such policies limit the areas available for the new building development which is often needed to accommodate population growth.

Alongside the adoption of a more restrictive planning framework in the countryside has been the mushrooming of conservation/environmental groups which interestingly have been linked to population redistribution (Lowe and Goyder 1983). The arrival of an articulate middle class has often been crucial in the formation and successful operation of the conservation lobby. Once in-migrants have settled in their chosen location, they are reluctant to see changes that might affect the quality and enjoyment of their village, hence they join or initiate a local amenity or preservation group (Lowe et al 1986, Leat 1981). If sufficiently influential such pressure groups may be able, in part at least, to stem or steer the tide of population growth at the local scale.

## 1.6 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The broad objective of this research is to undertake a local scale investigation of a remote rural area's experience of the population turnaround, namely that of North Devon. Whilst the last decade has witnessed an abundance of published research focussing on the decline of the inner city areas, there is relatively little detailed local scale research showing the precise nature and extent of population growth in peripheral areas.

Guided by the literature review, three more detailed aims were identified. The first was, to collect and analyse a large data set on the households which have moved into the study area. To achieve this objective a household questionnaire survey was undertaken in order to enable an analysis of the decision-making process of the in-migrant households themselves and also to answer some key questions such as, who are the migrant households, why have they moved, where have they come from, and do the migrants seek alternative lifestyles or are they simply the labour force for the newly arrived manufacturing industries? In its utilisation of the questionnaire results this thesis is, therefore, primarily empiricist in its approach and provides a large volume of data with which to examine a particular locality's experience of the population turnaround. It nonetheless seeks to use the data to re-assess and re-interpret some of the principal



theories and concepts current in the academic literature.

A second detailed aim of the project was to use the 1981 Census to examine the scale of population change in the study area at the parish level. So far, most analysis on the population turnaround has taken place at regional and sub-regional levels. Thus whilst remote rural districts are identified as having had population growth over the decade 1971-81, little is known about the experience of different types of settlement within an area. For example, within a remote rural area, is it only the largest settlements which are experiencing growth while the surrounding parishes continued<sup>to</sup> decline, or is the population turnaround a widespread phenomenon throughout the rural district? To what extent have the local planning policies shaped the geography of growth? Do different groups of migrants locate in different kinds of settlements? By use of the Census and the questionnaire data it was intended to shed light on these kinds of questions.

A third aim of this research was to investigate the impact of the in-migrants on the host community. With the influx of many long-distance migrants it was anticipated that important socio-cultural changes would have occurred. Thus a community study also forms part of this project. Some of the key issues which need to be addressed are the extent to which the in-migrant households feel ensconced in the local area, their

participation in local affairs and the extent of the potential pressures and conflicts between the newcomers and the locals. Linked to these issues are questions relating to the changing social class composition of the fieldwork area, and the extent to which the in-migrants represent an advantaged sector of the population. Some of the questions have been examined by existing studies of more proximate rural settlements but they remain largely unexplored in remote rural areas.

## CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODS

### 2.1 SELECTION OF THE STUDY, AND FIELDWORK AREA

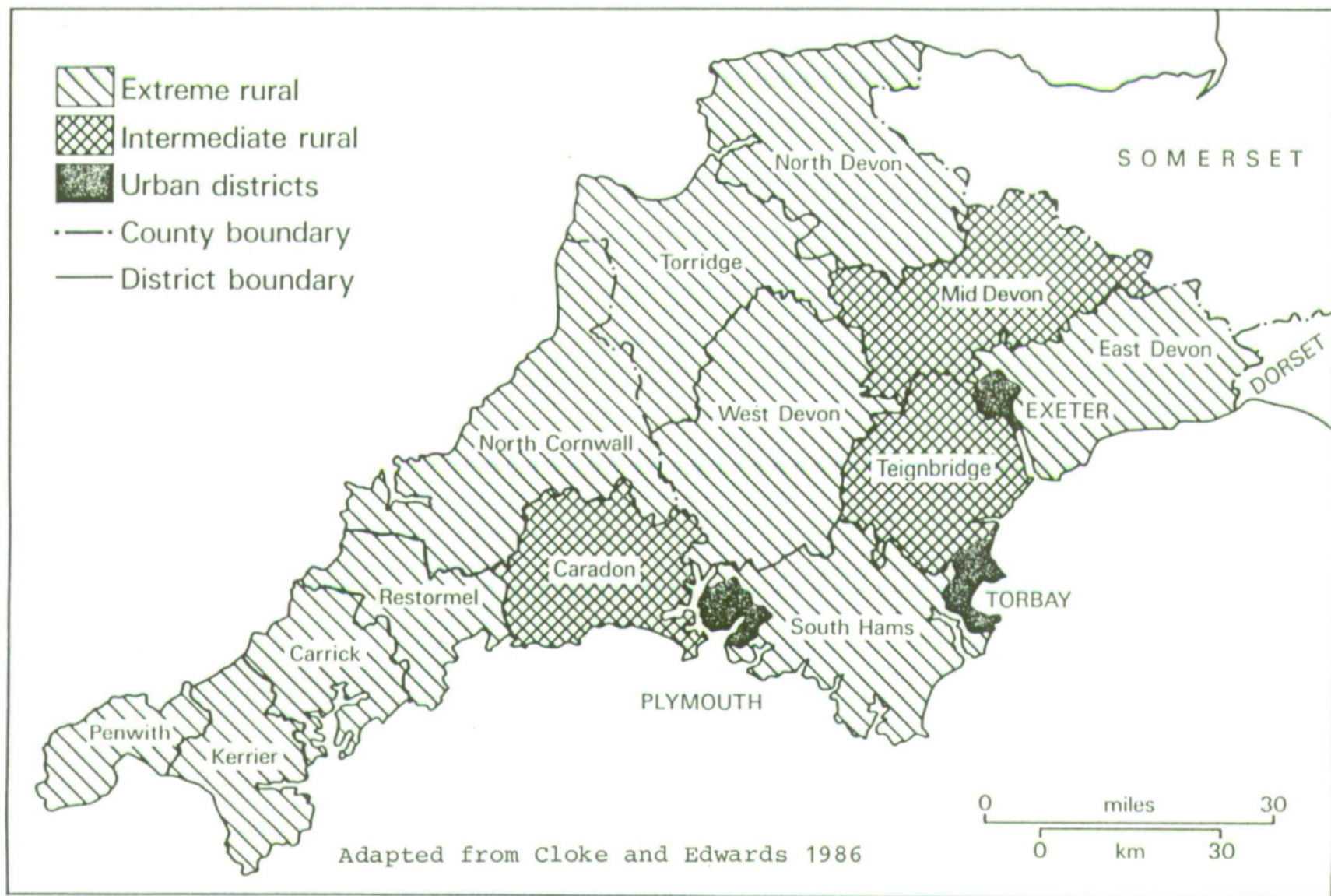
The central aim of this project, as set out in Chapter 1, was to undertake a programme of detailed, local scale research on the population turnaround in a remote rural setting. It was decided at the outset not to pursue a comparative survey of different types of rural communities, a method adopted by both the Cornish (Dean et al 1984) and Scottish (Jones et al 1986) studies of the population turnaround. Instead the focus was to be on one study area. The advantage of this approach is that it allowed a more detailed exploration of the processes of population change. The danger, of course, in researching a single case study area is that of parochialism and concentrating too heavily on the uniqueness of the particular place, a common feature of many community studies conducted in the 1950s and 1960s, and one that has received much criticism (see for example Bradley and Lowe 1984). To guard against this danger it is important to place the study area within a wider setting. The approach adopted in this study of rural population growth rests on the view that the value of local scale research is in examining and interpreting the interaction between forces operating at a wider level and local circumstances pertaining to the study area.

This section of the chapter explains how the

study area of North Devon, and in particular the pre-1974 South Molton Rural District (hereafter RD) was chosen. Within the RD the term fieldwork area is used to denote the 10 parishes around the town of South Molton which were the focus of the questionnaire survey.

In making these locational decisions the main criterion was that there should be clear evidence of a recent population revival so that previous population decline had been reversed during the decade 1971-81. A second criterion was that the area could fairly be described as "remote rural". It should be noted, however, that the chosen study area was not considered typical of remote rural communities in Britain because, as Little (1984) points out, such a characteristic does not in reality exist.

Being peripheral to Britain's core areas in both a spatial and a socio-economic sense the two most south western counties of England (Devon and Cornwall) represented an ideal region in which to investigate rural population change in a remote rural setting. Figure 2.1 gives Cloke and Edwards' (1986) index of rurality for 1981 in the South West and shows that outside the three urban districts of Plymouth, Exeter and Torbay, the majority of districts in Devon and Cornwall are still classified as remote rural. In looking for areas well removed from the influence of the three main urban centres, Figure 2.1 suggested two broad tracts of potential interest. Firstly, there was the



West of Cornwall which includes the districts of Penwith, Carrick and Kerrier, and secondly, there was the North Western part of Devon which includes the districts of Torridge, North Devon and West Devon. An extensive survey of population change in seven parishes in different parts of West Cornwall had recently been undertaken by a team of researchers based at the College of St Mark and St John in Plymouth (Perry 1983). Rather than risk duplicating this research programme, it seemed beneficial to choose a different area so that the present study would make an original contribution, and thereby represent a genuine addition to the growing series of detailed case studies of the population turnaround in Britain.

By reviewing the published literature on Devon and through discussions with planners and other officials at Devon County Council, it became clear that North Devon would be more suitable than either West Devon or Torridge Districts. A large part of West Devon is affected by commuting patterns - to Plymouth from the Tavistock area, and to Exeter from the Okehampton area. In addition, the small town of Hatherleigh had already been the subject of a substantial social survey (see Glyn-Jones 1979). Torridge was not selected principally for two reasons. Firstly, many of the district's small

settlements are located either on or near the coast and are thus disproportionately affected by tourism and retirement migration. Secondly, although it was originally thought that Torrington might have proved an appropriate choice, a preliminary investigation of the census revealed that Torrington had experienced population growth during the decade 1961-71 and was thus unsuitable. Torrington's early population revival was closely related to the industrial development of Bideford and Barnstaple (Devon County Council 1981), which accelerated during the 1960s in response to Assisted Area status.

Having rejected Hatherleigh and Torrington, the most likely inland centres in West Devon and Torridge Districts, attention turned to North Devon as the appropriate study area. Obviously it was necessary to delimit within the district a smaller locality for intensive study. Barnstaple was not considered a possibility because it represented an urban area within a predominantly remote rural district, and had undergone profound population and industrial changes since the mid-1960s. The coastal towns were also deemed unsuitable because many of them had increased their populations over both the 1961-71, and 1971-81 decades. There were two other reasons for avoiding the coastal zone, namely, that retirement migration might have skewed the survey and that the resorts might have attracted an unusually large number of unemployed

persons (a pattern identified in Cornwall by McNabb et al 1978). Coastal settlements, therefore, were unlikely to be representative of rural regeneration. The National Park area of Exmoor was also avoided because all settlements located within the park boundary are subject to particularly severe planning restrictions, through the process of development control (MacEwan and MacEwan 1982, Cloke 1983). Thus whilst the National Park's extreme rurality and primary-based economy were attractive, its planning regime was not.

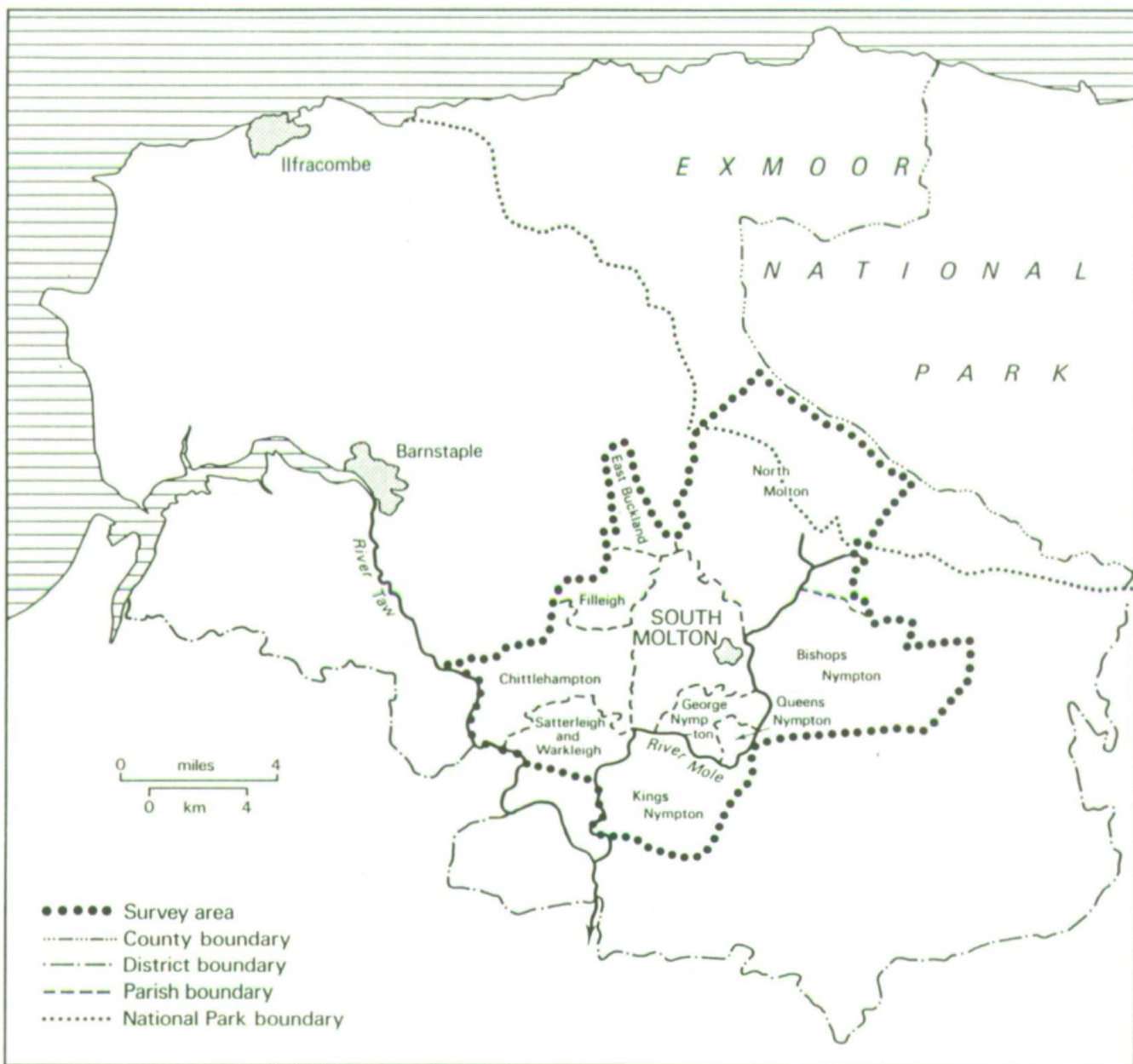
An alternative to the coastal areas and Exmoor was to choose a traditional inland market town and its hinterland. This seemed especially appealing as the small market towns of Devon have traditionally represented the fundamental socio-economic unit throughout much of Devon's history (Hoskins 1954). The pre-1974 South Molton RD provided a suitable choice for several reasons. Firstly, there was a definite lack of previous research on the area and its recent development. Secondly, South Molton serves not only a very large, but also a very rural hinterland, including parts of Exmoor. Thirdly, the area had recently experienced considerable industrial and housing expansion which had to some degree occurred independently of Barnstaple's growth. Fourthly, and most important, analysis of Census data at the parish level showed a widespread population reversal from decline in 1961-71, to growth in 1971-81.



Traditionally, the South Molton area has been perceived as an area lacking in socio-economic opportunities and with a predominantly agrarian economy. But in addition to demographic data showing a picture of growth rather than decline, economic statistics indicated that new employment opportunities had grown in both the manufacturing and service sectors. It was this changing character that made the South Molton RD an especially suitable focus for this research programme.

Although the pre-1974 South Molton RD provided a convenient boundary for the analysis of census data and planning policies, its 29 parishes comprised too large an area in which to conduct the detailed questionnaire survey. As the selection of the survey parishes was severely constrained by travelling costs, it was decided to define a limited locality from the immediate hinterland of the town of South Molton itself. After three brief visits to the area in June, September and October 1984, differences in farming and settlement types were clearly evident between the parishes located near, or within the Exmoor boundary and those parishes to the south of South Molton. In order to incorporate both kinds of area it was decided to take South Molton and its eight contiguous parishes, plus the tiny parish of Queens Nympton which in 1981 had only 10 households and which local people regarded as a part of George Nympton. Figure 2.2 shows the 10 parishes which were selected to form the fieldwork area for the household

FIGURE 2.2 FIELDWORK AREA FOR HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY



questionnaire survey. All but one of the ten parishes (George Nympton) experienced population growth between 1971-81. Of the remaining nine parishes, seven (which included South Molton) had experienced a population reversal from decline to growth between 1961-71 and 1971-81, whilst the remaining two (Bishops Nympton and Queens Nympton) experienced population growth over both decades. The questionnaire survey area was, therefore, a convenient size (nowhere was more than 10 miles from South Molton town) and it was characterised predominantly by parishes whose traditional patterns of population loss had been replaced by growth in the 1971-81 period.

## 2.2 SELECTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD

Within the fieldwork area, defined above, the principal research method was a household questionnaire survey. It is important to explain and defend this decision because over the last two decades there has been considerable criticism of the use of household behaviour surveys in human geography. It has been argued (Harvey 1973, Gray 1975, Cox 1981) that this behavioural approach directs attention on to the inevitably limited perceptions of individual households, and away from wider social and economic forces which might determine behaviour. Critics of behaviouralism have questioned the extent to which individuals -

either firms or people - are in practice free to choose their relocation destinations. For example, financial considerations in particular limit the range of dwellings to which most households have access.

Managerialist and political economy perspectives highlight, respectively, the operation and production of constraints limiting individual discretion over where to live (Phillips and Williams 1984). In essence they argue that socio-economic changes cannot be explained at the local or individual level, and generally emphasise a "top-down" approach to research. This critique of behaviouralism has found its strongest expression in research on urban housing. Rather than studying individuals choosing their residential location Gray (1975) believes it is necessary to consider how individual behaviour is in fact channelled and determined by urban managers, who are the key decision-makers in such institutions as building societies and estate agents (Pahl 1975).

Within a particular local area the choice of housing for many short-distance migrants is indeed limited and closely follows Gray's (1975) analysis. In the case of long-distance migration, however, a different set of processes operate. If, for example, a household decides to move from a town to a remote rural area, the choice of location can obviously be much wider than if the move is short-distance and confined within a particular urban area. For the urban-to-rural migrant

there may be a large number of locational possibilities including parts of the South West, Wales and Scotland. Having selected North Devon, for example, as a possible destination, a multitude of different factors might then later influence the household's precise choice of settlement and eventually explain the particular place of residence. Amongst these will be the nature and price of the local housing stock and local variabilities in housing opportunities and costs. For long-distance migrants property constraints and availability can, therefore, be important but generally only at the local scale, once the decision to make a long-distance move has been made.

Nevertheless some of the main literature attempting to explain the population turnaround and the associated long-distance migration deliberately seeks to deflect attention away from the individual migration decisions. For example, Fielding (1982) writes,

"The explanation of migration trends must be located in the social relations and social processes of the wider society and not in the motivation and aspirations of the individual migrant."

It is this thesis' contention, however, that migrant households cannot be reduced merely to the carriers of broader structural changes occurring in the economy. Rather, the individual migrant households must be studied within a context which can illuminate and relate their individual intentions and actions to broader economic and social forces. Moreover individual

migrants cannot be assumed to be some homogenous group specified a priori, according to a particular theory. Instead detailed research on the similarities and differences between individual migrant households is a pre-requisite for any meaningful analysis of the population turnround. Nor should it be overlooked that some of the main theories of rural population growth emphasise the key role of changing perceptions of town and county and the quest for alternative lifestyles.

If these themes were to be explored in this research programme, an interview schedule was much the best approach. However, the actual questionnaire used was not confined to information on the behaviour and locational perceptions of the individual migrants. The questions asked allowed for wider economic-led explanations of the move to emerge and indeed particular emphasis was given to the migrants' employment histories. The role and potential significance of broader explanatory forces such as industrial change were certainly not neglected. At a more practical level, a household questionnaire approach was selected as the only available means of obtaining detailed information on migration into the fieldwork area. In Britain there is a dearth of published data available on migration, and as Smith (1981) points out, social survey methods are often the sole way of obtaining information about a household's migration history.

Thus a household questionnaire was considered the

only method which could identify the different migrant groups, uncover where they came from, review the reasons behind their move and assess the changes that have taken place in their lifestyles and in the local host community.

Another important decision was to carry out the questionnaire personally and to interview the migrants rather than rely on a postal questionnaire. From the literature on research methods it was clear that this project would derive particular benefit from adopting the technique of personal interviews (Bulmer 1977, Ackroyd and Hughes 1981). Interviews give far greater flexibility and allow open-ended questions to be pursued. More importantly, the personal involvement with the interviews would result in a much richer and fuller understanding of the decision-making process, and of the migrants attitudes towards the local area. Personal interviews would allow the author to obtain certain information which might be considered too personal to ask on the postal questionnaire. Personal interviews would also guarantee a much higher response rate than a postal questionnaire.

In explaining the decision to rely on household interviews, it is important not to overlook that a variety of other methods were also adopted during this project which it was hoped would offset some of the limitations of household questionnaires, and thereby provide a more integrated and balanced research

programme. Although these other methods will be discussed more fully in Section 2.4, it is worth noting here that they included a review of the industrial and housing developments that have taken place over the last two decades in the fieldwork area and which have helped to shape the kinds of relocation opportunities which the area offers.

## 2.3 THE HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION AND ANALYSIS

### 2.3.1 The Design of the Household Questionnaire

The household interviews were focussed on a series of questions listed on a pre-designed questionnaire (see Appendix A). Interviews were conducted both with newcomer households who had moved into the North Devon District since 1970 and with a group of "stayers" who had been living in North Devon prior to 1970. The questionnaire included six sections, namely:

- 1) Household Profile
- 2) The Move
- 3) Employment
- 4) Housing
- 5) Lifestyle
- 6) Community

The questionnaire sought both quantitative and qualitative information through using a series of both



open and closed questions. Given the study's objectives it was obviously appropriate to place particular emphasis on questions relating to the move. Furthermore, an examination of both the Cornish (Dean 1984, Dean et al 1984) and the Scottish (Ford 1984, Jones et al 1986) surveys indicated that both had failed to explore in detail the migrants' decision-making processes. For example, they contained little analysis of the migrants' former place of residence, or of the various stages in the households' area selection process: a theme receiving increasing attention in the United States (Zuiches 1980, Williams and McMillen 1980). In contrast, this thesis' questionnaire recorded not only the reasons why the household decided to leave their place of former residence but also why the household moved to North Devon and in particular to the South Molton area. It was recognised, therefore, that the migrants reasons for moving to North Devon could be quite different from their reasons for choosing the district around South Molton.

Another theme which appeared to have been neglected in other studies on the population turnaround was a detailed analysis of the migrants' employment history. This was addressed through the questionnaire by recording individual household members' employment status before leaving their place of former residence, on arrival in North Devon and at the time of the interview.

Finally, unlike many large scale questionnaires which have asked questions only of the head of household, this survey deliberately avoided such a distinction. Instead, where appropriate in the questionnaire, such as the sections on household and employment data, information was obtained on each individual person within the household. This also had the advantage of assembling a large body of data dealing with gender differences in terms of employment and community participation.

### 2.3.2 The Pilot Survey

Prior to the main survey a pilot study was undertaken for four reasons. Firstly, it was necessary to test the effectiveness of the questionnaire in the field. The pilot survey provided the ideal opportunity to iron out any ambiguities in the wording (Moser and Kalton 1971). Similarly, it also gave the opportunity to see if the questions and various sections of the questionnaire were ordered properly. For example, one uncertainty was whether the interview process would be more successful by starting with some open-ended community questions, or by finishing with them. From the pilot study, it was clear that both interviewer and interviewee felt more at ease by starting with some straightforward factual questions and ending with more personal attitudinal questions about the area and community participation.

A second objective of the pilot study was to test how long interviewees would be willing to devote to an interview of this kind: this proved generally to be approximately one hour. Thirdly, the pilot survey served to test the alternative ways of introducing the questionnaire to the households concerned. For example, should potential interviewees be forewarned of the interview either by letter, telephone or personal contact, or would this have little impact on the success rate of the questionnaire? Because the success rate in the pilot study was very good with only one refusal, it was felt that high levels of co-operation could be achieved in the main survey without the need to forewarn the interviewees. The fourth reason for carrying out a pilot survey was that it provided an ideal opportunity for the interviewer to gain confidence and experience at handling the interview situation.

A total of twelve interviews were conducted in different parts of the fieldwork area over three days in October 1984. Five out of the twelve interviews were completed on newcomers to the area. By interviewing within the actual fieldwork area the author gained much useful background information on South Molton, and a more accurate assessment of those questions directed at the local area. Thus it helped to determine whether the right questions were being asked and whether the key issues had been addressed.

### 2.3.3 The Sampling Frame

The strategy was to interview both a sample of newcomer and stayer households. Given that the main thrust of the project was to analyse newcomers to North Devon, the ratio of interviews was 3:1 in favour of the in-migrant households. With a total of 302 households interviewed this resulted in 226 interviews being completed with newcomers and 76 with stayers. Furthermore, the interviews were split between the 10 parishes which formed the study area. For the newcomer households, the 226 interviews were allocated so that 113 were split between the 10 parishes according to the actual number of households in the parish in 1981, and the other 113 interviews were divided amongst the 10 parishes according to absolute change in each individual parish between 1971-81. This method weighted the sample by both parish household size and parish household change.

The 76 stayers' interviews were simply divided amongst the 10 parishes according to the number of households in the parish in 1981. Table 2.1 gives the number of interviews which were completed in each of the 10 parishes. It should be noted that the parish of South Molton itself accounted for just over half of the total number of interviews.

TABLE 2.1THE INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE

Parish	Total No of Interviews per parish	No of stayer interviews	No of newcomer interviews
South Molton	160	38	122
North Molton	43	10	33
Bishops Nympton	32	9	23
Kings Nympton	10	4	6
George Nympton	6	2	4
East Buckland	4	1	3
Filleigh	9	2	7
Chittlehampton	30	8	22
Satterleigh and Warkleigh	8	2	6
Queens Nympton	0	0	0
Total	302	76	226

-----

Although the above procedures describe how the interviewing sample was determined, it does not explain what proportion of newcomers and stayers were interviewed as a percentage of each group's total population. Unfortunately, because of severe data limitations there was no way of calculating precise sampling fractions for the newcomers and stayers. Nonetheless some estimates were made based on the 1971-81 population and migration data for North Devon and the fieldwork area.

In order to calculate these sampling fractions the 302 household interviews had to be changed to

individuals which broke down to 771 newcomers and 231 stayers, a total of 1002 persons. In 1981 the 10 parishes' population was 7189 and as 1002 people were included in the questionnaire survey this represented 14.0% of the area's total population. In terms of growth, the fieldwork area's population increased by 1038 persons between 1971-81, an overall growth rate of 14.4%. Assuming the fieldwork area mirrors population change at the district level then the entire increase can be ascribed to in-migration (see Chapter 3, Table 3.6). The 771 newcomers in interviewed households, therefore, represent about 75% of the 1038 additional population. However, for the purpose of the study newcomers were defined as those entering the area between 1970 and 1985 (when the interviews were conducted) and so the percentage of newcomers interviewed will in practice be somewhat smaller than the 75% figure mentioned above. Although no claim is made here for the precision of these sampling calculations (which for example ignore the impact of out-migration) they do suggest that the interviews covered over half the in-migrant population.

By using the same methods a similar calculation was derived for the stayers. Given that 231 stayers were included in the household interview survey and the total population of the fieldwork area in 1971 was 6160 (chosen instead of the 1981 figure as 1971 was the base level year for stayers), it is estimated that the

stayers represented only 3.8% of the 10 parishes' total population. Not surprisingly, this small figure is explained by the interviewing ratio of 3:1 which was weighted in favour of the newcomers even though they still form the minority (approximately one fifth) of the area's overall population.

Having calculated the number of interviews to be undertaken in the different parishes, the next problem was that of identifying and selecting individual households. Various ways of identifying migrants were considered.

By examining the additions to the electoral registers it was possible to obtain the names of those who might be in-migrants. There were, however, obvious problems with using this data source. For example, a list of names appearing for the first time on the electoral register does not necessarily correlate with migration patterns: this approach could not, for example, account for women changing their name upon marriage (Rees and Rees 1977). The main disadvantage with this method, however, was that even those names which did refer to new households to the particular parish need not represent people moving into North Devon. In fact local short-distance rather than long-distance moves are dominant in most migration flows (White and Woods 1980, Lewis 1982). Moreover, the process of examining the electoral registers for a 15 year period and for 10 parishes would have been

extremely time consuming and with no certainty of making an accurate interviewing list.

The rating list was another option considered, but rejected on similar grounds to the electoral registers, because it was not possible to separate short-distance from long-distance moves. Also the valuation lists do not contain names, only addresses. Moreover information on the fieldwork area was only available from 1976 whereas the survey required information on newcomers from 1970. Furthermore rating cards record change in the rate-payer, not in the inhabitants of the property in question. New names on the list are not, therefore, necessarily in-migrants.

All new inhabitants of a property must re-register with the electricity board, and as most households are connected to the electricity grid, efforts were made to obtain access to the South West Electricity Board's records. Similarly, the National Health Authority lists record all changes of doctors which are held at the county level by the Family Practitioner Committee. Whilst there are some inaccuracies with these health service data (Rees and Rees 1977) they would have provided an almost complete list of in-migrants to the fieldwork area. Most importantly, because the previous address is recorded it would have been possible to identify short-distance from long-distance in-migrants. Unfortunately, attempts to gain access to both the South West Electricity Board's



and the General Practitioners' data sets failed, because the information was regarded as confidential.

Another possibility was to take a random sample (derived from the electoral register) and simply to knock on enough doors until both the newcomer and the stayer quotas were filled up. However, with almost no previous knowledge of the parishes and often little indication of the household's address on the electoral registers it would have been difficult to locate many of the interviewing sample households chosen. For example, unless a property was located in the heart of a village, in which case it might have a street/road name, often the address consisted only of a property's name and parish. This particular problem was made worse because many of the parishes such as Chittlehampton and North Molton covered a very large area, whilst other parishes such as East Buckland, Filleigh and Satterleigh and Warkleigh had no identifiable village centre as such. This problem of locating selected households, whilst not insurmountable, would have been unduly time consuming.

Another option considered was to undertake an initial postal questionnaire which would identify long-distance movers. These households could then be approached for follow-up interviews. Although this method was successfully applied to the research project on population growth in Cornwall (Dean et al 1984, Perry et al 1986) it requires a large amount of resources which were not available to this research programme.

A final possibility was to use Jones et al's (1986, Ford 1984) method of key contacts. On discovering the practical difficulties of implementing the electoral registers sampling method in the field, it was decided to use the key contact method. During the main survey period (from February to July 1985) the author lived with a local farming family who had detailed knowledge of the area, and the farmer was able to recommend a reliable informant for every parish. All of the key contacts had been living in the area prior to 1970: indeed in the majority of cases their families had lived in North Devon for generations. In addition, half of the key contacts were local farmers while the other half were actively involved with their parish, such as through the parish council, or church.

There was obviously a danger that the key contacts would identify only the best known or most conspicuous migrant households (perhaps those most active in the community). An attempt was made to minimise this danger by giving all of the key contacts the 1984 Electoral Register for their parishes. From the electoral registers a list was made of definite and possible in-migrants since 1970: also included were any households that the key contact did not recognise. From this list a simple random sampling procedure operated so that a cross section of migrants to the parish was obtained. These lists, drawn up by the key contacts, proved reasonably accurate in the field with only a

relatively small number of households who were expected to be long-distance migrants proving in fact to be migrants from another part of North Devon. Similarly, on a number of other occasions households not known to the key contact (and who thus might have been migrants) were in fact found to be stayers and were, therefore, deleted from the potential migrants list.

The 76 stayer households to be interviewed were selected by random numbers from the electoral registers having discarded those households which were identified by the key contacts as definite in-migrants.

The use of key contacts proved to have other advantages beyond that of an efficient means of identifying newcomers and stayers. For example, many key contacts provided the author not only with valuable local knowledge about the particular parish, but also gave directions to the interviewees' homes. Thus overall whilst a small margin of error was inevitable when using this method, it was nonetheless the most appropriate way forward under difficult circumstances.

The lack of direct comparability between the census data base and the specifications of the two survey group prevents of course a precise measure of the representativeness of the interviewed households. But although Chapter 4 refers to some possible biases in the interview sample (for example a somewhat larger household size and a smaller level of unemployment than expected) there are no grounds for suggesting that the

research design was basically flawed or that the interviewed households were seriously unrepresentational of the migrant and stayer groups from which they were drawn.

#### 2.3.4 The Household Interview Process

On arrival in North Devon it seemed important to make some announcement of my presence and of the project's intentions. From the outset attempts were made to explain to as many people as possible the purpose of the survey. A small article was published, therefore, at the start of the fieldwork period in South Molton's March edition of the local newsletter briefly explaining the project and the questionnaire. About 3000 of these newsletters are produced once a month and are widely distributed by village representatives throughout the area: they are free of charge. Similarly, through an invitation by South Molton Rotary Club, a lunchtime talk was given in May 1985.

Between the beginning of February and the end of July 1985, the author successfully completed 302 household interviews in person. Generally the interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour and a quarter. At the two extremes, the shortest took 30 minutes whilst the longest took over four hours. Any member of the household over the age of 18 who had first-hand knowledge of the relocation decision process was eligible to respond to the questionnaire. Extra care was taken, however, with the younger interviewees

to make sure they both understood the questions and could make adequate replies. Many interviews were conducted in the evenings and at weekends in order to obtain access to households whose adults were in employment. Although in all cases one individual was nominated as the respondent, if any other members of the family were present they would occasionally join in, supplement and embroider the answers given. Of the principal respondents, 51% were female and 49% male.

An overall response rate of 95% was achieved. This high level of success was obtained despite the fact that normally no prior contact was made with the interviewee. An appointment system operated only if the first call was made at an inconvenient time or if the interviewee was a key figure such as a vicar. Three factors seem to have helped towards the high success rate. Firstly, the gender of the interviewer; being female was undoubtedly an advantage (particularly with the elderly) and often no means of identification was required. Secondly, unless appointments had been agreed no attempt was made to interview before 9.45 am, nor between 1.00-2.00pm, nor between 5.00-6.30pm. Thirdly, by gaining knowledge about the inhabitants of a particular parish (from the relevant key contact) it was possible to eliminate potentially "sensitive" households. For example, an in-migrant household which had suffered a recent bereavement was excluded from the interviewing list.

Interestingly, it was the indigenous populous who were the more hesitant about taking part in the household questionnaire. Responses would be made such as, " ... oh I don't think I can be of much help to you" or " ... my friend down the road is much better at this sort of thing - go down and see her." These comments were often made in genuine anxiety about answering a questionnaire rather than in an attempt to avoid being disturbed: they also reflected a disquiet about surveys and official documents. On one occasion I attempted to interview a local farmer who had only left North Devon twice in his life, and who would not answer the questionnaire because it represented something official and not to be trusted.

Nonetheless, despite the personal interviews being very time-consuming and mentally wearing the advantages derived from living in the fieldwork area and carrying out the interviews in person were crucial. The quality and accuracy of the information obtained were greatly enhanced, and an insight was given into locational behaviour and community change which would have been quite impossible without meeting and talking to the interviewed households. Indeed many respondents became interested in the research themselves and wished to help outside the interview. For example, an archivist gathered some material on local history, a retired school teacher set about making an in-depth personal assessment of how South Molton had changed over

the last fifteen years, and another local teacher, who was the careers officer, gave some statistics on school-leavers in North Devon.

#### 2.3.5 Data Analysis

On returning from the fieldwork area it was necessary to code the 302 household questionnaires. For the open-ended questions, in particular, this exercise proved very time consuming as appropriate categories needed to be devised. Once on the computer, the entire data set was then re-checked manually for any typing errors.

The analysis of the questionnaire was mainly completed by using MINITAB. As an aid to the interpretation of the tabulated data use was made of the chi square test which examines the differences between various groups of responses and indicates the extent to which the differences can be considered statistically significant. Statistical tests were carried out at the 95% significance level, but where relevant the tables indicate if the result was significant at the 99% level. There is obviously a danger with chi square and other similar statistical tests of producing a mechanistic and oversimplistic view of complex human decision-making and so these quantitative tests form only one part of a wider interpretation. Moreover statistical procedures can only be used safely if the proper rules and safeguards are followed. One of the

rules governing the chi square test is that there must be an expected frequency of five or more (Hammond and McCullagh 1978). Where necessary, in order to create the necessary minimum values, categories were "collapsed" and this is indicated on the relevant tables.

Where appropriate the questionnaire was also considered alongside other published and unpublished data sources. For example, Chapter 4 makes extensive use of data from Regional Trends and Social Trends (Central Statistical Office 1985, 1986, 1986a) and where possible the survey results were studied in conjunction with the 1981 Census and mid-year annual estimates from OPCS (Denham and Rhind 1983, OPCS 1980). These data generally provided a yardstick against which to assess the survey's results and thus within the body of the text reference is made to both national and regional/county trends.

## 2.4 OTHER INFORMATION SOURCES

### 2.4.1 Ethnographic Methods

Whilst the benefits obtained from living in the study area for five months should not be underestimated, it should be noted that the role of ethnographic methods (participant and non-participant observation) was ancillary to that of the household questionnaire. Certainly it would be wrong to portray the project as



having relied heavily on the ethnographic methods or having used them in a rigorous manner (see for example Cohen 1982, Gillighan 1984, Ford 1983 and Johnson 1984). Rather, it was recognised that although the questionnaire would provide a large amount of mainly "hard" factual data, it offered essentially a snapshot of a large number of individual households at a particular time in their lives. By living in the community it would be possible also to acquire a blend of more subjective and experiential information ("soft" data) through observation and participation (Bell and Newby 1974, 1977).

Burgess (1984) cites four different types of observation - namely, the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant and the complete observer. Of these four methods, the participant-as-observer was the most relevant to this research programme. The participant-as-observer method means that the researcher participates in, as well as observes social situations through developing relationships with a variety of informants. In this situation the relationship between the researcher and the community is open, as it is made clear that research is the over-riding interest (Moser and Kalton 1971).

Living in the area, talking informally to local people and attending social functions and voluntary societies were all helpful in gaining an understanding of the socio-cultural changes that are occurring in the

area and different people's opinions of them. Of course, the questionnaire itself covered certain aspects of community attitudes and changes occurring within the locality: nonetheless these various elements of participant observation enabled the study of these socio-cultural changes outside the more formal interview setting, thereby placing them within their actual day-to-day contexts. Everyday observations could, therefore, be used as a check on the validity of the questionnaire results, and was an approach valued by Newby (1977) during his work on Suffolk farm labourers.

For all these reasons it seemed particularly advantageous to live with an indigenous North Devon family. During the September visit to South Molton in 1984, I was put in touch with a local family, the Moore's, whose ancestors had lived in the area for generations, and who offered to accommodate me during my five months fieldwork period. Not only did they have a traditional stock-rearing farm located right on the Exmoor boundary, but Mrs Moore had an encyclopaedic knowledge of the area. Thus my immediate entry into the local community was from living with the Moore's and it was possible to participate in the various activities of the farming calendar in North Devon, ranging from lambing to hay-making to the harvest supper. This insight into an agrarian economy and the local farmers' way of life was invaluable in identifying how some of the indigenous families explained the conflicts and

changes occurring within "their locality," and the extent to which these changes might be attributed to the influx of long-distance in-migrants. Many evenings were also spent attending a variety of meetings and social events in various parts of the survey area. Given that there were some 50 voluntary organisations operating in the town of South Molton alone, a cross-section was chosen which ranged from the League of Friends, and the Town Council to helping a new charity shop.

#### 2.4.2 Census Analysis

A large part of the census analysis was concerned with parish level population change in the post-war period, and identified which kinds of settlements expanded most rapidly, and the extent to which this growth represents a break with traditional population trends. Other social and economic characteristics have also been examined using the Small Areas Statistical Package (Rhind 1983), as a way of providing a thorough picture of the study area. This information has played a useful role in helping to interpret the data generated from the household questionnaire.

#### 2.4.3 Planning, Housing and Employment

A review of housing and employment change and of planning policies in North Devon (and in particular the South Molton RD) was recognised to be a small but essential part of this research programme. Data on

these themes would for example help to offset the limitations and biases associated with questionnaire-based surveys and the danger of neglecting the wider forces which impinge on household locational behaviour.

For a number of reasons the collection of data on housing and employment change was not straightforward. Prior to 1974, the fieldwork area was included in the South Molton RD which had its own council, but since reorganisation the South Molton RD now forms part of the North Devon District whose offices are centralised at Barnstaple. These important boundary changes often make difficult the task of comparing different data sets. Furthermore, because of staff turnover it was difficult to find local government officials who could explain fully the historical development of South Molton's industrial and housing estates which began in the late 1960s. Moreover, the fieldwork area selected for this research programme forms only a part of the North Devon District and it was evident that some district employees' knowledge of South Molton was much more limited than their knowledge of the larger settlements of Barnstaple and Ilfracombe.

The gathering of data relating to housing and industrial change tended, therefore, to be piecemeal, with a variety of sources being used. Devon County Council's Central Information Services (CIS), based at County Hall, Exeter, were particularly helpful in

providing data on housing statistics at the parish level from the mid-1970s, and for selected settlements from the mid-1960s. These statistics were used alongside information collected from the North Devon District Council's Housing and Estates Offices, the 1967 South Molton Outline Plan, and the South Molton Local Plan (North Devon District Council 1986, 1987).

In obtaining information on industrial development, the Department of Trade and Industry provided data on the migration of manufacturing firms to North Devon since 1966. This information was complemented by data gathered from three other sources. Firstly, contact was made with Mr Eves, South Molton's surveyor prior to 1974. Although now retired, Mr Eves provided some essential local knowledge relating to the development of the two industrial estates at South Molton. This was followed up by an examination of the South Molton RD Council Minutes from 1968-73 which are now kept at the Record Office in Exeter. Finally, although a complete industrial survey of the study area was beyond the scope and resources of this research programme, contact was made with the two main companies which had moved to South Molton since 1970 and which had had a particularly profound effect on the local economy. These were High Temperature Engineers Ltd and Aaronson Brothers.

Local authority planning policies have obviously tried to influence the pattern of industrial and housing

change: thus extensive use was made of a variety of planning documents, in addition to some interviews with county and district planners based at Exeter and Barnstaple respectively. It was recognised also, that Devon's settlement policy has been particularly affected by sewage/sewerage problems. Personal contact was made, therefore, with the South West Water Authority (SWWA) planning liaison officer (Williams 1986) who provided some useful data relating specifically to the South Molton RD and the problems which have faced the area since 1970.

## CHAPTER THREE: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE STUDY AREA:

### THE GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter places the study of North Devon's population turnaround in its geographical setting. The chapter opens with a brief introduction to the South West region and outlines some of the most important changes that have taken place since 1945. The focus then narrows down to the county of Devon with a discussion of the processes which have influenced the geography of population change within the county. The final, and most detailed section of the chapter, examines the North Devon study area and pays particular attention to the South Molton area (as defined by the pre-1974 rural district boundaries). The focus of this section is on parish population change together with an examination of local industrial and employment developments. At all three scales (regional, county and local) there is a brief discussion of government planning policies and their role in shaping the geography of demographic and economic change.

#### 3.2 THE SOUTH WEST

##### 3.2.1 Demographic Change

The South West standard region includes the counties of Avon, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly,

Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire. It is the second largest region and not surprisingly, therefore, within it there are some marked sub-regional demographic and economic contrasts. Particularly striking is the difference between the more prosperous counties of Avon, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, and the remote more disadvantaged areas of Cornwall, and the western and northern parts of Devon.

During the 19th Century large parts of the South West became peripheral to the mainstream of the UK economy as growth centred on the coalfields. The region was, therefore, affected by a serious loss of population which acted both as a symptom and as a cause of the region's relatively weak economic position. The post-war period has seen striking population changes in the South West. In the period 1939-64 despite a lower than average rate of natural increase, the South West's population grew by some 24% - nearly double the national gain (SWEPC 1967). Much of this increase was due to in-migration. The pattern of population increase during this period was, however, mainly concentrated in the urban centres of the north (for example in and around Bristol, Cheltenham and Gloucester) and along the southern coasts of Devon and Dorset. In contrast, Cornwall and North and West Devon experienced relatively little change.

In the period since 1961, the South West has continued to experience substantial population growth.



For example, Table 3.1 shows that every one of the region's counties increased its population at each of the time periods indicated in the table. In most of the South West counties the scale of growth between 1971 and 1981 was less than that in the previous decade (the one exception being Cornwall). However, these regional and county level data obviously disguise the intricate and varied patterns of change at the local level; for many of the remoter rural areas (including parts of the study area in North Devon discussed later), depopulation was only replaced by repopulation in the 1970s.

TABLE 3.1      SOUTH WEST POPULATION CHANGE 1961-86, BY  
COUNTY

County	Pop Present (000s)				Intercensal Change (%)		
	1961	1971	1981	1986*	1961-71	1971-81	1981-86*
Avon	829	906	915	947	9.28	1.03	1.9
Cornwall/ Scillies	343	382	432	448	11.18	13.25	5.1
Devon	823	898	959	999	9.20	6.72	3.5
Dorset	500	554	595	638	10.94	7.40	6.6
Gl'cestersh're	426	467	502	517	9.59	7.40	2.3
Somerset	345	386	427	449	11.84	10.55	4.2
Wiltshire	423	487	519	545	15.08	6.53	3.8
South West	3689	4081	4349	4543	10.61	6.58	3.7

\* OPCS Mid-Year Estimates of Resident Population (OPCS 1980)

Source: OPCS 1984, 1987

The region has since 1945 experienced an ageing population structure. In 1983, the proportion of population over retirement age stood at nearly 21%, compared with a national figure of less than 18%. This general pattern, however, is not uniform throughout the region: the northern and central sub-regions have gained in-migrants of all ages, whilst the elderly have tended to concentrate in the southern coastal areas of Cornwall, Devon and Dorset.

### 3.2.2 Industrial and Employment Change

Throughout much of the post-war period, four characteristics have dominated the region's employment structure. Firstly, the region has been more dependent on the primary sector than most other UK regions. Secondly, there has been a large increase in the region's service industries (including tourism). Thirdly, the number of self-employed persons has remained consistently higher in the South West than in Britain as a whole. Fourthly, the region's manufacturing sector has been weakly developed and largely dependent on Bristol and Plymouth (SWEPC 1967). Paradoxically, this low dependence on manufacturing has tended to shield the South West from the worst effects of the general industrial recession of the 1970s, and early 1980s. Whilst the unemployment figure for the South West increased substantially from 6.6% in 1976 to 11.8% in 1982 (and is now at 9.5%), it is the regions

which are dominated by traditional manufacturing industries which have been hardest hit by the recession (Regional Studies Association 1983).

Indeed the last two decades have seen the South West's northern sub-region in some respects benefit from the changes taking place in Britain's industrial structure and from their proximity to the so called "M4 corridor" - a major industrial growth zone in the UK (Cooke 1986, Robson 1986, Boddy and Lovering 1985). In contrast, Cornwall and some of the remoter parts of the South West are largely bereft of these growth centres and continue to experience above average unemployment levels.

### 3.2.3 Planning Policies in the South West

It is possible to distinguish two forms of regional policy which have affected the South West. Firstly, there has been the work of the regional economic planning council (SWEPC) which was established in the mid-1960s and, until abolition of such councils in 1979, sought to achieve a more integrated approach to the region's development. During its existence, however, SWEPC did provide an influential document called "A region with a future" (1967) which drew particular attention to the problems of the far South West and the sharp disparities within the region. Amongst other recommendations the report emphasised the need for improved road communications, for further

industrial growth based on Plymouth, and the need deliberately to steer population growth in the hope of reversing the cycle of decline then evident in many of the region's rural zones (Perry et al 1986). Secondly, central government regional policy has been influential in parts of the South West. From the 1960s various parts of Devon and Cornwall have been designated to receive regional aid. Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 show the geographical pattern of Assisted Areas at selected times between 1972 and 1984. The County of Cornwall has consistently been allocated aid, and the designation of the Camborne- Redruth area as a Special Development Area was particularly significant.

The precise effectiveness of regional policy and the quality and security of the new jobs it has brought particularly in branch plants, has, of course, been open to question (Massey 1979, 1984, Healey 1982, Healey and Watts 1986) but certainly the changing map of Assisted Areas within the South West has been one of the most prominent features of the region's post-war human geography, and as later sections will show, it has been influential in shaping the spatial pattern of employment and population change.

FIGURE 3.1 ASSISTED AREAS, MARCH 1972

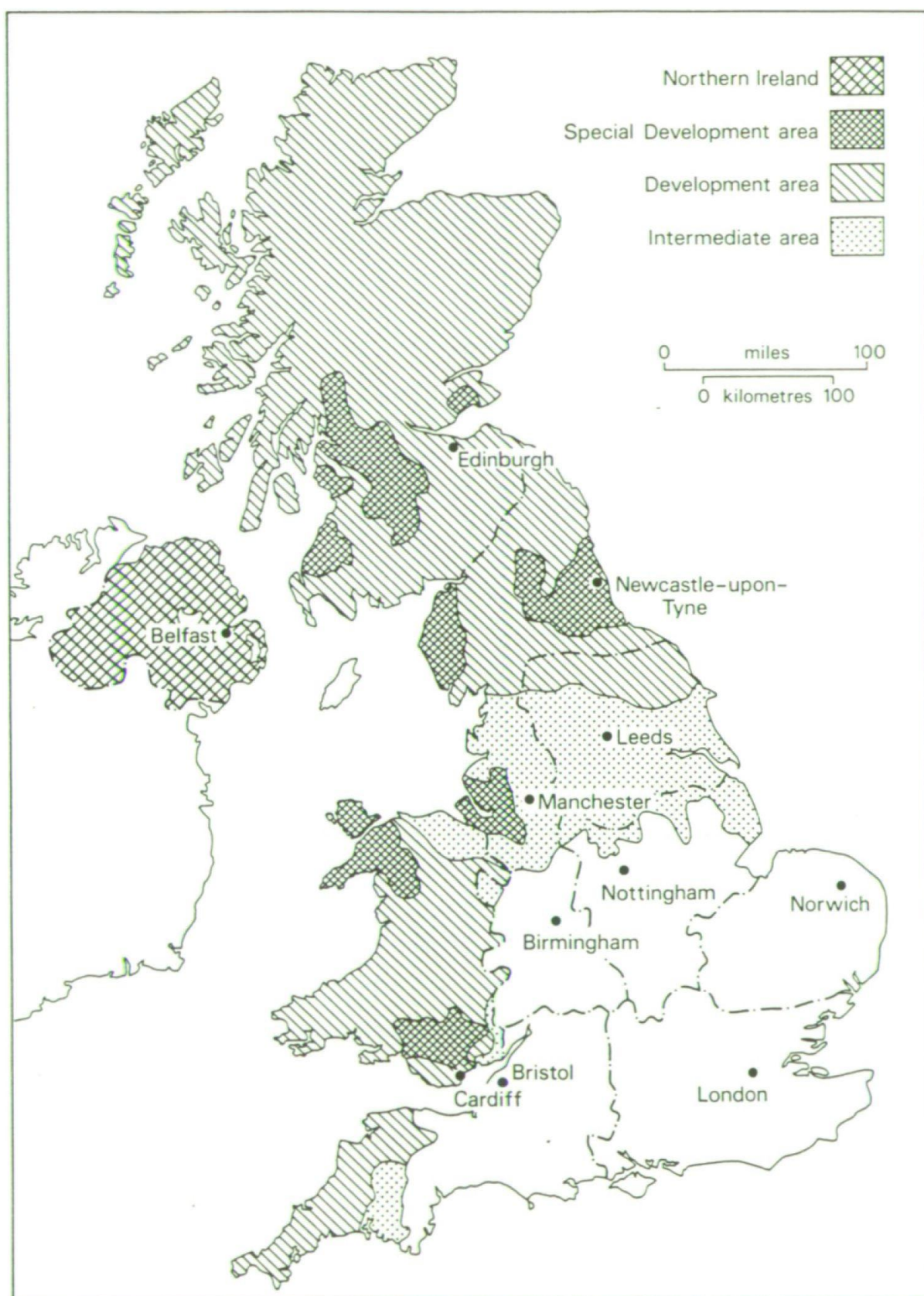


FIGURE 3.2 ASSISTED AREAS, AUGUST 1982

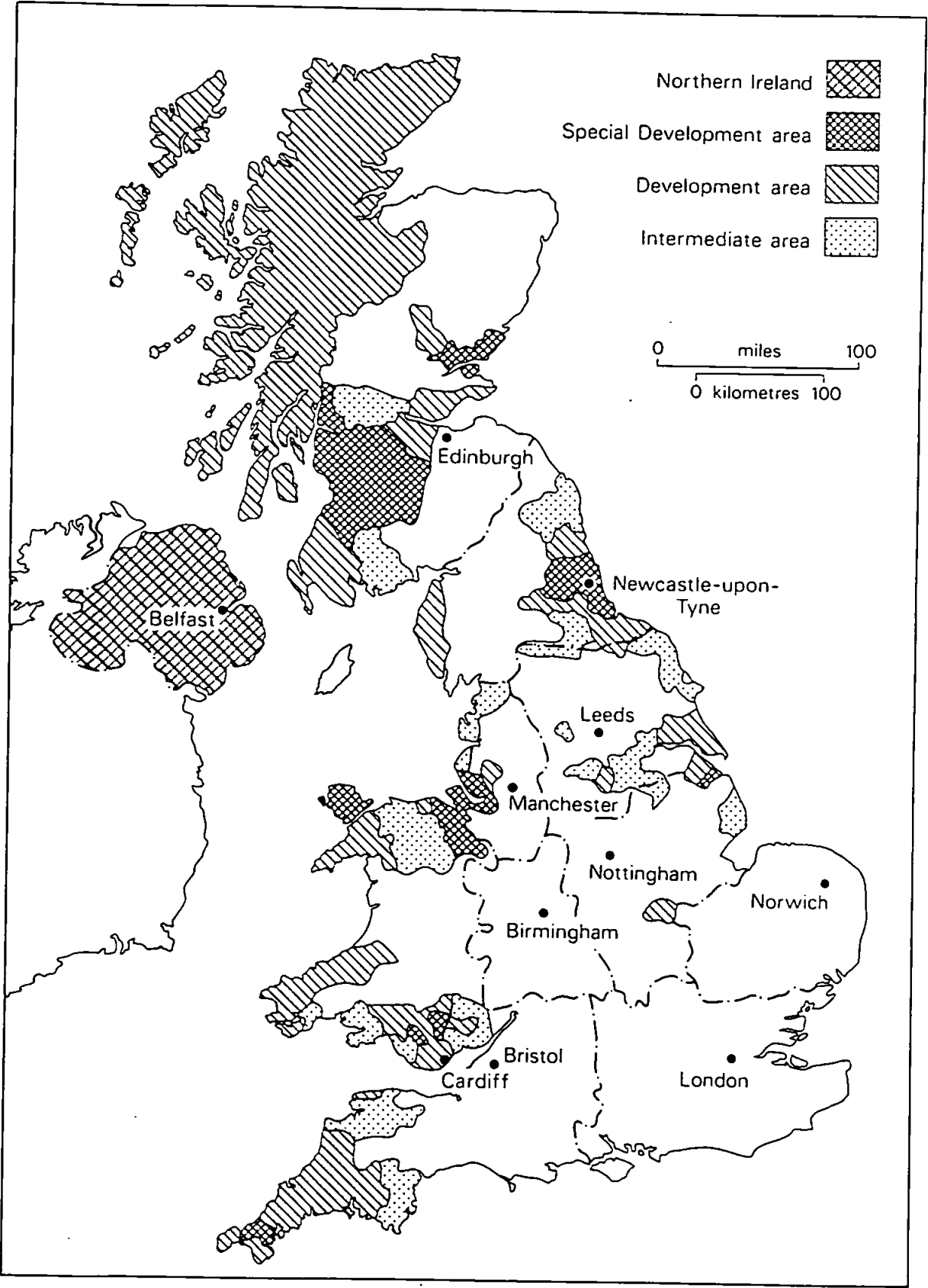
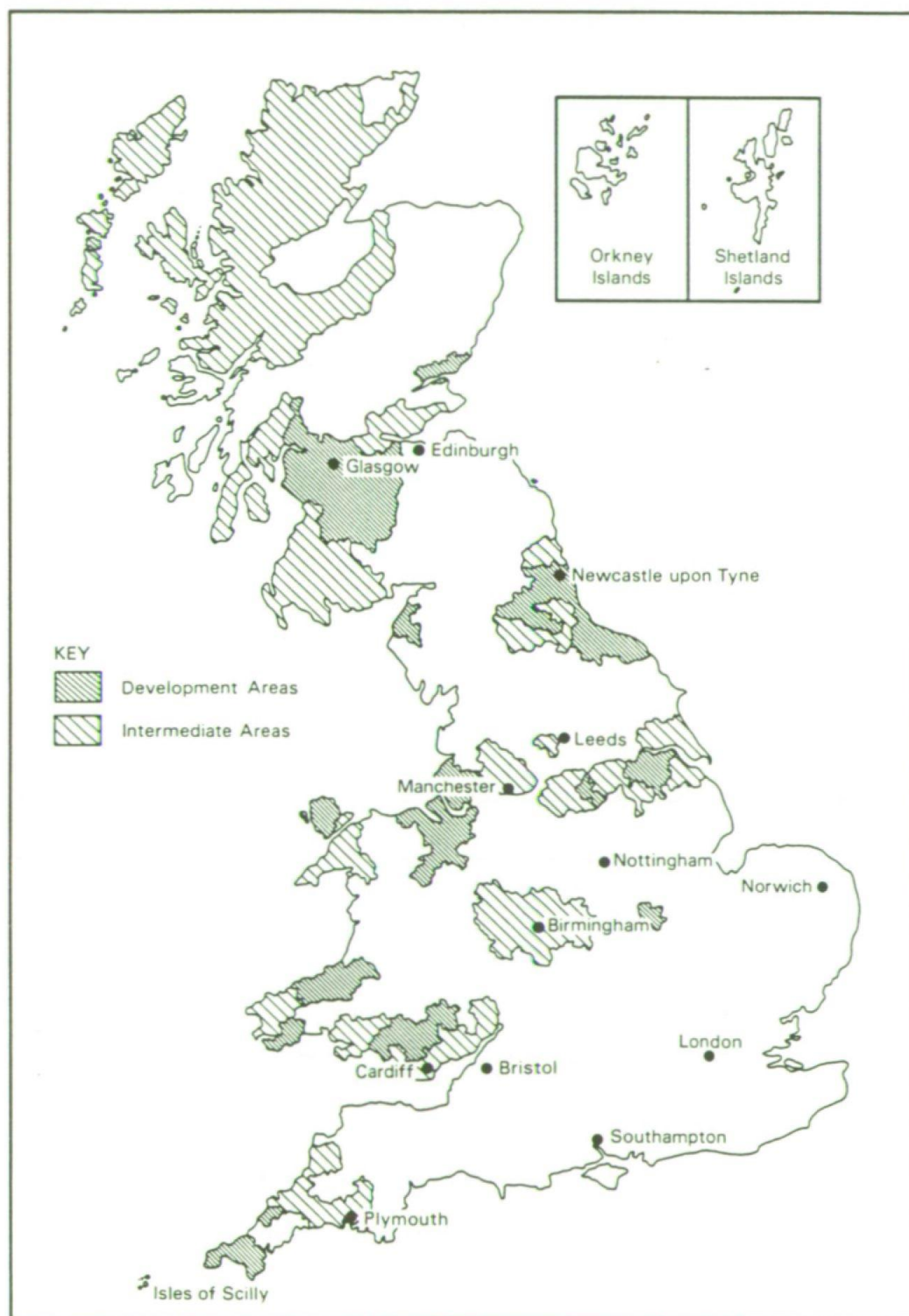


FIGURE 3.3    GREAT BRITAIN ASSISTED AREAS, NOVEMBER 1984



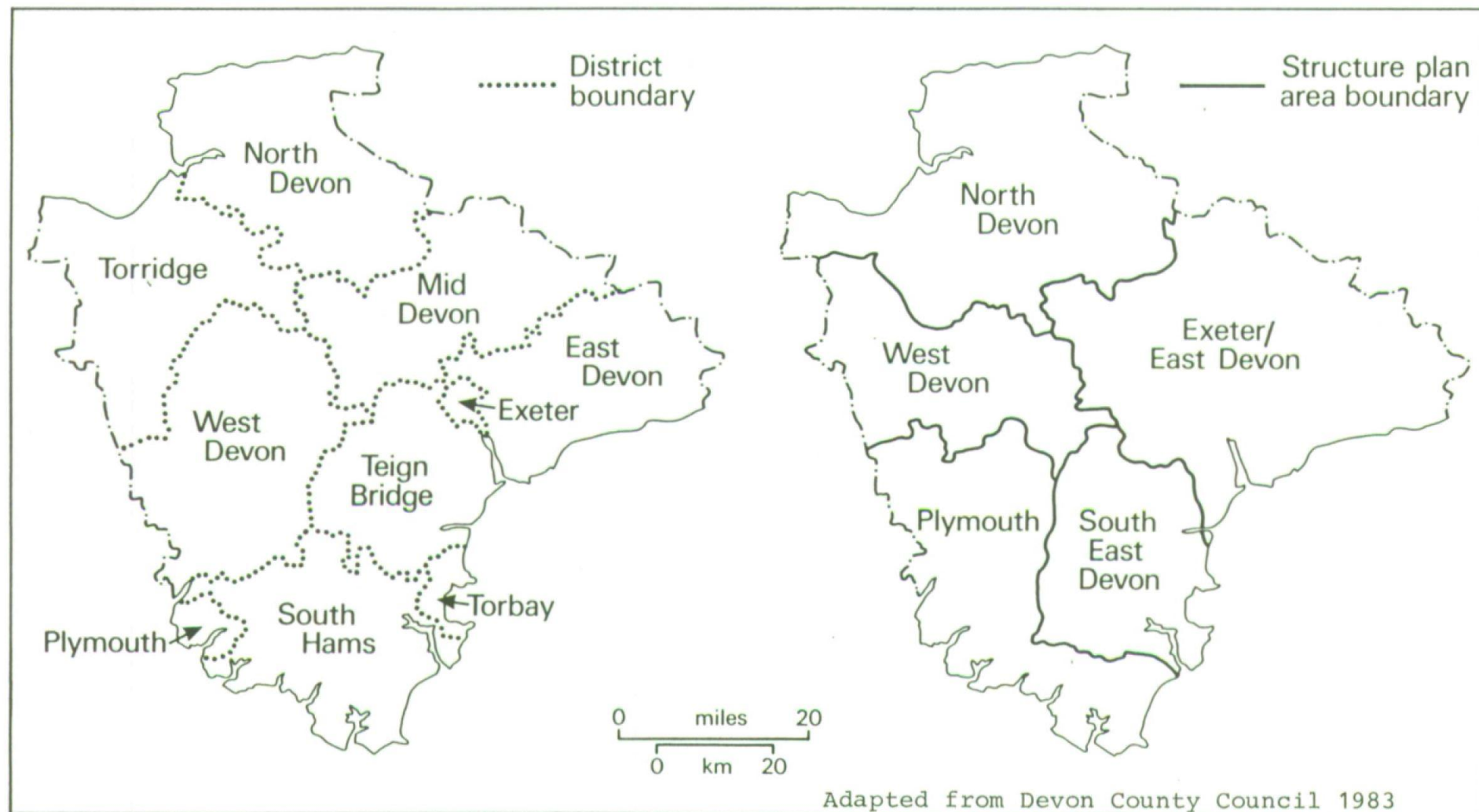
### 3.3 DEVON

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

With the exceptions of Plymouth, Exeter and Torbay, Devon is an overwhelmingly rural county. Indeed the county's rural character is illustrated in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.1) by Cloke and Edwards' 1981 index of rurality (1986) which showed that outside the three main urban centres, five out of the remaining seven local authority districts were classified as "remote rural". This is largely due to their sparse population and limited range of employment and social opportunities

From the mid-19th to the mid-20th Century depopulation and out-migration were Devon's most prominent demographic characteristics. In the post-war period, however, a number of important social and economic changes have taken place. The following section outlines these changes alongside a review of planning policies and their influence in shaping the pattern of Devon's economic and demographic development. The data used in the ensuing discussion are based in some cases on the 10 districts comprising Devon County Council and in other cases on the five structure plan areas (both sets of boundaries are shown on Figure 3.4).





### 3.3.2 Demographic Change

The main change in post-war Devon has been the gradual reversal of population decline. This is clearly evident from Table 3.2 which shows that every one of the structure plan areas has consistently reduced the number of parishes undergoing decline. The positive performance of North and West Devon is particularly striking.

TABLE 3.2      NUMBER OF PARISHES UNDERGOING POPULATION  
DECLINE (BY STRUCTURE PLAN AREA).

Structure Plan Area	1951-61		1961-71		1971-81		Total No of Parishes
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Exeter/East Devon	79	53	62	42	42	28	148
South East Devon	29	57	20	39	15	29	51
Plymouth	35	53	29	44	23	35	66
North Devon	79	74	59	55	21	20	107
West Devon	37	71	30	58	12	23	52
Devon	259	61	200	47	113	27	424
-----							

Source: Devon County Council 1983

When analysed by local authority district, the population figures again confirm the county's generally buoyant pattern (see Table 3.3). It is interesting that although Plymouth (the county's largest town) has grown only modestly, it has nonetheless defied the national trend of urban population loss. Torbay's large population gains are, of course, largely attributable to retirement migration. Towns within commuting distance of the larger centres have also performed well, including Tavistock and Ivybridge for Plymouth, and

Crediton and Exmouth for Exeter. Table 3.4 illustrates the growth which has taken place in a number of the county's urban centres and commuter towns.

TABLE 3.3      POPULATION CHANGE 1961-86 IN DEVON BY DISTRICT

District	Pop Present (000s)*				Intercensal Change%		
	1961	1971	1981	1986	1961-71	1971-81	1981-86*
East Devon	84	97	107	113	16.33	9.92	4.9
Exeter	89	96	97	99	8.05	0.82	-0.5
Mid Devon	47	52	58	61	10.97	11.68	0.1
North Devon	62	70	80	82	12.25	12.86	4.3
Plymouth	230	239	246	256	3.93	2.53	1.2
South Hams	56	60	68	71	7.90	14.15	6.3
Teignbridge	80	90	96	105	11.95	6.99	9.3
Torbay	96	109	116	117	13.46	6.35	3.7
Torridge	41	45	48	50	10.34	6.43	2.7
West Devon	37	39	43	43	4.99	10.35	1.6
Devon	823	898	959	999	9.20	6.72	3.5

\*OPCS Mid-Year Estimates Usually Resident Population (OPCS 1980)

Source: OPCS 1984, 1987

TABLE 3.4      POPULATION CHANGE IN DEVON'S MAJOR TOWNS  
AND SELECTED COMMUTING TOWNS, 1961-81

Town	Population			% Change	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81
Plymouth	231505	239452	243895	3.4	1.9
Exeter	87715	95729	95621	9.1	-0.1
Barnstaple	15944	17317	18059	8.6	4.3
Torbay	96641	109257	115582	13.1	5.5
Tavistock	6088	7620	9188	25.2	20.1
Ivybridge	1753	3074	5106	75.4	66.1
Crediton	4427	5161	6169	16.6	19.5
Ottery St Mary	4121	5834	7069	41.6	21.2
Bideford	10498	11802	12210	12.4	3.5
Totnes	5502	5772	5627	4.9	-2.5

Source: Devon County Council 1985

One particularly striking feature of population change in Devon has been the very considerable growth in the coastal towns and data are given for a selection of resorts in Table 3.5. This growth has been almost entirely the result of retirement migration (Devon County Council 1981). It is noticeable that the South Devon resorts (with their milder climate) tend to show a longer history of growth whereas in North Devon, towns such as Ilfracombe and Lynton/Lynmouth were experiencing decline until the 1960s.

TABLE 3.5      POPULATION CHANGE IN DEVON'S COASTAL RESORTS  
1931-81

Resorts	Population				% Change		
	1931	1961	1971	1981	1931-61	1961-71	1971-81
<u>South Devon</u>							
Budleigh/							
Salterton	3162	3865	4157	4436	22.2	7.6	6.7
Seaton	2349	3445	4139	4974	46.2	20.1	20.2
Sidmouth	8429	10890	12076	12446	29.2	10.9	3.1
Exmouth	14951	19753	25827	28775	32.1	30.7	11.4
Dawlish	5425	7803	9519	10755	43.8	22.0	13.0
Teignmouth	10017	11528	12575	13257	15.1	9.1	5.4
Dartmouth	6708	5758	5701	6298	-14.2	-1.0	10.5
<u>North Devon</u>							
Lynton/							
Lynmouth	2011	1918	1984	2037	-4.6	3.4	2.7
Ilfracombe	9175	8698	9859	10133	-5.2	13.4	2.8
Northam	5563	6572	8113	8715	18.1	23.4	7.4

Source: Devon County Council 1985

For many of the more rural, inland parts of the county, population loss continued to be a serious problem until the 1970s and in the decade 1961-71 nearly

half of Devon's parishes were still experiencing population decline. By the 1981 Census, however, growth was widely diffused, with many parishes experiencing population increases for the first time in over 100 years. For example, over the decade 1971-81 only 20% of parishes in the North Devon Structure Plan Area continued to experience depopulation compared to 55% between 1961-71 and 74% between 1951-61 (Devon County Council 1983).

This general pattern of Devon's population growth is principally the product of net in-migration. Table 3.6 gives a breakdown for each district of the overall population change considering natural change and migration for the decades 1961-71 and 1971-81. The table underlines the importance of the migration component particularly for the decade 1971-81. During this period although all the districts experienced population growth, Plymouth was the only one to experience an excess of births over deaths. The large natural decreases in districts such as Torbay, East Devon and Teignbridge clearly result from the elderly age structure produced by retirement migration. Table 3.7 shows that these patterns have continued in the period 1981-86. Although for various statistical reasons, it is not legitimate to make very detailed comparisons between Tables 3.6 and 3.7 the over-riding message is clear, namely that the major trends of 1970s are continuing in the 1980s. Negative natural change

continues to be more than offset by heavy in-migration which affects to varying degrees all districts except Plymouth and Exeter.

TABLE 3.6      DEVON DISTRICTS' POPULATION CHANGE (IN  
000'S), 1961-71-81

Area	Population			Population change (000s)					
	Present			1961-71			1971-81		
	(000s)			Tot	Nat	Mig*	Tot	Nat	Mig*
	1961	1971	1981	Ch	Ch	Oth	Ch	Ch	Oth
East Devon	84	97	107	13	-2	15	10	-7	17
Exeter	89	96	97	7	3	4	1	0	1
Mid Devon	47	52	58	5	2	3	6	0	6
North Devon	63	70	79	7	1	6	9	-2	11
Plymouth	2 20	239	246	9	13	-4	7	6	1
South Hams	56	60	68	4	0	4	8	-3	11
Teignbridge	80	90	96	10	-1	11	6	-6	12
Torbay	96	109	116	13	-5	18	7	-9	16
Torridge	41	45	48	4	0	4	3	-1	4
West Devon	37	39	43	2	0	2	4	-1	5
Devon	823	898	959	75	11	63	61	-23	84
-----									

Note 1: \* Migration is the main component of population change.

Note 2: Totals may not sum due to rounding off procedure.

Source: Census 1971, 1981

TABLE 3.7      DEVON'S ESTIMATED MID-YEAR RESIDENT  
POPULATION 1981-86 (000s) \*

Districts	Mid-Year Population (000s)		Population Change 1981-86		
	1981	1986	Total Change	Natural Change	Migration (& Other Changes)
East Devon	107.9	113.2	5.3	-4.3	9.6
Exeter	99.8	99.3	-0.5	-0.5	0.0
Mid Devon	58.7	61.4	2.7	0.1	2.6
North Devon	78.2	81.6	3.4	-0.9	4.3
Plymouth~	252.9	256.0	3.1	3.2	-0.1
South Hams~	67.2	71.4	4.2	-1.1	5.3
Teignbridge~	96.4	105.4	9.0	-2.8	11.8
Torbay	113.1	117.3	4.2	-3.8	8.0
Torridge	48.7	50.0	1.3	-0.8	2.1
West Devon	42.7	43.4	0.7	-0.7	1.4
Devon	965.6	999.0	33.4	-11.7	45.1

\* Data incompatibility precludes detailed comparison between Tables 3.6 and 3.7. Since 1981 population change is provided by OPCS in the form of annual mid-year estimates. The base figure used, is the mid-year usually resident population for 1981, which is different to the 1981 Census figure (see OPCS 1980).

~ Areas involved in boundary change of more than 100 people since 1981.

SOURCE: OPCS 1987

### 3.3.3 Industrial and Employment Change

Although the past twenty years or so have seen sustained population growth, Devon's economic circumstances have been more mixed and fluctuating. Until the recession of the mid-1970s, both manufacturing and service industries continued to expand alongside a considerable decline in the number of jobs available in the primary sector. Between 1966-75 whilst jobs in agriculture fell by about 3500 the number employed in manufacturing rose by 10000 and those in distribution and general services by 12000 (Devon Conservation Forum 1976). Increases in tertiary and secondary sector employment were on such a scale it prompted Spooner (1972) to refer to "a minor industrial revolution" having taken place.

This pattern differed from Great Britain as a whole, where total employment remained stable and where there was a reduction in the number of jobs in manufacturing. Devon's industrial growth was partly a response to the availability of central government regional aid in the Plymouth and North Devon areas. Despite this phase of manufacturing expansion, Table 3.8 highlights the significance of service industries, including tourism, to the county's economy (Spooner 1974), albeit some are partly dependent on the growth in manufacturing.



TABLE 3.8      EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE FOR DEVON AND GREAT  
BRITAIN 1974, 1978, 1981

Industrial Sector	Devon %			Great Britain %		
	1974	1978	1981	1974	1978	1981
Primary	5	4	7	3	3	5
Manufacturing	23	22	18	35	32	27
Construction	8	6	8	6	6	7
Service	64	68	66	56	59	60
-----						

Source: Devon County Council, 1977, 1983, 1985

The main feature of employment change since the mid-1970s has been the onset of a severe economic recession from which Devon is only now beginning to emerge. The recession had a profound impact on the county's new industrial base with several thousand jobs being lost and a considerable amount of industrial floorspace becoming available (Payne 1982). These trends were especially noticeable in Plymouth where in the early 1980 s, 30% of the county's vacant industrial floorspace was located (Grafton and Bolton 1984).

#### 3.3.4 Planning Policies in Devon

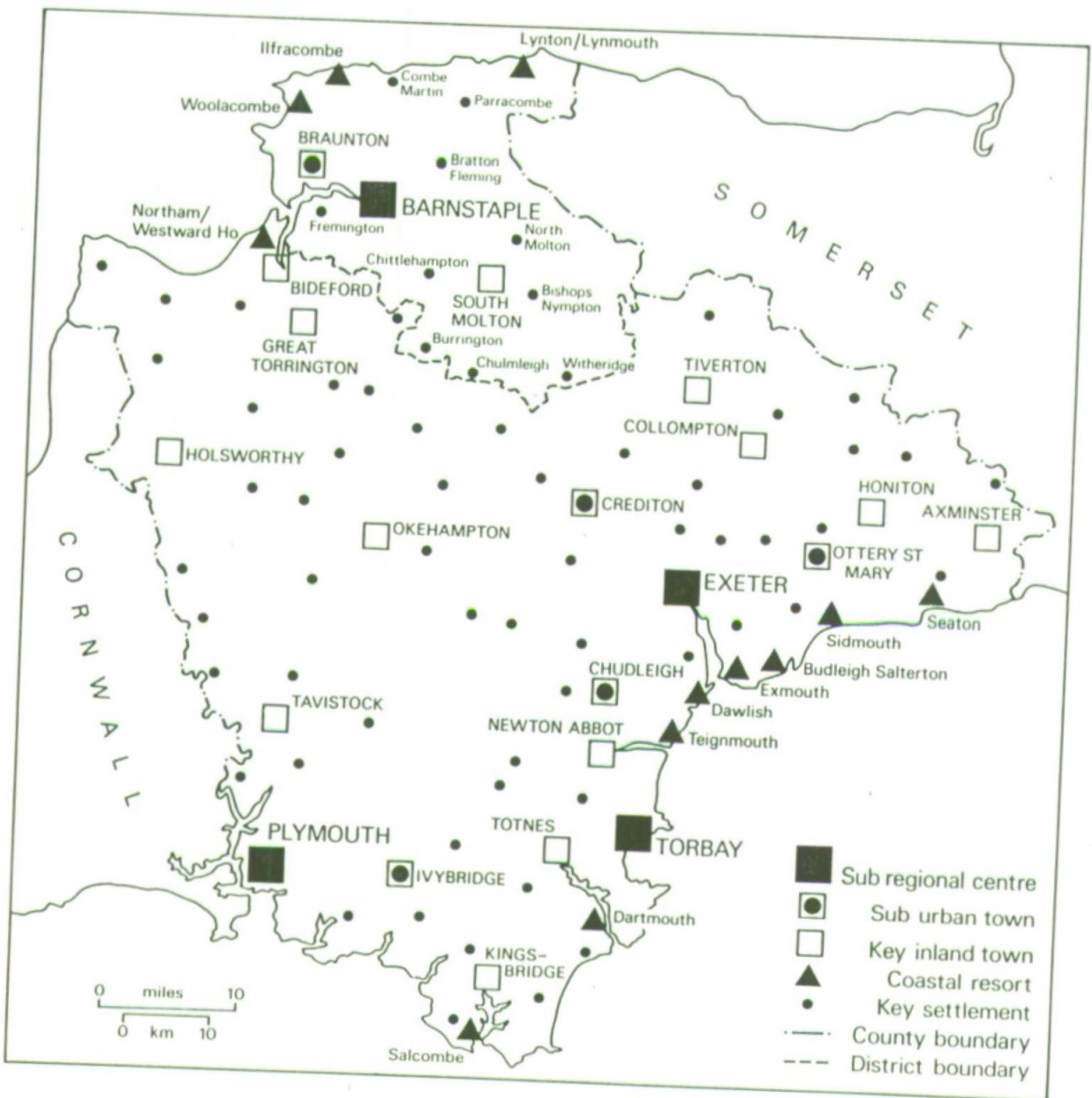
Within Devon the spatial distribution of employment and population change has been influenced by a variety of county planning policies, and in particular, Devon's settlement policy. It was not until the First Review of the County Development Plan in 1964 that a coherent settlement policy was formulated for Devon. The policy was based on a hierarchy of settlements with different sizes and functions. Figure

3.5 shows the main categories of the hierarchy which included:

- 4 sub-regional centres (Plymouth, Exeter, Torbay and Barnstaple). With the exception of Barnstaple further growth was to be opposed around the edge of the sub-regional centres.
- 5 sub-urban towns (Ivybridge, Chudleigh, Ottery St Mary, Crediton and Braunton). Growth in these towns was to be encouraged as an alternative to sprawl around the sub-regional centres.
- 13 key inland towns. Without exception employment and residential growth were to be encouraged in these towns.
- 12 coastal resorts. Without exception employment and residential growth were to be encouraged in these resorts.
- 68 key settlements (reduced to 65 in 1970). In these cases development was to be permitted in accordance with the needs of the settlement and the surrounding areas.

Elsewhere in the countryside there was a general presumption against new development, partly on environmental and landscape grounds and partly to reduce

FIGURE 3.5 DEVON'S SETTLEMENT PATTERN POLICIES 1964-81



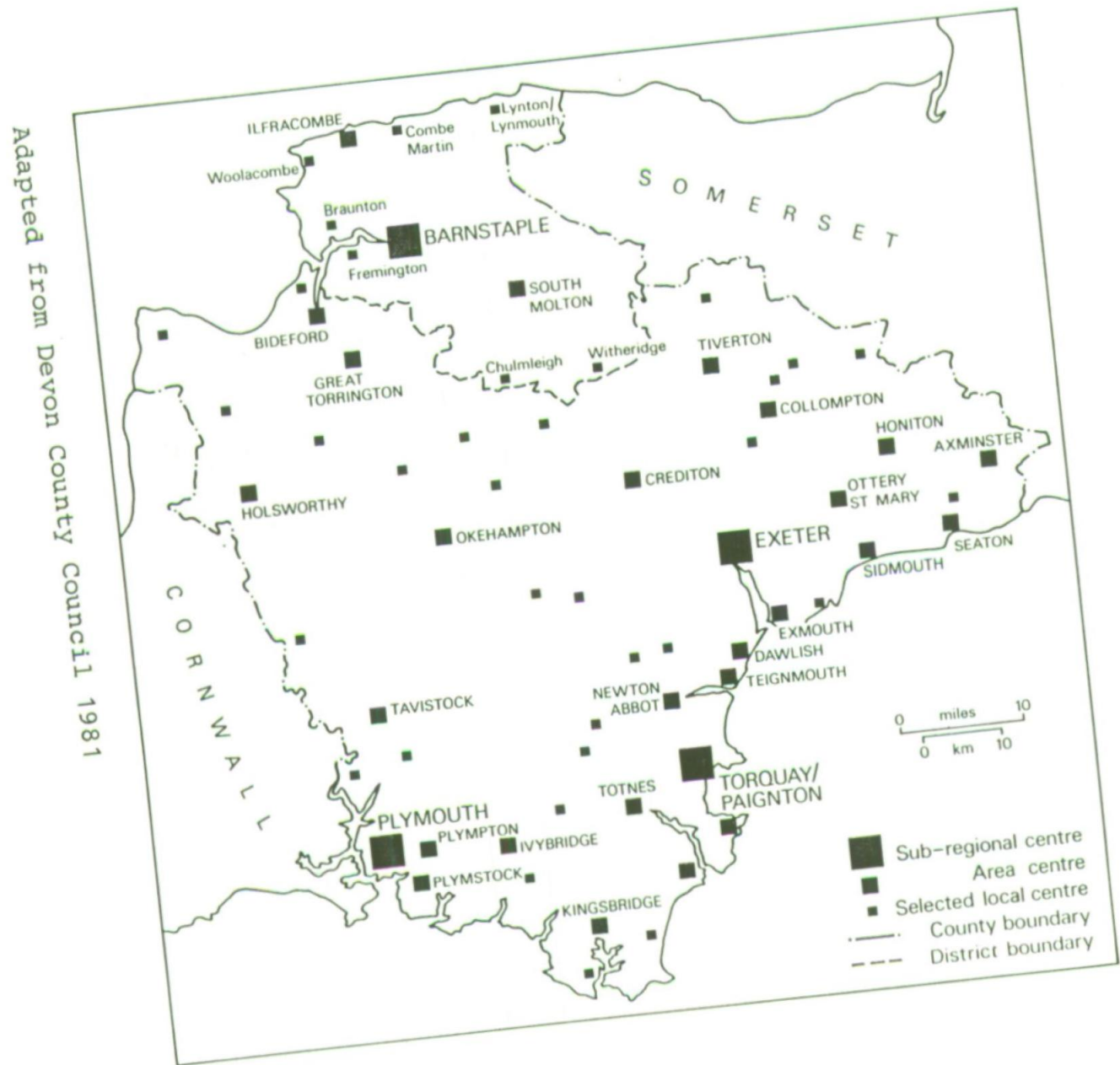
Adapted from Devon County Council 1981

the costs of servicing a dispersed population. The implementation, however, of Devon's settlement policy has not been entirely rigorous. For example between 1965-75 whilst Devon's key settlements accounted for 9% of completed dwellings in the county, unselected rural settlements accounted for 12% (Clope 1983, Phillips and Williams 1984). Not surprisingly, the policy's rather ad hoc implementation has affected its success (Blacksell and Gilg 1981).

The 1981 County Structure Plan made some modifications to the settlement policy. Although a policy based on the concept of a settlement hierarchy still exists, Devon County Council no longer operates a key settlement programme as such. Figure 3.6 shows the present settlement policy which includes:

- 4 sub-regional centres, where the policy is to maintain and improve the high level of services already available.
- 26 area centres, where particular attention is paid to the retention and improvement of public services and employment provision.
- 38 selected local centres (chosen mainly from the earlier 68 key settlements). These are expected to receive some resource allocation, and where possible, appropriate residential and employment development should occur. Elsewhere in rural

FIGURE 3.6 SETTLEMENT PLANNING POLICIES, 1981



Adapted from Devon County Council 1981

areas there is a general presumption against development.

The present policy hierarchy in rural areas presents a more streamlined and practical approach which has proved easier to implement and which reflects the diminished resources available for developing and maintaining the necessary infrastructure and public services. Thus Devon, along with many other counties, has adopted a strategy of concentrating development further rather than attempting to continue policies which direct resources to small rural settlements as well as regional centres.

Another important post-war planning policy which has to some degree steered development and population change has been the protection of the county's scenic landscapes. Devon's protected landscapes include National Parks (Dartmoor and part of Exmoor), Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, Areas of Great Landscape Value and Coastal Preservation Areas. Together, these areas cover nearly half the county (Devon Conservation Forum 1976). In addition, there are some 100 historic settlements in Devon and over 170 conservation areas (Devon County Council 1981).

Devon's settlement and protected landscape policies have, therefore, had the potential to direct the spatial pattern of rural population change. In practice neither set of policies has been enforced with

absolute rigour and both have been to a degree the victim of "policy implementation gaps". Nonetheless their significance for the county's population geography should not be neglected, for although they have obviously not been the mainsprings behind the county's recent population growth they have played a part in shaping where and how this growth has been accommodated. This issue of the relationship between planning and population is among the themes explored in more detail in the following section which introduces the reader to the North Devon study area and to the geography of its recent population revival.

### 3.4 THE STUDY AREA - NORTH DEVON

#### 3.4.1 Introduction

Although North Devon has been conventionally regarded as a relatively depressed remote rural region, the present day settlement pattern bears witness to earlier phases of growth as well as decline. The population peak in this area was reached in the mid-19th Century, supported by the prosperity of the agricultural, textiles and mining sectors of the local economy. Since then, a decline in all three staple industries has until recently been mirrored by net out-migration and continued population losses from the majority of its parishes.

The weak nature of North Devon's economy over the

past century, alongside a failure to reverse the spiral of population decline led to the district being traditionally considered marginal to the county's economy and as one of the South West's problem areas. Barnstaple is the largest town in the district, and despite being classified as a sub-regional centre, its population was only a little more than 15000 in 1961. Apart from Barnstaple, North Devon has two area centres, South Molton and Ilfracombe and six selected local centres, Lynton/Lynmouth, Combe Martin, Woolacombe, Braunton, Witheridge and Chulmleigh (see Figure 3.6). It is evident also from Figure 3.6 that with the exception of South Molton, these settlements lie on the boundaries of the district either on the north coast or to the south, closer to Tiverton and Exeter. However, the majority of North Devon settlements tend to be small widely dispersed villages, serving areas with very low population densities.

Within North Devon this study, as explained in Chapter 2, focusses on the South Molton Rural District (as defined pre-1974). This is comprised of 29 parishes and covers 49914 hectares, 46% of North Devon's land area. By contrast, however, the South Molton RD accounted for only 16% of North Devon's population in 1981. South Molton itself is a small market town (population 3611 in 1981) located in the heart of North Devon, and serves a large and very rural hinterland. The influences of a strong agricultural economy, in



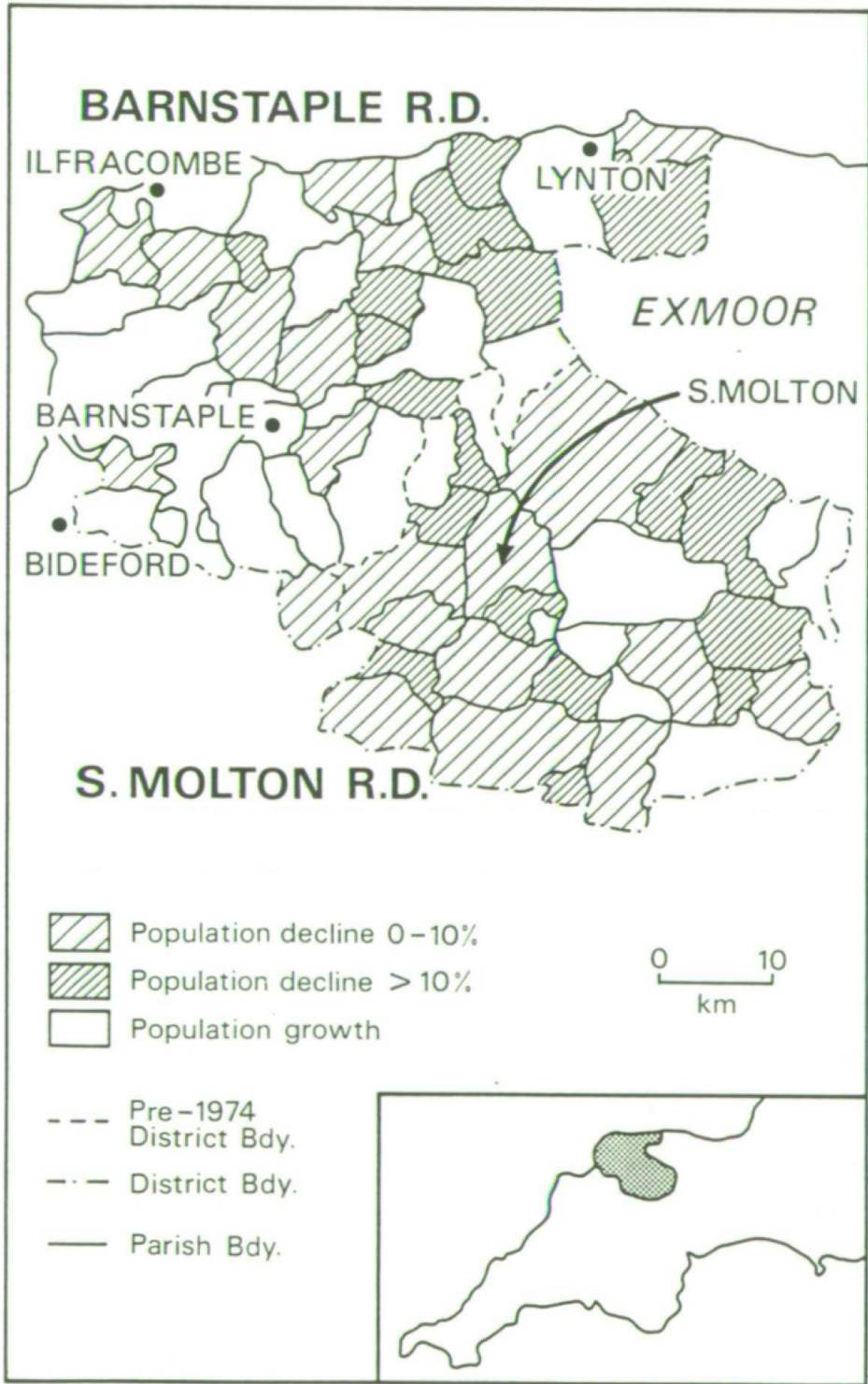
which family farms still dominate, are clearly evident throughout the area. Widely dispersed, often large stock-rearing farms characterise the parishes to the north and east of South Molton, such as North Molton, East Buckland and Twitchen. Here, the harsher upland climate of Exmoor is felt much of the year. In contrast, smaller dairy farms dominate in the rolling topography of the parishes which lie to the south and west of South Molton, such as Chittlehampton, Satterleigh and Warkleigh and Kings Nympton.

Since the mid-1960s, however, the economy of the South Molton RD has undergone fundamental changes. Central government regional policy supported by Devon County Council's planning policies have resulted in the development of small industrial estates in both South Molton and Chulmleigh. South Molton itself now has two industrial estates and has benefitted particularly from the relocation of two large manufacturing firms, which each employ in excess of 300 persons. Thus the development of manufacturing industry, coupled with the growth in service employment, has absorbed much of the displaced agricultural labour and provided significant new opportunities in the area.

#### 3.4.2 Demographic Change

During the period 1961-71, the majority of rural parishes in North Devon underwent a further decade of decline, a pattern clearly identifiable in Figure 3.7.

FIGURE 3.7    PARISH   POPULATION   CHANGE   IN   NORTH   DEVON,  
1961-71.



During this period, the growth in the Barnstaple area and in some coastal resorts provided an interesting contrast to the continued population decline in the remoter areas of South Molton RD. It should be noted, however, that many of the parishes in the South Molton RD were by this decade experiencing population declines well under 10%. In fact for the parish of South Molton itself the rate of decline was only 1%, whilst North Molton's was 1.2%. Hence whilst these parishes were technically still experiencing depopulation it is more accurate to write that they had virtually static populations. Figure 3.8 illustrates quite a different pattern of demographic change occurring over the decade 1971-81. Although there has been continued growth in the Barnstaple area and the coastal towns, the most striking changes have occurred in North Devon's rural interior. Population growth, rather than decline characterises the South Molton RD in which only five parishes underwent decline and all the other 24 experienced growth.

A temporal examination of population change at the parish level within the South Molton RD reveals a number of important trends. These are summarised in Table 3.9 for the decades 1951-81. Whilst it is apparent that the period 1961-71 witnessed a slowing of population decline it is clearly in the 1970s that the full impact of population resurgence may be seen. This pattern is most clearly demonstrated in Figure 3.9 which

FIGURE 3.8 PARISH POPULATION CHANGE IN NORTH DEVON,  
1971-81

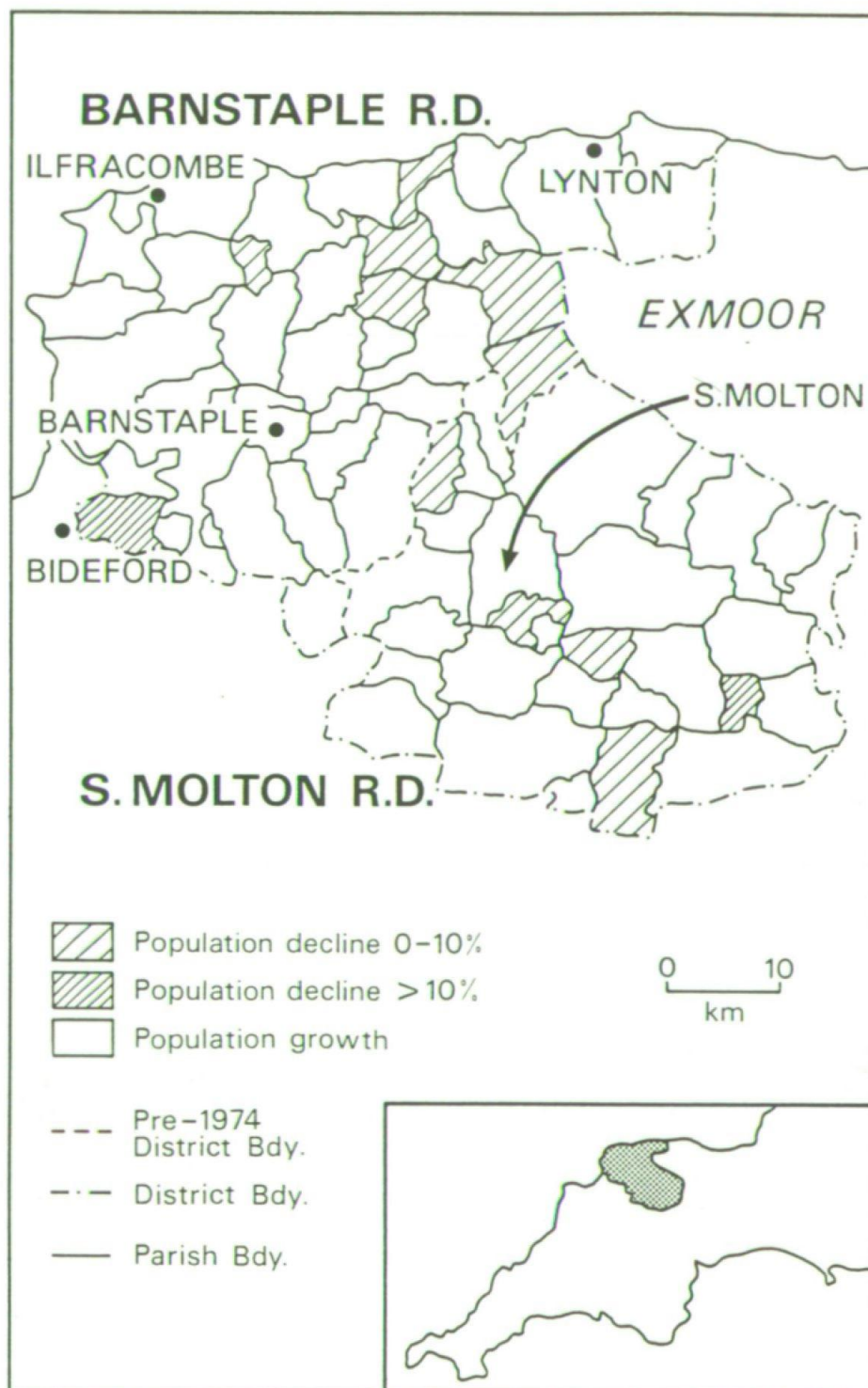


FIGURE 3.9 PARISH POPULATION TRENDS IN SOUTH MOLTON DISTRICT 1961-71-81

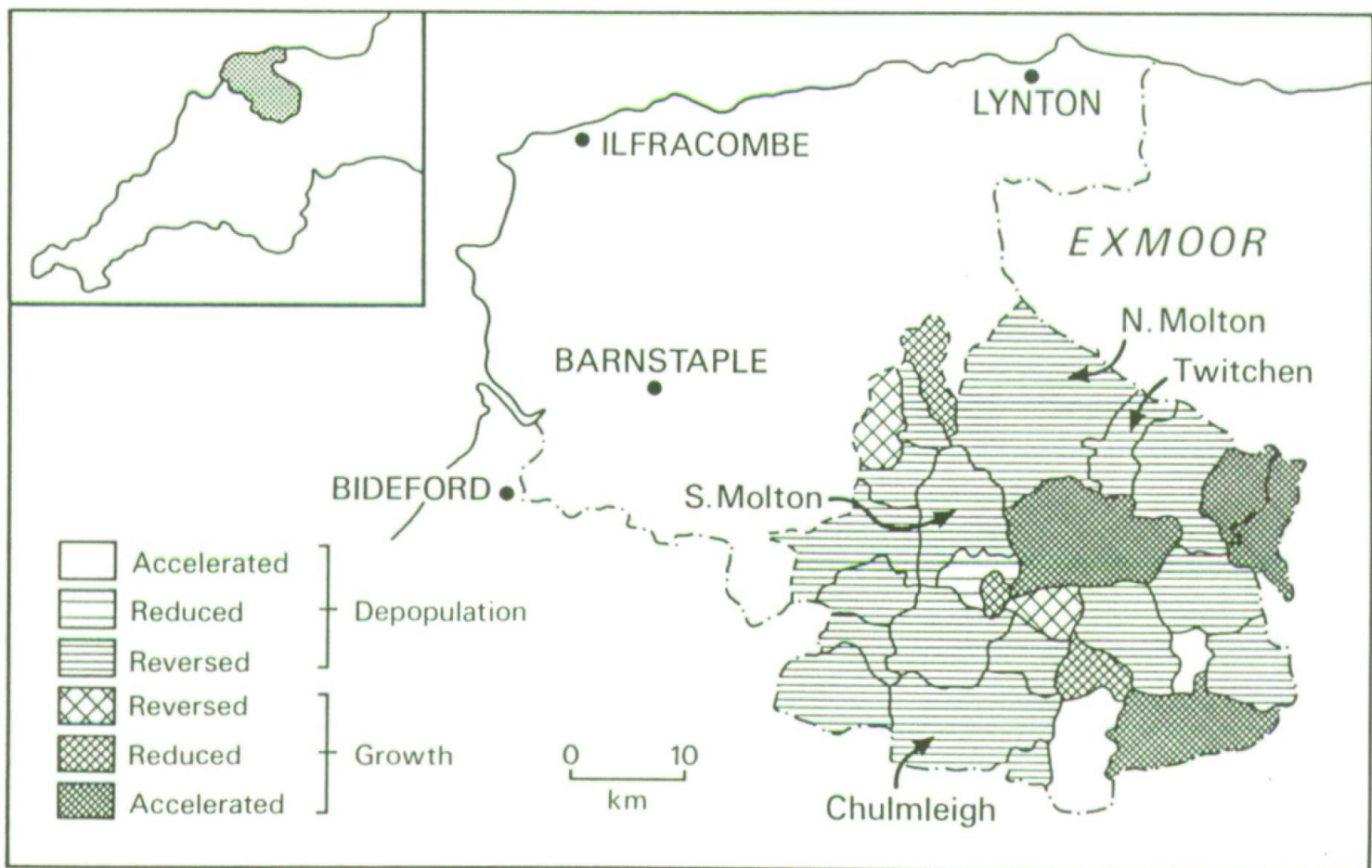


TABLE 3.9      POPULATION CHANGE IN SOUTH MOLTON RD,  
1951-61-71-81

	<u>1951-61</u>	<u>1961-71</u>	<u>1971-81</u>
Population Change (no)	- 1041	-93	+ 1790
Population Change (%)	- 9	- 1	+ 16
No of Parishes incre in pop	2	9	24
No of Parishes decre in pop	27	20	5
-----			

Source: Census 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981

compares parish population trends for the decades 1961-71 and 1971-81.

Of the growth parishes between 1971-81, by far the largest number (17) are in the "reversed depopulation" category. Some major settlements fall into this group such as South Molton and Chulmleigh, but interestingly a number of other extremely remote parishes are included, such as Twitchen, located on the Exmoor fringe. The small number of parishes continuing to lose population (five) makes generalisation about decline difficult but there is some evidence to suggest that it tends to be found in parishes such as West Buckland and East Worlington which are small and characterised by a highly dispersed settlement pattern. These parishes have had a very long history of depopulation.

Thus far, the evidence presented suggests that there has been a definite divergence from traditional patterns of decline. By plotting parish population

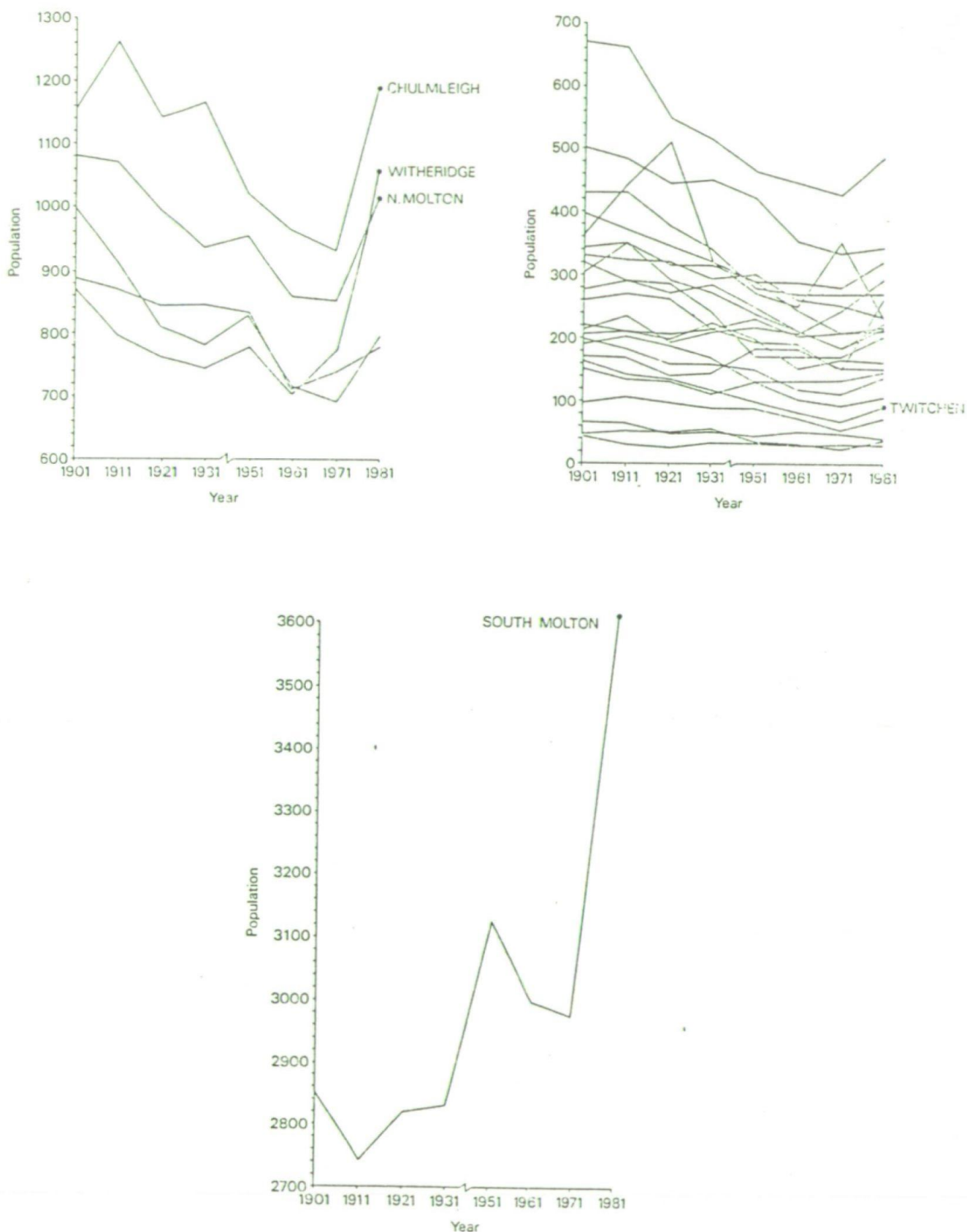
change in South Molton RD from 1901-81 it becomes clear that the recent resurgence is without precedent this century and represents, therefore, a clear temporal break with traditional trends. The "reverse tick" effect in Figure 3.10 is surprisingly widespread, occurring to some extent in the 1960s, but most strongly in the 1970s.

Detailed information for the 1970s on population change for each of the 29 parishes comprising the South Molton RD is given in both Table 3.10 and Figure 3.11. It is clear that between 1971-81 growth was not restricted to a small number of larger settlements but was widespread in a range of different settlement types and locations across the district. However, it must be borne in mind that in the least populous parishes the arrival of only a small number of new households can transfer decline into growth and occasionally produce quite large percentage increases.

Interestingly, data given in Table 3.10 and Figure 3.11(ii) show that the largest absolute gains are to be found in the larger settlements. The four most populous parishes of South Molton, North Molton, Chulmleigh and Witheridge were the settlements to experience the greatest increase and together account for three quarters of the total population growth in the district. By contrast, the majority of parishes (17) only experienced a relatively small population increase of between one and fifty persons. This apparent



FIGURE 3.10 PARISH POPULATION CHANGE IN SOUTH MOLTON  
DISTRICT 1901-81



Note: The 3 graphs represent different population sizes of settlements found in the South Molton RD.



TABLE 3.10    INDIVIDUAL PARISH POPULATION CHANGE IN  
SOUTH MOLTON RD, 1971-81

Parish	Pop 1971	Pop 1981	Absolute incr/decr	Percentage incr/decr
1 Bishops Nympton	736	776	+ 40	+ 5.43
2 Burrington	424	482	+ 58	+13.68
3 Charles	208	209	+ 1	+ 0.48
4 Cheldon	22	37	+ 15	+68.18
5 Chittlehamholt	146	259	+ 113	+77.40
6 Chittlehampton	686	790	+ 104	+15.16
7 Chulmleigh	934	1187	+ 253	+27.09
8 Creacombe	46	39	- 7	-15.22
9 East Anstey	240	289	+ 49	+20.42
10 East Buckland	55	75	+ 20	+36.36
11 East Worlington	254	232	- 22	- 8.66
12 Filleigh	182	216	+ 34	+18.68
13 George Nympton	150	148	- 2	- 1.33
14 Kings Nympton	336	345	+ 9	+ 2.68
15 Knowstone	182	220	+ 38	+20.88
16 Mariansleigh	165	158	- 7	- 4.24
17 Meshaw	129	137	+ 8	+ 6.20
18 Molland	207	214	+ 7	+ 3.38
19 North Molton	845	1009	+ 164	+19.41
20 Queens Nympton	27	28	+ 1	+ 3.70
21 Rackenford	282	320	+ 38	+13.48
22 Romansleigh	91	103	+ 12	+13.19
23 Rose Ash	267	268	+ 1	+ 0.37
24 Satterleigh & Warkleigh	171	200	+ 29	+16.96
25 South Molton	2975	3611	+ 636	+21.38
26 Twitchen	67	90	+ 23	+34.33
27 West Anstey	134	145	+ 11	+ 8.21
28 West Buckland	351	228	- 123	-35.04
29 Witheridge	768	1055	+ 287	+37.37
South Molton RD	11080	12870	+1790	+16.16

Source: Census 1971, 1981

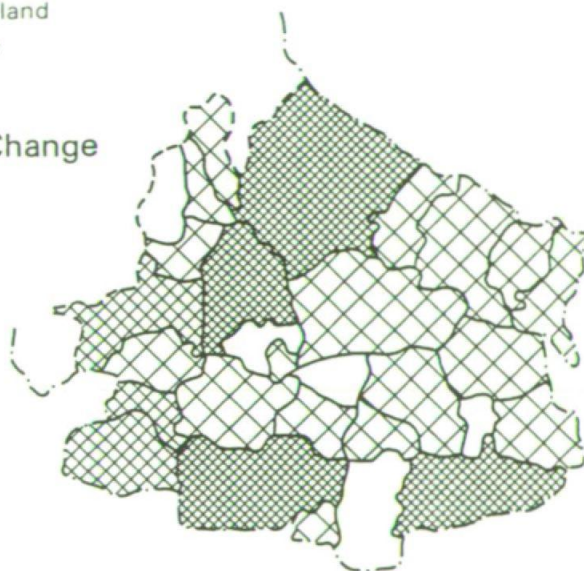
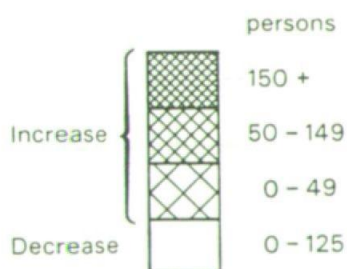
**FIGURE 3.11 THE GEOGRAPHY OF POPULATION CHANGE IN SOUTH  
MOLTON RD, 1971-81**

**i) Parish Identification**

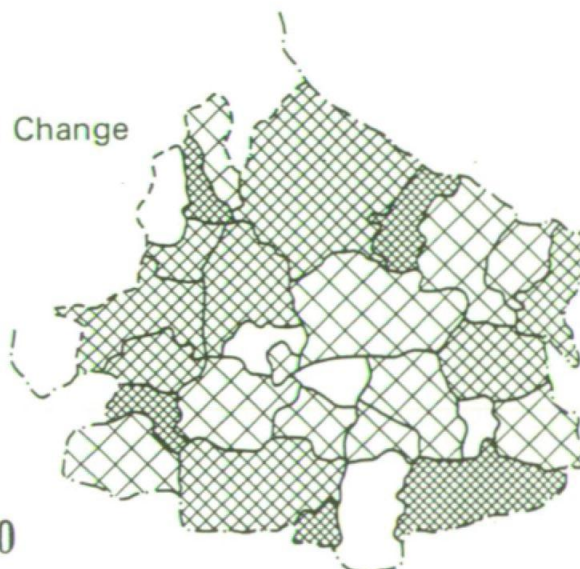
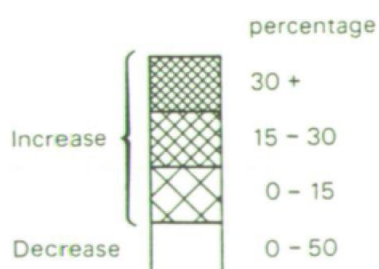
- |                    |                            |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Bishops Nympton  | 22 Romansleigh             |
| 2 Burrington       | 23 Rose Ash                |
| 3 Charles          | 24 Satterleigh & Warkleigh |
| 4 Cheldon          | 25 South Molton            |
| 5 Chittlehamholt   |                            |
| 6 Chittlehampton   |                            |
| 7 Chumleigh        |                            |
| 8 Creacombe        |                            |
| 9 East Anstey      |                            |
| 10 East Buckland   |                            |
| 11 East Worlington |                            |
| 12 Filleigh        |                            |
| 13 George Nympton  |                            |
| 14 Kings Nympton   |                            |
| 15 Knowstone       |                            |
| 16 Mariansleigh    |                            |
| 17 Meshaw          | 26 Twitchen                |
| 18 Molland         | 27 West Anstey             |
| 19 North Molton    | 28 West Buckland           |
| 20 Queens Nympton  | 29 Witheridge              |
| 21 Rackenford      |                            |



**ii) Absolute Parish Population Change  
1971 to 1981**



**iii) Percentage Parish Population Change  
1971 to 1981**



association between parish size and absolute population change was tested using the Spearman's Rank Correlation Test. The coefficient obtained ( $r_s = 0.50$ ) was statistically significant at the 95% level and thus showed a positive correlation between absolute population increase and settlement size. It is perhaps noteworthy that all of the four largest settlements were designated under Devon County Council's original key settlement policy (for reference see Figure 3.5) and thus their growth may in part be explained by policy considerations.

The third map given in Figure 3.11 illustrates the pattern of population change when analysed in terms of percentage increase or decrease. In this analysis some of the smallest, most remote parishes showed striking rates of growth. Twitchen, for example, grew by 34% between 1971-81 but on a population base at the start of the decade of just 67. Similarly, Cheldon experienced a 68% growth rate over the decade which in real terms represented only 15 people.

A rank correlation test was used to explore the relationship between settlement size and percentage population change, but overall there was found to be no clear relationship (positive or negative): the  $r_s$  value was 0.02 which was not statistically significant at the 95% level.

The very latest data relating to population changes since 1981 for the South Molton RD indicate that

possibly a different picture is once again emerging. Although the figures are only estimates, there appear to be more parishes now experiencing decline than in the decade 1971-81. For example, between 1971-81 only five parishes experienced a population decrease whereas Devon County Council figures for the period 1981-86 give twelve (albeit South Molton itself has continued to grow). These unpublished statistics for North Devon parishes are provided by Central Information Services at Devon County Council and are estimates based on the OPCS mid-year annual estimates at the district level. OPCS stress that their mid-year estimates are subject to potentially large inaccuracies particularly if used at the local, rather than the regional or national scale (OPCS 1980, 1987). Clearly one must be wary, therefore, of drawing any firm conclusions about population change since 1981 in the study area, particularly at the local parish scale. Nonetheless the data do at least raise the possibility that whilst substantial in-migration to the South Molton RD is continuing, the pace may have slowed from its rapid surge in the 1970s.

It has already been established (see Tables 3.6 and 3.7) that it is mainly fluctuations in the area's in-migration levels which account for the changing rates of population growth. The Census data show that since 1971, North Devon has experienced substantial growth in spite of negative natural changes. The Census can also shed some light on the demographic characteristics of

these in-migrant flows in that by revealing age structure changes it can provide some guidance on the contribution of retirement migration. Table 3.11 gives the age structure for the South Molton RD over the decade 1971-81. The 1981 Census figures reveal that 23% of the district's resident population are of retirement age. Although this figure is above the national average (18%), it is the same as that for Devon as a whole, and has only increased by one percentage point since 1971. Thus there seems little evidence to suggest that retirement migration is the main explanation of population growth in the district. Its impact has been mainly confined to the coastal towns, such as Ilfracombe and Lynton. Given that the contribution of retirement

TABLE 3.11      AGE STRUCTURE, SOUTH MOLTON RD, 1971-81.

Age Group	1971		1981	
	%	Nos	%	Nos
Over pensionable age	22	2438	23	2680
Under 16	20	2216	20	2576
15 - pensionable age	58	6426	57	7614
-----				

NOTE: 1981 data aggregated from ward level data.

Source : CENSUS 1971, 1981

migration would appear to be limited, attention now turns to the themes of industrial and employment change and to the question of the relationship between employment growth and population growth.

#### 3.4.3 Industrial and Employment Change

An analysis of the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, reveals that a radical restructuring of the North Devon economy took place during the 1970s. Whereas in the 1960s major industrial development had been largely confined to Barnstaple, where between 1966-71 manufacturing employment grew by 110% (D'Abbs 1974), in the 1970s the South Molton area experienced substantial industrial growth. Table 3.12 illustrates the principal changes between 1971 and 1981 for both North Devon as a whole and for the South Molton RD. South Molton RD's remarkable percentage gain in manufacturing (186%) was nearly five times the North Devon figure (36%) and over ten times the overall increase in its employed population (15%). This evidence clearly supports the view that manufacturing growth in rural regions need not be confined to their main urban centres but can be dispersed more widely (Shaw and Williams 1985, Grafton and Bolton 1984).

Manufacturing growth should not, however, be seen as the only important vehicle of change. The area's service sector (only partially dependent on the manufacturing base) employs three times as many people

TABLE 3.12      EMPLOYMENT CHANGE IN NORTH DEVON AND SOUTH MOLTON RD, 1971-81

Employment sector	North Devon District				South Molton RD			
	1971 No	1981 No	Actual change	% change	1971 No	1981 No	Actual change	% change
Primary	3680	3020	-660	-18	1510	1390	-120	-8
Manufacturing	4860	6630	+1770	+36	310	890	+580	+187
Services	17080	18450	+1370	+8	2210	2410	+200	+9
Construction	2790	2460	-330	-12	550	560	+10	+2
Total	28410	30560	+2150	+8	4580	5250	+670	+15

Source: Census 1971, 1981 (10% sample)

and it has also grown, albeit at a much slower rate (9%). The main elements within the service sector are distribution, catering and public services. The construction sector also showed a small growth, presumably meeting the accommodation needs of the area's growing population. Nor should it be overlooked that although agricultural employment fell it did so at a much slower rate than previously. D'Abbs (1974) refers to a fall in North Devon's primary employment of 48% between 1966-71, well above the 1970s decline. This underlines the point that in explaining the population revival it is not merely the presence of new jobs which is important but also the absence of large scale agricultural job losses.

Nonetheless, as data provided by the Department of Industry indicate, the many new industrial establishments which have been attracted to North Devon have created large numbers of new jobs. Table 3.13 gives the transfers of manufacturing units and new manufacturing branches set up in North Devon with origins outside the district between 1966 and 1985. The most striking feature of Table 3.13 is the present number of manufacturing jobs (3600) which have been generated by a relatively small number of incoming firms (42). Equally relevant and perhaps even surprising in view of the recession, is the overall high survival rate of migrant firms which stands at 83%. It is also evident from Table 3.13 that in-migration of



manufacturing firms was particularly important between 1968 and 1973. After 1973 it is clear that as the national recession deepened the migration of manufacturing firms to North Devon declined appreciably.

TABLE 3.13    TRANSFERS OF MANUFACTURING UNITS AND NEW  
MANUFACTURING BRANCHES SET UP IN NORTH DEVON  
WITH ORIGINS OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT 1966-85.

Year of Opening	No Opened	Survivals	Total Latest* Known Employment
1966-67	6	4	550
1968-69	12	10	850
1970-71	9	6	950
1972-73	7	7	800
1974-75	5	5	50
1976-80	5	5	300
1981-85	5	5	100
Totals	49	42	3600

Note:        \*Rounded to nearest 50 for data protection purposes

Source:    Department of Trade and Industry : South West Regional Office, Bristol

Due to data confidentiality it is not possible to identify separately new jobs in the complete transfers from those in the branch plants. Department of Trade and Industry officials, however, stressed the importance of the branch plant economy in North Devon. It seems that approximately 2000 out of the 3600 jobs recorded were with branch plants. Equally important has been the high survival rate of branch plants (21 out of 24) and

interestingly a recent survey (Keyes 1986) suggests that most intend to expand further in the near future.

Another important theme in the restructuring of the local economy, and especially the arrival of new manufacturing plants, has been the gender differences associated with the area's new employment structure.

TABLE 3.14 FEMALE EMPLOYMENT CHANGE IN NORTH DEVON

DISTRICT AND SOUTH MOLTON RD, 1971-81

	North Devon District				South Molton R.D.			
	1971 No	1981 No	1971-1981 NoCh	%Ch	1971 No	1981 No	1971-1981 NoCh	%Ch
Females F.T.	5960	7300	+1340	+22	940	1043	+103	+11
Females P.T.	3330	4360	+1030	+31	400	807	+407	+101
Total Females	9290	11660	+2370	+26	1340	1850	+510	+38
Total Males	18290	19299	+1009	+6	3086	3400	+314	+10

-----  
Source: Census 1971, 1981 (10% Sample)

Table 3.14 indicates that the fastest rates of employment growth have been in female rather than male occupations, with part-time female employment increasing substantially during the 1970s in both North Devon and the South Molton RD. These trends lend some support to Massey's work (1979, 1984), which emphasises the significance of female employment in new manufacturing industries, but it must be noted that the bulk of female employment in the South Molton RD is not in manufacturing (25%), but in the service sector (66%). Unfortunately, detailed figures on employment type by

gender are not available in the 1971 Census, thereby precluding inter-censal comparisons of manufacturing employment for females.

The pace and scale of industrial development in North Devon has obviously been influenced by both national and local government policies. For example, from 1966 the whole of the North Devon District was designated a Development Area, and was thus eligible for substantial industrial grants. In 1982, however, North Devon with the exception of the Ilfracombe employment area was downgraded to intermediate status and in November 1984, North Devon lost regional status completely (for reference see Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). Unemployment in North Devon by then was close to the national average and in the South Molton travel to work area has in recent years averaged between 10% and 12%, a little below the national figure. Unemployment in North Devon is of course well above the level of the mid-1960s when the area received its Assisted Area status but because it is by national standards no longer one of the worst affected areas there is at present no real prospect of it benefitting again from Britain's generally reduced regional policy.

Nonetheless, particularly in the years prior to the 1973 recession, regional development grants played an important role in attracting manufacturing plants to the area. Work by D'Abbs (1974) on industrial development in North Devon between 1966-74 showed that

out of a sample of 50 firms that had located in the region in this period (over half of them in the Barnstaple-Bideford area), 34 gave the availability of grants and allowances as the main reason for moving to North Devon. It is noteworthy that North Devon was selected in preference to other Development Areas largely because of its more desirable environment, a locational factor also highlighted by Gripaios (1984).

Industrial development in North Devon has also been influenced by county and district planning policies. Since the early 1960s Devon County Council has pursued a policy of actively encouraging industrial growth. In line with the county's settlement policy, industrial development in North Devon was during the 1960s and early 1970s directed to the district's main designated settlements. For example, in Barnstaple an industrial estate (23 hectares) at Pottington was established whilst smaller estates were developed at Ilfracombe and at South Molton (Pathfields and Horsepond Meadow). Although this policy still continues it appears that the unavailability of regional grants has resulted in more land being zoned for industrial use than seems to be needed.

The Development Commission and its agent CoSIRA have also played a limited role in factory provision in North Devon. Indeed South Molton RD has been recognised by the Development Commission as requiring special attention, prior to 1984 as a Special Investment Area

and since then as a Rural Development Area (Milne 1984, Tricker and Martin 1984, Chisholm 1985). In the case of South Molton itself a proposal for 4000 square metres of factory workshop units was approved by the Commission in 1979 but the units were never built because no suitable site could be found. In August 1984, however, South Molton was re-allocated 3000 square metres. Construction of these units is still pending a suitable site although it is now probable that the units will be developed "shortly" on the Pathfields estate (Facey 1986).

Outside South Molton, English Estates who can work both in conjunction with and independently of the Commission have been involved in the promotion of advanced factories in a number of locations, including Barnstaple and Ilfracombe (Devon County Council 1984, 1986). Within the South Molton RD a few small workshop units for locally-based businesses have already been built in Chulmleigh, whilst Witheridge parish council is also pressing English Estates to build some units in its area. There has clearly been, therefore, a close connection between public policy, employment gains and demographic growth. For example, the main period of industrial development in the Barnstaple-Bideford area was in the middle and late 1960s (following Development Area designation) and the census shows a population revival in many of the parishes in this area in the 1961-71 inter-censal decade. If we assume an economic

activity rate of approximately 55% then the 1770 additional jobs in manufacturing between 1971-81 for North Devon as a whole (see Table 3.12) could support (even allowing for part-timers) a total population of approximately 3218. Moreover, these recorded additional manufacturing jobs will through linkage and multiplier effects be sustaining jobs in other local firms and sectors and will therefore in effect be helping to support still larger numbers of people. Some of these will be existing households which might otherwise have left the area and others will be in-migrants.

Certainly within the South Molton RD the population growth of the 1970s was obviously closely related to the development of new factories and industrial estates within the local area. It is clearly important, therefore, in focussing on the South Molton growth experience to review the process of local economic development and to examine the interplay between government policies, industrial site provision and the locational decisions of individual companies.

The main sites accommodating South Molton RD's new industry are on two industrial estates in South Molton itself, both of which were developed in the late 1960s. Given the importance of the estates to South Molton a brief review of their development is appropriate. The estates were largely built on the initiative of the town council, with some funding from Devon County Council.

The first site, called Horsepond Meadow, was four hectares in size and was zoned for light industrial use (Plate 3.1). From Figure 3.12 it can be seen that at the time of designation it was on the town's edge. But since 1970, the town's outward spread to the west now makes Horsepond Meadow a more centrally located site situated amongst some of the town's modern housing developments. The Horsepond Meadow site was developed in 1968-69 and by 1971 all five industrial sites were sold (Eves 1986). The firms currently on the Horsepond Meadow estate include Simmette's Ltd who manufacture bath cubes and who transferred production from Bristol to South Molton in 1971. This firm currently employs approximately 30 people. The other main firm is Gospel Press and GP Printers, a business started by a local family which similarly employs around 30. The National Tyre Centre and Michael Tucker Motor Engineer, occupy the remaining two sites.

The second industrial estate, now called Pathfields, adjoins the railway station and yard: passenger and goods services having been withdrawn in October 1966. The 12 hectare site is located one mile north of the centre of South Molton town and is in a reasonably secluded part of the valley of the River Mole (Plate 3.2). The development started in 1970-71 when a site (1.2 hectare) was sold to High Temperature Engineers Ltd. This enabled the Rural District Council to use the proceeds from this sale, alongside a 30%





PLATE 3.2 PATHFIELDS INDUSTRIAL ESTATE, SOUTH MOLTON.



grant from the County Council who needed a site in the area suitable for a Divisional Highway Depot, to construct a service road to the industrial estate (South Molton RD Minutes 1971). The Pathfields estate now accommodates a handful of businesses including High Temperature Engineers Ltd, the County Highway Depot, Devon and Cornwall Wools Ltd and Modular Screens.

In addition to these two industrial estates there are a number of other industrial enterprises both in and around South Molton itself and in the smaller villages. For example, two miles south of South Molton at Hill Village are Aaronson Brothers a large chipboard factory which arrived in 1971 and now employs 340 people. On a smaller scale there is Holsworthy Electronics which has 50 full-time and 10 part-time employees and is located one-and-a-half miles from South Molton on the North Molton road, whilst further afield at Chulmleigh there are a handful of small industrial units provided by English Estates in the 1970s.

Service sector growth has also accompanied population growth and has involved both public and private organisations. Although the local authority is the main employer in North Devon its location in Barnstaple means most of its office based staff are drawn from the Barnstaple-Braunton-Bideford area. The single largest item of service employment in the South Molton district is education, because the area has two comprehensives (South Molton and Chulmleigh) and a

number of junior and primary schools. South Molton also provides not only retail but also some private sector office work, especially through the banks (all four main high street banks have branches) and building societies.

Amongst the firms mentioned above there are two which have had an especially profound effect on the growth of the local economy and therefore require a more detailed discussion of the decision process which led them to the South Molton area. The first is High Temperature Engineers Ltd who set up a branch plant on the Pathfields industrial estate in 1972 and began production in January 1973 in a purpose built factory, some 17000 square metres in size (Plate 3.3). The principal concerns of the firm include the design, development and manufacture of a variety of specialised systems control equipment for the aircraft and defence industries. The parent plant is located in Fareham in Hampshire and although some research and development is carried out in both locations, South Molton's primary role is production.

Since 1973 High Temperature Engineers has enjoyed substantial expansion at South Molton and it now has a total of 35000 square metres of production area, occupying four buildings. The firm's employment record has been equally impressive: in 1973 High Temperature Engineers had a total of 180 employees based at South Molton whilst in 1986 this figure stood at 382. Interestingly, the firm built some key worker housing in



North Molton and Chittlehampton and brought a total of 17 employees from Fareham, who ranged from the Works Director down to skilled manual employees who were expected to teach the locals. Now the employees are predominantly male with many classified as skilled engineers. Although the firm considers itself an equal opportunities employer, High Temperature Engineers take a firm line against any attempts to establish a union.

The branch plant's location in North Devon is mainly explained by the area's status in the early 1970s as an Assisted Area. At this time the company was keen to expand but it was only granted an Industrial Development Certificate (IDC) for limited growth in the Fareham area provided they established a factory in a Development Area for a minimum of five years. North Devon represented the nearest Development Area to Fareham, and "proximity" to the parent company was a prime concern. Moreover, it was the immediate availability of land, and the "enthusiasm shown by the local town council which led to the present development at Pathfields" (Moore 1986). The fact that the firm's resources are divided between two factories 150 miles and some four hours apart is still considered one of the main operational problems

The second major industrial employer in the South Molton area is a branch of Aaronsen Brothers, although the site was originally developed by the Ulster Chipboard Company. In the late 1960s the Ulster

Chipboard Company (based at Coleraine in Northern Ireland) wanted to expand production and open up new markets. North Devon was chosen through a combination of personal contacts living in the area, the availability of regional grants and because there was no chipboard production in the South West. After a visit by South Molton councillors to Northern Ireland to assess the suitability of this somewhat heavy manufacturing industry for the area (South Molton RD Minutes 1970), the main difficulty was finding an appropriate industrial site. Eventually eight hectares of land were found at Hill Village, some two miles to the south of South Molton, and the firm had started production by 1971.

Shortly afterwards the firm sold both its Coleraine and South Molton factories to Aaronsen Brothers. Aaronsen Brothers already had (amongst other enterprises) three chipboard factories in London (two at Rickmansworth and one at Leyton). By 1970 all three London factories were fully expanded, and Aaronsens were looking for a suitable new site to surface their chipboard products and to bring together all their different operations. Between 1973 and 1976, the company, therefore, closed all of its London operations and transferred its production to South Molton (Bryant 1986).

The main concern of the South Molton plant (shown in Plate 3.4) is still to make chipboard products and





surface them. The site has expanded considerably over the years from eight hectares in the early 1970s to a present total of 16 hectares. Although the company does not envisage any further large scale expansion at Hill Village, it anticipates some extensions and modifications to the existing site to accommodate new technology (Bryant 1986). The workforce has increased substantially from its original figure of 90 employees to a present total of 340. With the exception of office staff, the workforce is composed of male full-time workers who work on three, eight hour shifts. In contrast to High Temperature Engineers, much of the labour force are employed as unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers. The factory operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week and the resulting shift-working explains the relatively high wages earned by Aaronson employees. Unlike High Temperature Engineers, the firm does have a union, TGWU, which exists partly for wage negotiations but also for maintaining high safety standards in the factory.

Together High Temperature Engineers and Aaronson Brothers employ over 700 people. Given that the total population of South Molton town in 1981 was 3611 and of the South Molton RD was 12870 the area clearly has a high degree of dependence on these two companies. Neither firm has developed particularly strong local linkages (suppliers, sub-contractors etc), yet if either firm should severely cut back on its production or



leave the area, this would have extremely serious consequences for the local economy.

Having emphasised one important contribution made to the growth of South Molton by the area's major new employers it must be said the relationship between economic and population change is complicated and it would be too simplistic to present job growth as the only independent variable in an inevitably complex population equation. Changes in age structures, unemployment levels and economic activity rates and the whole range of personal motives behind household migration are among the many other ingredients which have to be taken into account. At the local level too within the South Molton RD the detailed implementation of settlement and housing policies as outlined in the next section can also decide whether a particular place is permitted to grow and by how much.

#### 3.4.4. Settlement Planning Policy and Housing Development

It is an obvious but sometimes overlooked fact that people can only move into areas where there is an available supply of suitable accommodation. Thus an area's ability to attract and absorb population growth is dependent on a growth in the housing stock (albeit because there has been a continual decrease in household size during the post-war period and it would be over-simplistic to assume that an increase in housing

stock is automatically a response to population growth).

An important aspect of policy considered here is the striking contrast in housing growth between North Devon's designated and non-designated settlements as shown in Tables 3.15 and 3.16. For example, Barnstaple the only sub-regional centre gained over 2000 dwellings between 1969 and 1984 and experienced, therefore, substantial population growth (from 15944 to 18059 between 1961 and 1981). It is also noticeable that those key settlements which later became area or local centres (including the town of South Molton) generally experienced much more substantial housing development than the key settlements which lost their designation. Similarly, Table 3.16 shows that only a handful of dwellings were built in settlements which were never designated: these new houses were usually detached or semi-detached properties on "infilling" sites. That many parishes experienced population growth with apparently little new development may be due in part to some new building not recorded in Table 3.16, to the renovation of old disused dwellings or barns, to dwelling extensions or occasionally to occupancy changes substituting larger for smaller households.

The tabulated data on new housing also reveal the uneasy dominance of owner-occupation. Apart from some small scale provision for the elderly, public sector construction since the 1980 Housing Act, has almost entirely ceased (indeed in South Molton town a quarter

TABLE 3.15      NUMBER OF NEW DWELLINGS FOR DESIGNATED  
SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTH DEVON DISTRICT,  
1969-85

Settlement	Classification		1	2	3	4	Total
	1964-1981	1981-1986					
Barnstaple	Sub-Regional Centre	Sub-Regional Centre	P LA	320 327	299 310	643 147	1262 784
Braunton	Sub-Urban Town	Selected Local Centre	P LA	470 59	216 60	100 27	786 146
Bishops Nympton	Key Settlement	-	P LA	3 6	7 10	11 --	21 16
Burrington	Key Settlement	-	P LA	3 8	7 13	4 --	14 21
Chittlehampton	Key Settlement	-	P LA	9 16	2 --	5 --	16 16
Chulmleigh	Key Settlement	Selected Local Centre	P LA	12 26	24 --	26 --	62 26
North Molton	Key Settlement	-	P LA	23 9	26 9	16 --	65 18
South Molton	Key Inland Town	Area Centre	P LA	90 48	85 90	100 16	275 154
Witheridge	Key Settlement	Selected Local Centre	P LA	11 20	92 6	43 --	146 26
-----							

Note: 1      Housing, Private or Local Authority  
Note: 2      Mid-1969 to Mid-1974  
Note: 3      Mid-1974 to Mid-1979  
Note: 4      Mid-1979 to Mid-1985

Source:      Central Information Services, Devon county council.

TABLE 3.16                      NUMBER            OF            NEW            DWELLINGS            FOR  
NON-DESIGNATED    PARISHES IN THE FIELDWORK  
AREA, 1975-85

Parishes	Housing: Private or LA	Dec 1975 to Dec 1979	Dec 1980 to Dec 1985	Total
Satterleigh and Warkleigh	P LA	- -	2 -	2 -
George Nympton	P LA	3 -	8 -	11 -
Queens Nympton	P LA	- -	- -	- -
Kings Nympton	P LA	2 -	1 -	3 -
Filleigh	P LA	2 6	2 -	4 6
East Buckland	P LA	3 -	3 -	6 -

-----  
Source: Central Information Services, Devon county council.

of the council stock was sold between 1980 and 1985). So instead North Devon District Council now look to housing associations to provide low cost housing which will accommodate families (who can be disadvantaged by in-migrant competition for housing). Recently two housing associations have constructed approximately 20 new dwellings each in the fieldwork area, namely South Molton and Chittlehampton.

With respect to housing and planning policies it is particularly interesting that the 1967 Outline Plan for South Molton town did not forecast any future population growth and in fact anticipated a marginal decline. Thus whilst enough housing provision was allocated to account for the declining household size, there was an unforeseen pressure from in-migrants which placed demands on the housing market and forced prices to rise. Another pressure of demand is the effect of new roads (Gilg 1978) which is illustrated by the impact of the present construction of the North Devon Link road on settlements such as Witheridge which has experienced substantial private housing development in anticipation of its improved communication link.

A key factor in the geography of local population change has been the impact of sewage and sewerage constraints. The South West Water Authority (SWWA) is empowered to impose where necessary either a restriction or a complete embargo on further development. It is noteworthy that within the fieldwork area the parishes

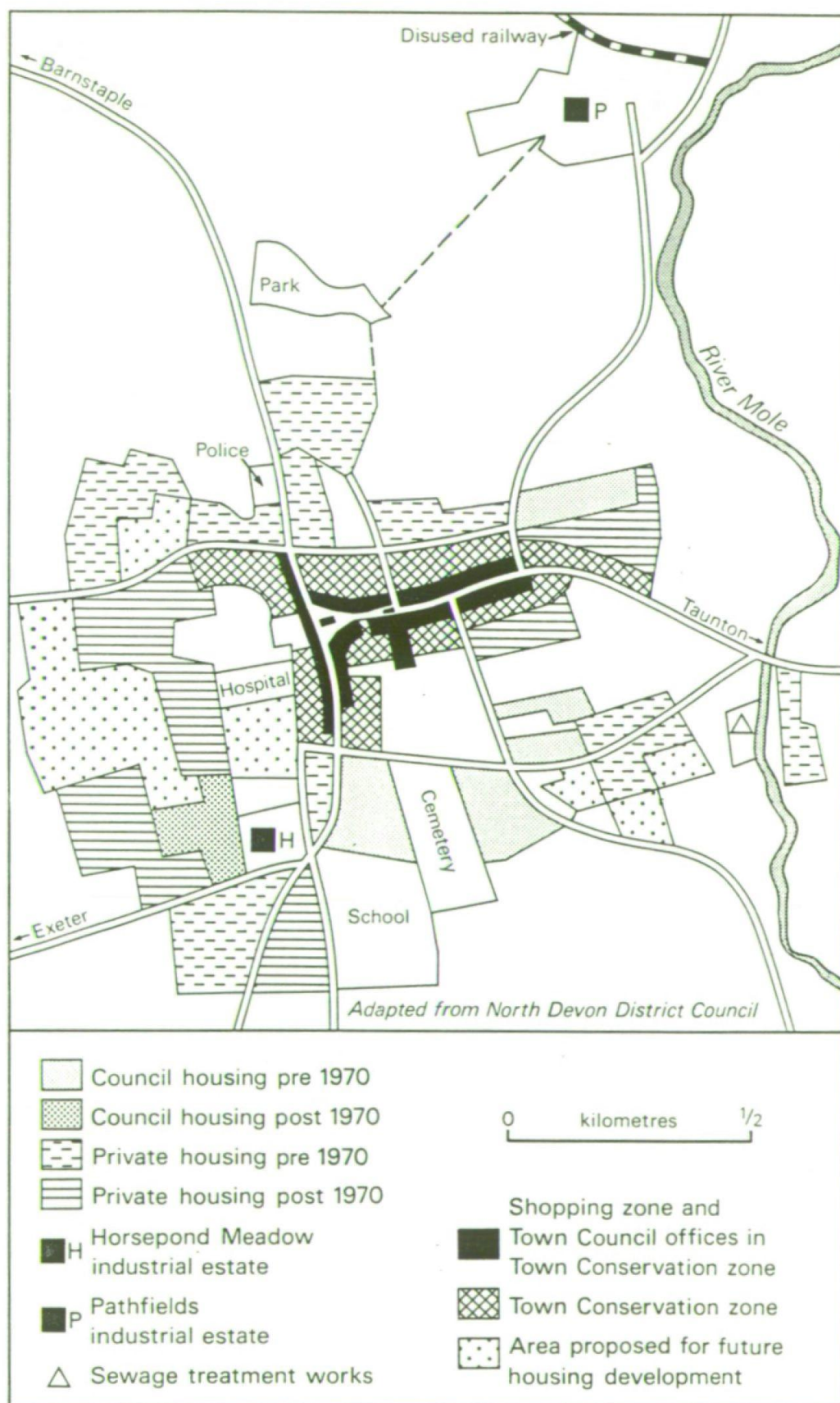
of East Buckland, Filleigh and Queens Nympton and the hamlet of Warkleigh have no sewage/sewerage provision at all and rely entirely on private systems (an immediate constraint on the amount of development possible). In the case of the other parishes the SWWA are legally only responsible for the immediate village centre and thus development outside the centre is similarly restricted.

Sewerage restrictions were imposed in 1974 on four out of the six key settlements in the South Molton RD (Chittlehampton, North Molton, Bishops Nympton and Chulmleigh), thereby preventing any further major development. Similarly, a sewerage restriction on South Molton since 1979 has affected the pace and scale of housing and industrial development. In 1985 improvements were made to South Molton's works, yet ironically it is already close to full capacity (Williams 1986).

Another major influence on housing development has been conservation policies. Apart from the stringent controls over development within the Exmoor National Park the countryside lying adjacent to the park (to the South and West) is designated as an Area of Great Landscape Value. Moreover in 1973 part of the town of South Molton was designated a Conservation Area (see Figure 3.12). In addition many of the outlying, non-designated settlements have strict development control policies which seek to protect the more attractive villages on environmental grounds.

FIGURE 3.12

LAND USE MAP OF SOUTH MOLTON



#### 3.4.5 The Town of South Molton

South Molton's local importance is explained in part through it serving a very large and remote rural hinterland, and in part through its location on the main road (A361) between Taunton (40 miles) and Barnstaple (15 miles). The simplified land use map (Figure 3.12) outlines the main features of the town and the location of the development which has taken place.

The town's conservation zone includes most of the original town centre and this has restricted new development. Much of the town centre dates from the mid-18th to the mid-19th Century when South Molton was a thriving inland centre for agriculture, textiles, and tin and copper mining and many of the buildings bear witness to this period of wealth and prosperity. Most of the retailing is found in the conservation zone and especially noteworthy are the two "islands" located in the middle of the town centre (Broad Street). The Post Office building (Plate 3.5), formerly a corn market occupies one and the other "island" has several buildings but particularly striking is Currie, the chemist, with its ornate wrought iron facade (Plate 3.6).

The Guildhall (Plate 3.7) is the most impressive architectural feature of South Molton's Town Square and was built between 1743 and 1773. It is still used by a variety of other organisations for both social and administrative functions. Adjoining the Guildhall is



PLATE 3.5 THE POST OFFICE AT SOUTH MOLTON, FORMERLY THE  
TOWN'S CORN MARKET



PLATE 3.6 CURRIE, THE CHEMIST, WITH ITS WROUGHT IRON  
FACADE, SOUTH MOLTON





PLATE 3.7 THE GUILDHALL AND ASSEMBLY ROOMS (LEFT  
BUILDING), SOUTH MOLTON



PLATE 3.8 PANNIER MARKET NOW RESTORED WITH THE CHURCH  
OF ST MARY MAGDALENE IN THE DISTANCE



the Pannier Market Assembly Rooms which were built in 1863. Now extensively restored (Plate 3.8) this building is filled on market day with both private stalls selling merchandise and by fund-raising stalls run by voluntary organisations. The Guildhall, Pannier Market and the sheep and cattle market are all located in the centre of South Molton; and this has helped to maintain the traditional agricultural character of the market town, and to sustain the central areas. Most of the housing close to the centre is either large traditional-style town houses reflecting South Molton's former period of wealth or smaller terraced houses (Plates 3.9 and 3.10). Interestingly, many of the larger dwellings have in recent years been purchased by in-migrants looking to renovate and restore property.

Although there has been little development in the centre, other parts of South Molton do reveal the impact of the town's recent population growth (from 2975 in 1971 to 3611 in 1981). The local authority and private dwellings which have been built during the post-war period are concentrated on the western perimeter of the town. Private housing has been provided mainly by local builders and has generally been in the form of small estates which cater for detached and semi-detached houses which architecturally have not been especially imaginative (Plate 3.11).

With very few private - rented dwellings, local authority housing dominates the rented sector. It can



PLATE 3.9    SOME OF SOUTH MOLTON'S FINEST TRADITIONAL  
HOUSING

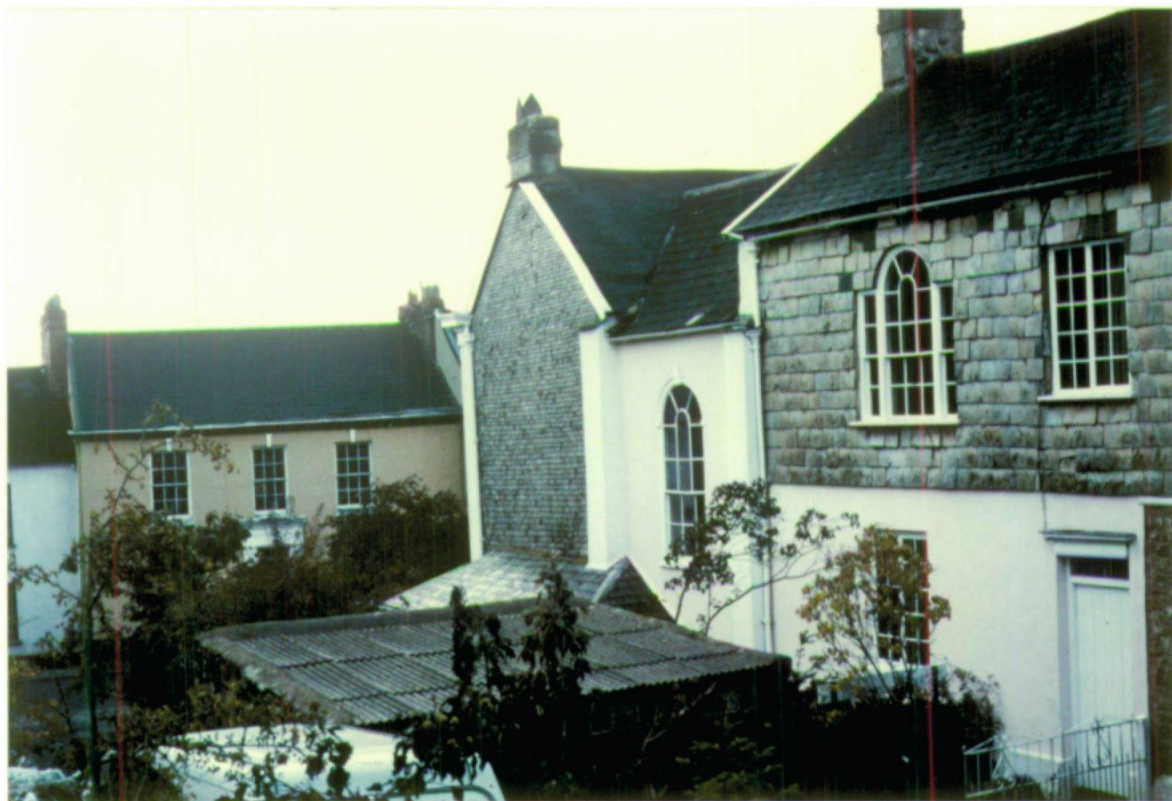


PLATE 3.10    TRADITIONAL TERRACED HOUSING, EAST STREET,  
IN SOUTH MOLTON



be seen from Figure 3.12 that although the majority of local authority building took place prior to 1970, a fairly extensive new addition has been the well planned development at Churchill Crescent in the south west (Plate 3.12). There has also been a small housing association development at Livarot Walk (Plate 3.13). The other form of low cost housing has been the development since the mid-1960s of the Mill-on-the-Mole residential retirement park, located opposite the sewage treatment works on the outskirts of the town (Plate 3.14). This park now has 100 mobile homes which provide a relatively cheap source of private housing for over 150 retired persons. Interestingly, the majority of residents are in-migrants to the area, many of whom were unable to afford conventional housing.

In terms of future developments in South Molton, the first alteration to the County Structure Plan (Devon County Council 1983) indicates that sufficient land should be allocated to permit an additional 600 dwellings to be constructed between 1981-96. This figure is based on the projected population forecast for South Molton of 4600 by 1996. Between 1981-85 approximately 320 houses had either been built, had full planning permission or outline consent (North Devon District Council 1986). The new Local Plan suggests sites for the remaining 280 houses. Where possible future housing developments in South Molton are on infill sites which should round off the boundaries of



PLATE 3.11   AN UNIMAGINATIVE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AT  
HOWARDS CLOSE, SOUTH MOLTON



PLATE 3.12   THE SUCCESSFUL LOCAL AUTHORITY DEVELOPMENT  
AT CHURCHILL CRESENT, SOUTH MOLTON





PLATE 3.13 A SMALL HOUSING ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT

(OPENED 1985) AT LIVAROT WALK, SOUTH MOLTON



PLATE 3.14 THE MILL-ON-THE-MOLE RESIDENTIAL PARK,

PHYSICALLY SEPARATED FROM SOUTH MOLTON TOWN



existing developments.

Clearly at the micro scale, planning and development decisions over what is built where and for whom have played and will continue to play a key role in shaping the geography of population change. However, it is important to note that these micro decisions are detailed expressions of wider pressures for change/growth. Industrial development, partly promoted by regional, county and local policies has been a key ingredient in these growth pressures.

Apart from the interplay of the local and wider considerations, it is also necessary in a study of population change to consider the migrants themselves. Thus having introduced the study area and the patterns and policies of growth, attention now turns to the migrant households. The next chapter is the first of three on the migrants and introduces their basic characteristics by considering their household composition, and their housing and employment characteristics.



## CHAPTER FOUR : THE INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the households interviewed in the fieldwork area, and is the first of three chapters which relate to the results of the household questionnaire. The nature of the sampling frame used in selecting the interviewed households was explained in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3). A total of 302 households were interviewed of which 226 were newcomers and 76 were stayers, a ratio of 3:1 in favour of the newcomer households. A newcomer household is defined as one which had moved to North Devon since 1970. Although a household might have moved to North Devon, left and subsequently returned, the date of arrival in North Devon is taken from the household's most recent entry. A stayer household is one which was living in North Devon prior to 1970. This definition includes, therefore, those households that might have moved into North Devon at any date prior to 1970. The term stayer is used in preference to more ambiguous titles such as "local" households. The cut-off date is not entirely arbitrary. It was chosen to include as migrants those who moved in during the early 1970s which was the peak period of rural rejuvenation in Britain (Champion 1983,1988). The distinction between newcomer and stayer

households is made on the basis of length of residence in North Devon as a whole, and not length of residence in the South Molton fieldwork area. One of the main aims of Chapter 4 is to place the characteristics of the interviewed households in a wider socio-economic context. Thus throughout the chapter, the case study data are compared with statistics at the National (Great Britain) and regional (South West) scale. Another aim of the chapter is to identify any contrasts that might exist between the newcomer and stayer households, thereby helping to establish how far the influx of newcomers has changed the area's socio-economic composition. In most cases the tables are structured so that information relating to the whole data set is given alongside those for each of these two groups. Where appropriate a chi square test was used on the survey data as a means of examining whether the observed differences between the two interviewed groups were in fact statistically significant.

The first section of this chapter examines the demographic and social characteristics of the newcomer and stayer households (such as their age structures and qualifications), thereby providing a comprehensive set of household profiles. Secondly, the various housing characteristics of the interviewed households are analysed, and this is followed in section three by an examination of their employment and social class characteristics. It is important to note that the data

given in this chapter relate to the households at the time of the interview in order that comparisons can be made between newcomers and stayers. Overall the chapter should be seen as providing a profile of the interviewed households which paves the way for subsequent analysis of the relocation process and its impact on the locality.

#### 4.2 THE INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' PROFILES

This section opens by analysing the interviewed households' length of residence in North Devon and the fieldwork area (Table 4.1). Taking the newcomer households first, 44% had moved to North Devon since 1980, whilst 33% and 23% moved between 1975-79, and 1970-74 respectively. The length of residence in the fieldwork area is similar to the length of residence in North Devon which suggests that most newcomer households chose the South Molton survey area when first moving to North Devon. The high proportion of post-1980 in-migrants is somewhat at variance with both the national and the Devon County picture of rural demographic resurgence peaking in the early 1970s. Although it is possible that the sampling method failed to pick up sufficiently on longer established newcomers, this danger was minimised by asking the key contacts to list as possible newcomers those on the electoral register whose length of residence was uncertain. Another explanation is that a proportion of households

who moved in 10 or 15 years prior to the survey have either moved out, or if elderly, they may have died.

With reference to the stayer households' length of residence, the majority have lived in North Devon for many years with the single largest group (43%) having lived there prior to 1945. Thus most stayer households are truly "local" to North Devon and are not simply a group which made long-distance moves into the area a few years before 1970. Similarly the length of residence in the South Molton fieldwork area showed the single largest stayer group (28%) to be those households who were residing there prior to 1945. Nonetheless a similar proportion of stayers had moved into the South Molton fieldwork area from other parts of North Devon since 1970 and so a minority of stayers while long

TABLE 4.1                    INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' LENGTH OF  
RESIDENCE IN NORTH DEVON AND THE  
FIELDWORK AREA

Length of Residence	All		North Devon				Fieldwork Area					
	No	%	New-comers		Stayers		All		New-comers		Stayers	
			No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Since 1980	100	33	100	44			127	42	114	50	13	17
1975-1979	75	25	75	33			81	27	73	32	8	11
1970-1974	51	17	51	23			40	13	39	17	1	1
1965-1969	12	4			12	16	13	4			13	17
1955-1964	21	7			21	28	15	5			15	20
1945-1954	10	3			10	13	5	2			5	7
Before 1945	33	11			33	43	21	7			21	28
Total	302	100	226	100	76	100	302	100	226	99	76	101
-----												

established in North Devon had only more recently arrived in the South Molton area itself.

As mentioned in the opening chapter, one possible explanation for the population turnaround is that the migratory flow to remote rural areas is composed of people moving back to their areas of origin or former residence, a trend which has been labelled "return migration". Dean et al (1984) found this to form between 12% (household interview survey) and 22% (postal survey) of the in-migrant flow into Cornwall. However, in the case of North Devon it was interesting that only 9% of adult newcomers were migrants returning to North Devon after a period away and only 6% had lived in the district during their childhood years. These inter-county contrasts may relate to the slightly greater importance of retirement migration revealed in the Cornish study or perhaps to Cornwall's clearer geographical and cultural identity exerting a stronger pull on its former residents.

Table 4.2 summarises the survey data on household size. The most striking feature for both groups is the small number of single person households. Whilst these account for only 6% of the survey total, both the Great Britain and South West 1981 figures stood at 22% (OPCS 1983). In contrast, 27% of the interviewed households contained four persons as opposed to 18% for Great Britain and the South West. There are no striking contrasts in household size between the newcomers' and

stayers' data (chi square 7.59 not significant at the 95% level). The proportion of single parent families is generally higher in urban and especially inner city areas and this may, in part at least, help to explain the survey's above average household size. More noteworthy is that none of the interviewed households were operating as part of a wider "communal" group. Indeed the fieldwork area was known to contain only three or four collectives practising alternative family arrangements. The traditional nuclear family unit was overwhelmingly predominant and the pro-collective emphasis of some of the literature (Ford 1983, Ilvento & Luloff 1982) found virtually no substantiation in the fieldwork area.

**TABLE 4.2    SIZE OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS**

Number of People	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
1 Person Houshld.	19	6	14	6	5	7
2 "	90	30	64	28	26	34
3 "	51	17	33	15	18	24
4 "	81	27	63	28	18	24
5 "	35	12	29	13	6	8
6 "	18	6	15	7	3	4
7 "	6	2	6	3	-	-
8 "	2	1	2	1	-	-
Total	302	101	226	101	76	101

$$X^2 = 7.59$$

$$df = 5$$

There is no significant difference between the newcomer and stayer households at the 95% level.

Note: \*Categories combined for  $X^2$  test

In terms of gender, marginally more women (507) than men (495) were included in the survey households with no obvious contrasts between the newcomers and stayers. The survey ratio of 51% female to 49% male is exactly the national average. Moreover, with the exception of three interviewed households, all were white. The ethnic minorities have clearly not really participated in South Molton's population growth. Data relating to the marital status of the residents of the two interviewed groups are given in Table 4.3 and are again in line with the national pattern : 53% of the survey's population were married compared to 50% in Britain and 52% in the South West. The low chi square value (5.17) which is not significant at the 95% level indicates the similarity in results between the newcomers and stayers.

The survey data on age (Table 4.4) reveal a more varied picture. The interviewed population had by national and regional standards, relatively few old people and a high proportion of children. For example only 9% of the survey population were over 65, compared with 15% for Great Britain and 17% for the South West (OPCS 1983). Moreover the newcomers were considerably more youthful than the stayers. This is an especially interesting finding since it is at odds with the Devon population county trend of in-migration producing an ageing population profile. The survey results point in quite the opposite direction, indeed among newcomers,

the 0-15 years age group form the largest single category and 33% of the total population. The commonly held assumption that elderly people retiring to the countryside are responsible for remote rural population growth must be challenged. In the light of the North Devon findings and those of Jones et al (1984) in Scotland and Perry et al (1986) in Cornwall it is becoming increasingly clear that the remote rural population turnaround is neither an essentially retirement, nor necessarily a pre-retirement phenomenon.

TABLE 4.3    MARITAL STATUS OF MEMBERS OF INTERVIEWED  
HOUSEHOLDS

Marital Status	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Single*	422	42	334	43	88	38
Living as married*	16	2	14	2	2	1
Married+	517	52	388	50	129	56
Separated+	6	1	3	-	3	1
Divorced	13	1	12	2	1	-
Widowed	28	3	20	3	8	3
Total	1002	101	771	100	231	99

$\chi^2 = 5.17$   
df = 3

There is no significant difference between the newcomer and stayer households at the 95% level.

Note: \*,+ categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test



TABLE 4.4    AGE OF MEMBERS OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

Age	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
0-15 yrs	297	30	253	33	44	19
16-34 yrs	241	24	185	24	56	24
35-54 yrs	275	27	214	28	61	26
55-64 yrs	98	10	57	7	41	18
65 and over	91	9	62	8	29	13
Total	1002	100	771	100	231	100

$$\chi^2 = 34.96$$

$$df = 4$$

There is a significant difference between the newcomers and stayers at the 99% level.

Table 4.5 gives data on the highest educational or professional qualifications obtained by the adult members of the interviewed households. Overall, 33% had no qualifications which is the single largest category and is similar to the figures for the UK and the South West which stand at 36% and 31% respectively (Central Statistical Office 1986). In contrast the number of adult residents with higher (15%) and further (12%) education qualifications is well above the national and regional figures. In 1984, 8% of the UK's and South West's workforce had a degree (or equivalent) whilst a further 6% had some form of higher education qualification (Central Statistical Office 1986).

A chi square test using eight categories showed statistically significant differences overall between the newcomers and stayers. An examination of Table 4.5 does show that the newcomers were over three times more

likely to possess a higher education qualification and were also much less likely to have no formal qualifications. The higher level of qualifications associated with the newcomer households is not surprising, and tends to follow other research which has been carried out on the population turnround in Britain, including the work of Perry et al (1986) in Cornwall. Qualifications often have a direct bearing on access to work and on employment status and prospects and in this context the importance of the differences highlighted in Table 4.5 should not be underestimated.

**TABLE 4.5**    QUALIFICATIONS OBTAINED BY MEMBERS OF  
INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS.

Qualifications	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No qualifications	235	33	148	29	87	47
School certificate	63	9	40	8	23	12
City of guilds	53	8	36	7	17	9
CSE/O levels	123	17	101	19	22	12
A levels	25	4	19	4	6	3
Further education	87	12	67	13	20	11
Higher education	105	15	95	18	10	5
Other qualification*	4	1	4	1	-	-
No information*	10	1	8	2	2	1
Total	705	100	518	101	187	100

$$\chi^2 = 37.97$$

$$df = 7$$

There is a significant difference between the newcomer and stayer households at the 99% level.

Note : \* Categories combined for the  $\chi^2$  test.

#### 4.3 THE INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS.

The section starts by analysing the style of property occupied by the interviewed households (Table 4.6). The largest category of housing type in this survey is detached (126) which represents 42% of the total. Terraced and semi-detached housing accounts for 22% and 20% respectively, with bungalows representing a further 15%. The "others" category in Table 4.6 refers to households living on the Mill-on-the-Mole mobile home caravan park (situated on the edge of South Molton), which caters for retired persons almost all of whom have moved into North Devon from outside the district. Apart from this small group, the data in Table 4.6 also indicate that newcomers were more likely to occupy detached dwellings and stayers were more commonly in bungalows, albeit the differences were not sufficiently large to be statistically significant. For both groups detached dwellings were least common amongst those living in South Molton itself, this obviously reflecting the nature of the town's housing stock.

An analysis of housing age produced some particularly interesting results. Table 4.7 shows that the newcomers tended to occupy either the oldest or the most modern housing with relatively few in the intermediate categories. The pattern of recent arrivals occupying the oldest dwellings is a common feature of English villages (Dunn et al 1981, Clark 1982, Shucksmith 1981) and results from the newcomers' desire

**TABLE 4.6 HOUSING TYPE OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS**

Housing	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Bungalow	44	15	27	12	17	22
Terrace	66	22	48	21	18	24
Semi-detached	59	20	44	19	15	20
Detached	126	42	100	44	26	34
Flat*	2	1	2	1	-	-
Others*	5	2	5	2	-	-
Total	302	102	226	99	76	100

$$x^2 = 8.12$$

$$df = 4$$

There is no significant difference between newcomer and stayer households at the 95% level.

Note : \* Categories combined for  $x^2$  test.

**TABLE 4.7 AGE OF HOUSING THAT INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS**

OCCUPY

Housing Age	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
1970-1985	90	30	76	34	14	18
1940-1969	34	11	16	7	18	24
1918-1939	20	7	11	5	9	12
1850-1917	48	16	35	15	13	17
Pre- 1850	110	36	88	39	22	29
Total	302	100	226	100	76	100

$$x^2 = 24.17$$

$$df = 4$$

There is a significant difference between the newcomer and stayer households at the 99% level.

to obtain a traditional looking cottage in the countryside. With intense competition for a limited legacy of such dwellings, however, in recent years many people moving into rural areas have settled for modern dwellings often on estates (Glyn-Jones 1977). These new estates have provided the additional housing supply needed to accommodate population growth, especially to those with only limited financial resources. In the case of the fieldwork area most of this new housing is concentrated in South Molton town and for this reason over two thirds of newcomers in post-1970 housing were living in the town itself. The houses were moderately priced and accommodated newcomers such as teachers, policemen, local government officials and some who worked on the factory shop floors. Outside South Molton the only other parish to accommodate a significant number of newcomers in modern housing was North Molton where High Temperature Engineers have built some key worker housing and there is also some private and local authority housing. Elsewhere newcomers were typically in old detached cottages outside the village centres and in hamlets or on isolated farms. Overall in the present survey 39% of newcomers were in pre-1850 dwellings and 34% in post-1970 dwellings, this bi-modal distribution being statistically different from that of the stayer households.

There is some evidence that rural gentrification

has occurred with the arrival of newcomer households both in South Molton itself, and the outlying parishes. Indicators of rural gentrification can be numerous but one obvious characteristic is the modernisation of older village housing and the conversion of former non-residential buildings such as schools, chapels, and barns (Parsons 1980). One household, for example, who had moved from a three bedroomed semi in Lancashire, converted a half derelict barn which took about two years before it was habitable and during that time they lived in a caravan.

The tenurial structure is another important characteristic of rural housing systems. The key feature of Table 4.8 on tenure is the dominance of owner occupation. In this survey 89% of newcomer households and 79% of stayer households were owner occupiers. Owner occupation is recognised to be generally higher in rural than urban areas (Phillips and Williams 1984, Rogers 1983) and these figures exceed both the UK and the South West average (61% and 69% respectively). The overall figure for North Devon is 67% (OPCS 1983a) which points to some over-representation of owner occupation in the sample survey. However, the particularly high levels of owner occupation amongst newcomers were to be expected. Many newcomers represent either an affluent sector of the population well able to compete in a rural housing market or an aspiring lower middle class group who took

on property ownership as a source of financial security.

TABLE 4.8 HOUSING TENURE OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

Housing Tenure	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Private owner occup	245	81	191	85	54	71
LA property	21	7	14	6	7	9
Former LA now owner occupied	15	5	9	4	6	8
Employer provided*	8	3	4	2	4	5
Private rented*	13	4	8	4	5	7
Total	302	100	226	101	76	100

$\chi^2 = 7.26$   
df = 3

There is no significant difference between newcomer and stayer households at the 95% level.

Note 1 : \* Categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test

Note 2 : LA stands for Local Authority.

The final table in this section, Table 4.9, shows the approximate value of the owner occupiers' properties at the time of the interview. Because of the sensitive nature of financial questions, interviewees were not asked to value their home. In addition, it was anticipated that many households might not have known the value of their homes and would have either hazarded a guess or inflated the value. Detailed information was obtained on house prices for South Molton and contiguous parishes through a local South Molton estate agent (Alston 1985). In the case of South Molton town, typical house prices were given for every road depending on the

quality and size of property. For the surrounding parishes information was obtained relating to a variety of criteria such as the size and age of the property, its location (village centre or isolated), and whether it had any land. The survey parishes were further ranked according to whether the settlement itself affected the house prices. For example, a similar type of property in East Buckland, or Satterleigh and Warkleigh would be cheaper than if it was located in Chittlehampton or North Molton. Whilst this use of a local estate agent to estimate property values obviously provided less than entirely accurate data, it did offer an useful guide to the main patterns in property values within the locality and amongst the households interviewed.

**TABLE 4.9** VALUE OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' PROPERTY

Value of Property (Pounds)	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
0-19000*	18	7	17	9	1	2
20-29000*	37	14	21	11	16	27
30-39000	89	34	68	34	21	35
40-59000	70	27	59	30	11	18
60-79000	14	5	11	6	3	5
80-99000+	8	3	8	4	-	-
100-149000+	9	3	8	4	1	2
150-199000x	3	1	3	2	-	-
200 and overx	11	4	4	2	7	12
No Data	1	-	1	1	-	-
Total	260	98	200	103	60	101

$$x^2 = 12.92$$

$$df = 6$$

There is a significant difference between the newcomers and stayers households at the 95% level.

Note : \*,+,x Categories combined for  $x^2$  test.



Generally the house prices of the South Molton area are lower than those found in South Devon or in the coastal resorts in North Devon. Locally, however, the house prices for South Molton itself are recognised to be rising and higher than other inland market towns in North and West Devon. This trend was ascribed by one estate agent to the influx of outsiders into the area together with a relatively buoyant economy which in recent years has helped retain the local population. This situation is likely to become more pronounced with the completion of the North Devon Link road, when South Molton's potential for becoming a commuter town for Barnstaple will be more fully appreciated.

The majority of interviewed households owned property worth between £30 - 39999 and £40 - 59999 which together accounted for 61% of the total (see Table 4.9). These results are approximately in accordance with the local price range which for a 3-4 bedroom house in South Molton lay at the time of the interviews somewhere between £35000 - £45000 (Alston 1985). Not surprisingly Table 4.9 also shows there were few properties included in the higher price categories : all 11 properties worth over £200000 were large farms in which the land was included in the overall price.

This table also highlights some differences between the newcomer and stayer households and a chi

square value of 12.92 was obtained which is significant at the 95% level. Although the stayers dominate property worth over £200000 (all of which represented large family farms), at the other end of the scale, 27% of stayer households had dwellings worth between £20-29000. The newcomers' data also display an interesting pattern with many more owning property between £40-59000 (30%) when compared to stayers (18%).

#### 4.4 THE INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS.

Employment and industrial change in North Devon were discussed at some length in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3) where it was noted that whilst agriculture has continued to decline there has been a striking increase in manufacturing employment since the mid-1960's. These key developments in the local economy provide the backcloth against which to examine the particular employment characteristics of the households interviewed. A principal concern is how far the in-migrants' employment characteristics lend support to the "employment-led" theories of the population turnaround and concepts such as Fielding's "functionaries" (1982, 1986).

Given the importance of employment issues this section considers a range of related questions including the interviewees' activity levels, employment sectors, the balance between full-time and part-time

jobs, self-employment and place of work. The final part of the analysis considers the issue of the interviewees' occupational status and social class.

Rather than examine the main job of only the head of household, detailed information was recorded on all adults in the household, with the aim of gaining a fuller understanding of the total household employment structure. It was recognised that some persons would have more than one job and thus information was collected for a maximum of three per adult member. It was anticipated that this approach might reveal the extent of "multiple jobbing" and the possibility of some newcomers pursuing alternative occupational patterns and having casual paid work. In practice almost all the survey respondents claimed to have simply one job. Although it was difficult to determine precisely how far these results were genuine and how far respondents were deliberately concealing an active "black economy," the author's impression was that the overwhelming majority of newcomers interviewed were in conventional forms of employment. Whilst the stayers interviewed were similarly not dependent on second jobs whether "black" or legitimate, it was a more common trend than with the newcomers. Nonetheless the overall amount of "multiple jobbing" was small and the analysis, therefore, focusses on each adult's main job only.

The first table in this section examines the

economic position of all adult members of the interviewed households and covers such matters as the numbers in full-time and part-time work and the proportion unemployed (see Table 4.10). In most respects the results are broadly consistent with national and regional patterns. For example, the largest single group was the 46% in full-time work : this is precisely the UK figure and compares with 43% for the South West (OPCS 1983b).

TABLE 4.10 ECONOMIC POSITION OF ALL ADULT RESIDENTS  
OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

Economic position of Adult Residents	All		Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Full-time work*	317	46	228	45	89	48
Part-time work	97	14	75	15	22	12
Occasional work+	18	3	13	3	5	3
Seeking workx	23	3	17	3	6	3
Waiting to start a job	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employed seasonally+	5	1	4	1	1	1
Look after home	89	13	73	14	16	9
Full-time student	24	3	16	3	8	4
MSC scheme*	12	2	10	2	2	1
Perm sick/disabled	4	1	3	1	1	1
Temporary sickø	1	-	1	-	-	-
Wholly retiredø	97	14	63	12	34	18
Partially retiredø	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employment deferredx	3	-	3	1	-	-
Total	690	100	506	100	184	100

$\chi^2 = 8.38$   
df = 6

There is no significant difference between newcomers and stayers at the 95% level.

Note : \*,+,x,ø Categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test.

Moreover the newcomers and stayers were very similar in most of the categories covered in Table 4.10, both groups having similar proportions of full- and part-time workers, the unemployed and the retired. The only exceptional result in Table 4.10 was the very low proportions of people seeking work (3% for both groups) which compares to the official area unemployment level of 11.6%. This discrepancy may derive partly from the possibility of some respondents being reluctant to admit to members of their household being out of work but it does also suggest a degree of bias in the sample.

The following table, Table 4.11 explores the employment data more fully by examining the economic position of adult residents by gender. This is important because researchers such as Massey (1983, 1984) and Cooke (1981) have emphasised the decline in the number of males in full-time employment whilst female employment, particularly part-time and seasonal work, have experienced significant increases. These changes have been noticeable in many rural areas and it was shown in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3) that the South Molton RD has been no exception. Among interviewed households the proportion of men in full-time employment was 70% (in line with the national and South West regional figures of 68% and 66% respectively). However, the overall male economic activity rate amongst interviewed households (the percentage aged 16

TABLE 4.11 ECONOMIC POSITION BY GENDER OF ALL ADULT RESIDENTS OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

Economic Position of Adult Residents	All				Newcomers				Stayers			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Employed full-time* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	242	70	75	22	173	68	55	22	69	73	20	22
Employed part-time* <sup>1</sup>	15	4	82	24	10	4	65	26	5	5	17	19
Occasional work* <sup>1</sup> + <sup>2</sup>	6	2	12	3	5	2	8	3	1	1	4	4
Seeking work	12	3	11	3	10	4	7	3	2	2	4	4
Waiting to start	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employed seasonally* <sup>1</sup> + <sup>2</sup>	1	-	4	1	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	1
Look after home* <sup>1</sup>	1	-	88	26	1	-	72	28	-	-	16	18
Full-time student* <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	8	2	16	5	8	3	8	3	-	-	8	9
MSC scheme* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	10	3	2	1	8	3	2	1	2	2	-	-
Permanent sick* <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	3	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	-
Temporary sick* <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wholly retired	45	13	52	15	31	12	32	13	14	15	20	22
Partially retired	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employment deferred* <sup>1</sup>	3	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	347	99	343	100	253	98	253	100	94	99	90	99

Male :  $\chi^2 = 4.70$   
df = 4

There is no significant difference between male newcomers and stayers at the 95% level

Female :  $\chi^2 = 12.85$   
df = 6

There is a significant difference between female newcomers and stayers at the 95% level

Note : \*<sup>1</sup>, +<sup>1</sup> Male employment categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test  
\*<sup>2</sup>, +<sup>2</sup>, x<sup>2</sup> Female employment categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test

or over who are in the labour force) was for both newcomers (82%) and stayers (84%) somewhat above the national and regional figures of 74% and 70%. Interestingly, a similar relationship can be identified for females.

The data in Table 4.11 indicate there is no significant difference between the economic position of male newcomers and stayers, although the converse is true for females. Close inspection, however, shows that these female differences were not related to the economically active population but to a difference between those women who look after the home (more common among the newcomers) and those who were students and fully retired (more common among the stayers).

Table 4.12 gives the job description of those persons in paid employment using the OPCS occupation classification (OPCS 1980a, 1981a), although several categories were amalgamated to overcome the problem of relatively small numbers in some groups. The main advantage of using the OPCS occupation classification is that it allows direct comparisons to be made between this survey and national and regional data. Taking the data set as a whole, the single most important job category is managerial work (26% of the total). It should be noted, however, that this category includes a wide range of occupations, including not only managers of various firms but also persons who have their own business such as farmers, public house owners,

TABLE 4.12     JOB DESCRIPTION OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF  
INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS IN PAID  
EMPLOYMENT

Job Classification (After OPCS)	All No	%	Newcomers No	%	Stayers No	%
Professional education and social welfare	55	13	46	14	9	8
Professional, other*	20	5	18	6	2	2
Literary, artistic*	7	2	7	2	-	-
Managerial	113	26	90	28	23	20
Clerical, selling	45	10	35	11	10	9
Catering, cleaning	41	9	26	8	15	13
Farming, fishing	32	7	14	4	18	15
Material processing	77	18	58	18	19	16
Painting, construction	28	6	16	5	12	10
Transport+	12	3	5	2	7	6
Miscellaneous+	7	2	5	2	2	2
Total	437	101	320	100	117	101

$\chi^2 = 37.44$   
df = 9

There is a significant difference between newcomers and stayers at the 99% level.

Note 1 : The categories have been taken from the OPCS job classification, but some categories have been amalgamated.

Note 2 : Farm owners/managers are classified under managerial occupations.

Note 3 : 437 persons only because those on a MSC scheme were excluded due to insufficient information.

Note 4 : \*,+ Categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test.



hoteliers and shopkeepers. As a result of the special local importance of such small, often family-run businesses the survey figure of 26% considerably exceeds the number of persons in managerial occupations at the national level which stands at 10% (OPCS 1983b).

The second most numerous type of work in the survey was materials processing (18%), which includes the making and repairing of metal, electrical and other products (such as textiles and wool) and encompasses most manufacturing industries. Although the respondents worked in a variety of manufacturing establishments throughout North Devon, the majority were based in South Molton and included, for example, High Temperature Engineers, Aaronson Brothers, Simmettes and Holsworthy Electronics, all of whom moved to North Devon with regional aid grants. Whilst the figure of 18% is very close to the national figure of 19% it is above the levels which would traditionally have been expected in a remote rural area, and it underlines the significance of recent industrial development in North Devon.

A third category which is noteworthy are those persons working in education and social welfare which includes professions such as teachers, nurses, librarians and social workers. Interestingly, a large proportion were in the teaching profession which ranged from a nursery school teacher through to lecturers at Barnstaple Technical College. Finally, several other

categories differ appreciably from the national pattern. As expected the survey showed 7% of the working respondents in the farming (and fishing) sector in contrast to 2% for Great Britain. Conversely whilst only 10% of the survey were classified under "clerical and selling" the figure at the national level stands at 23% (OPCS 1983b), this being the single largest occupational category in the country.

Thus there are marked differences between this survey and the national figures. Some differences also exist between the newcomers' and stayers' occupations. This is supported by the high chi square value of 37.44 which is significant at the 99% level. Professional jobs were considerably more commonplace among the newcomers whereas the proportion in farming and fishing was much higher among the stayers (the latter pattern being in practice even more pronounced than Table 4.12 suggests because farm managers were recorded in the managerial category). With only a small proportion of newcomers engaged in farming and fishing it is clear that the "back to the land" movement has not been a numerically significant ingredient in local population growth. The overwhelming majority of newcomers had conventional jobs in occupational categories with no distinctively rural character.

Table 4.13 disaggregates the job description data by gender. Amongst females the most striking divergence from national norms is the very high

TABLE 4.13 JOB DESCRIPTION BY GENDER OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS  
IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

	All				Newcomers				Stayers			
Job Classification Taken After OPCS	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Professional education* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup> and social welfare	32	12	23	13	27	14	19	15	5	7	4	10
Professional other* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	14	5	6	3	14	7	4	3	-	-	2	5
Literary, artistic* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	4	2	3	2	4	2	3	2	-	-	-	-
Managerial	70	27	43	25	54	29	36	27	16	21	7	17
Clerical and selling <sup>+</sup>	15	6	30	17	13	7	22	17	2	3	8	19
Catering, cleaning <sup>+</sup>	1	-	40	23	1	1	25	19	-	-	15	36
Farming, fishing	23	9	9	5	7	4	7	5	16	21	2	5
Material processing <sup>+</sup>	65	25	12	7	48	25	10	8	17	23	2	5
Painting, construction <sup>+</sup>	22	8	6	3	11	6	5	4	11	15	1	2
Transportx <sup>+</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	11	4	1	1	5	3	-	-	6	8	1	2
Miscellaneousx <sup>+</sup>	7	3	-	-	5	3	-	-	2	3	-	-
Total	264	101	173	99	189	101	131	100	75	101	42	101

Male :  $\chi^2 = 38.59$   
df = 6

There is a significant difference between male newcomers and stayers at the 99% level

Female :  $\chi^2 = 6.88$   
df = 5

There is no significant difference between female newcomers and stayers at the 95% level

Note 1 : The categories have been taken from the OPCS job classification, with some being amalgamated

Note 2 : Farm owners/managers are classified under managerial occupations

Note 3 : \*<sup>1</sup>, +<sup>1</sup>, x<sup>1</sup> Male employment categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test  
\*<sup>2</sup>, +<sup>2</sup> Female employment categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test

proportion in managerial occupations (25% compared with a national average of 6%). This again derives from the large number of small family-run businesses. Amongst the males there is a high proportion in education and social welfare (12% as against a national norm of 5%) but a low proportion in other professional jobs (6% compared with 12% nationally).

Although the female newcomers' and stayers' occupational pattern are not significantly different, newcomer women are more strongly represented in the managerial positions and stayers in the catering and cleaning category (many having jobs as waitresses, or as "chars" and factory or office cleaners). Among males the newcomer/stayer differences are generally more pronounced (chi square value 38.59). The newcomer males are much more strongly represented in the professional and managerial categories whereas stayers have higher proportions in construction and transport. Perhaps the single most striking feature of the interviewed households' employment pattern is the very high proportion who are self-employed, 43% against a national figure of 11% (see Table 4.14). It is also noteworthy that in this respect there was no significant difference between newcomers and stayers, which points to the overall importance of self-employment in the survey area. Rural areas do generally show above average figures for self-employment and the 1981 Census figure for the

fieldwork area was 27%. This was calculated as a percentage of all economically active persons (including those seeking work and temporary sick). If the household survey figure (based only on those in paid employment) is recalculated to be consistent with the census statistic the figure falls marginally to 39%.

TABLE 4.14    NUMBER OF SELF-EMPLOYED PERSONS IN  
QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

	All No	%	Newcomers No	%	Stayers No	%
Employed	249	57	179	56	70	60
Self-employed	188	43	141	44	47	40
Total	437	100	320	100	117	100
-----						

$\chi^2 = 0.49$   
df = 1

There is no significant difference between newcomers and stayers at the 95% level.

This self-employment dimension achieves added interest because no less than 88% of newcomers in managerial occupations were self-employed. They were generally running businesses such as public houses, small hotels, village shops, and art and antique firms. Whilst there were some examples, especially in the outlying parishes, of newcomers operating craft businesses from their homes they numbered, less than a dozen. Not surprisingly few of the newcomers had the necessary handicraft skills to set up in wood-turning, cabinet-making or pottery. Nonetheless the great

majority of newcomers in management occupations were running their own small businesses. Very few were engaged in managing the area's new manufacturing industries. Fielding (1982) has suggested that the in-migration of management level employees with the new industrial branch plants plays a key role in rural population resurgence. The present survey, however, found less than 10% of in-migrants who met Fielding's description of the functionary. And although both the newcomers and the stayers were generally working in the private sector (see Table 4.15) in both cases less than a quarter of the employed population (excluding the self employed) were working in the new manufacturing plants (albeit their multiplier effects will obviously have sustained jobs outside the plants themselves). Moreover it is noteworthy that many of these were shop floor workers rather than management level employees.

Table 4.16 sets out the nature of the business or activity in which the survey respondents were employed. This differs from previous tables in that it focusses on the actual function of the employer or business rather than on the individual's occupation. For example, a caterer in an engineering firm would be classified for the purposes of this table under manufacturing industries. The categories adopted initially were based on the Standard Industrial Classification from which a simpler fivefold classification was derived by amalgamating related

categories (OPCS 1980a,1981a). The proportion of all interviewees in the five sectors, as shown in Table 4.16, is similar to that for North Devon as a whole (for a comparison refer back to Table 3.12), though of course by national standards primary industry is over-represented and manufacturing under-represented.

TABLE 4.15    EMPLOYMENT SECTOR OF EMPLOYED ADULT

RESIDENTS

	All		Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Public sector	83	32	61	32	22	30
Private sector	108	41	70	37	38	52
Branch plant(1)	12	5	11	6	1	1
Branch plant(2)	43	16	33	18	10	14
Inadequately described	15	6	13	7	2	3
Total	261	100	188	100	73	100

Note 1: Branch plant (1) refers to private sector firms operating at the local/regional level.

Note 2: Branch plant (2) refers to private sector firms operating at the national/international level.

TABLE 4.16    FIRMS / BUSINESSES' FUNCTION

	All		Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Primary industries	67	15	32	10	35	30
Manufacturing industries	98	22	81	25	17	15
Services	245	56	188	59	57	49
Construction	16	4	10	3	6	5
Inadequately described	11	3	9	3	2	2
Total	437	100	320	100	117	101

$$x^2 = 29.75$$

$$df = 4$$

There is a significant difference between newcomers and stayers at the 99% level.

The table confirms again the much higher proportion of stayers in the primary sector and the somewhat higher proportion of newcomers in manufacturing and services.

In seeking to describe the employment characteristics of the interviewed households another key feature was their place of work. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.5.1) much repopulation of the English countryside has been by an affluent middle class sector of the population who commute long distances from their villages, to work in large or medium-sized urban centres. However, the South Molton fieldwork area is not within easy range of any of the South West's main urban centers (Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth or Torbay) and hence not surprisingly, the survey uncovered very little long-distance commuting. Indeed no less than 75% of those residing in South Molton parish (see Table 4.17) had jobs actually within the parish. Even in the outlying parishes with more limited local job opportunities there were few long journeys to work (see Table 4.18) : many people were running local small businesses in farming or the service sector. Chittlehampton the survey parish closest to Barnstaple and Bideford had the highest rate of commuting to jobs outside the fieldwork area. Interestingly, place of work and commuting patterns for the newcomers and the stayers were broadly similar. The fieldwork area was not merely a dormitory : for newcomers and stayers alike the South Molton fieldwork



area was a place of work as well as a place of residence.

TABLE 4.17    PLACE OF WORK FOR RESIDENTS OF SOUTH  
MOLTON    PARISH WHO HAVE FULL-TIME  
EMPLOYMENT

Place of Work	All		Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
South Molton	134	75	98	76	36	73
Other fieldwork parishes	7	4	4	3	3	6
Elsewhere in North Devon	27	15	20	16	7	14
Elsewhere	8	4	6	5	2	4
Inadequate info.	2	1	1	1	1	2
Total	178	99	129	101	49	99
-----						

$$x^2 = 0.12$$

$$df = 2$$

There is no significant difference between newcomers and stayers at the 95% level.

TABLE 4.18    PLACE OF WORK FOR RESIDENTS OF OUTLYING  
PARISHES WHO HAVE FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT.

Place of Work	All		Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Parish of residence	61	44	38	38	23	56
South Molton and other fieldwork parishes	41	29	32	32	9	23
Elsewhere in North Devon	34	24	26	26	8	20
Elsewhere	3	2	3	3	-	-
Total	139	99	99	99	40	99
-----						

$$x^2 = 4.23$$

$$df = 2$$

There is no significant difference between newcomer and stayers at the 95% level

The final two tables (Table 4.19 and 4.20) of this chapter analyse the interviewed households' social class structure. Both of these tables adopt the OPCS fivefold classification which is derived from occupational status (OPCS 1980a). Table 4.19 gives household social class and is based on the member of household who had the highest social class and was in full-time employment. If no household member had a full-time job the household social class was derived from the highest social class of any member with at least part-time employment. In addition a separate category was given to households with only retired persons, because there was often insufficient information relating to their occupation before retiring. There were also a few households with no economically active person and these were also given a separate category.

Taken together Social Class I and II account for 43% of the total 302 households interviewed. This compares to 30% of households in Britain (classified according to the head of household) and 33% of households in the South West. At the other end of the scale, the sample had many fewer households from Social Classes IV and V than the national and regional averages. This derives in part from the fact that the newcomers (who comprised three quarters of the sample) tended overall to have a somewhat higher social class than the stayers.

TABLE 4.19 INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class After OPCS	All Households		Newcomer Households		Stayer Households	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Social class I*	15	5	14	6	1	1
Social class II*	115	38	92	41	23	30
Social class IIIN+	23	8	18	8	5	7
Social class IIIM+	73	24	52	23	21	28
Social class IVx	19	6	12	5	7	9
Social class Vx	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armed forces and inadequately described	9	3	8	4	1	1
Retired $\phi$	44	15	27	12	17	22
Other households with no econom active person $\phi$	4	1	3	1	1	1
Total	302	100	226	100	76	99

$\chi^2 = 9.49$   
df = 4

There is no significant difference between newcomer and stayer households at the 95% level.

Note : \*,+,x, $\phi$  Categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test.

The problem of analysing social class at the household level is that it has the effect of masking variations within the household, and tends to give the higher social class categories larger scores. For example, this method may conceal important gender differences between higher status male employment and considerably lower status, often part-time, female employment. Compared to household social class, Table 4.20 (based on individual adults) shows a more dispersed spread of responses throughout the different social class categories. Despite this, 43% of the residents of the interviewed households were in Social Class I and II as opposed to 25% for Great Britain and 26% for the South West. Interestingly, however, this survey's data are similar to the Census evidence given for the pre-1974 South Molton RD in 1981 which identified 50% of the population as Social Class I and II, 34% social Class IIIN and IIIM and 16% Social Class IV and V.

Table 4.20 also reveals some striking and statistically significant differences between the newcomers' and stayers' social class. Close inspection of the data shows that the stayers data are broadly similar to the national and regional figures, and it is the newcomers' data which deviate from this pattern. For example, 49% of newcomers are classified in social class I and II, whilst only 13% are classified in Social Class IV and V.

TABLE 4.20 RESIDENTS OF INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

SOCIAL CLASS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

Social Class After OPCS	All Residents		Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Social class I*	17	4	15	5	2	2
Social class II*	173	40	142	44	31	26
Social class IIIIN+	49	11	38	12	11	9
Social class IIIM+	121	28	82	26	39	33
Social class IVx	64	15	34	11	30	26
Social class Vx	10	2	6	2	4	3
Armed Forces and inadequately described	3	1	3	1	—	—
Total	437	101	320	101	117	99

-----

$\chi^2 = 22.12$   
 $df = 3$

There is a significant difference between newcomers and stayers at the 99% level.

Note : \*,+,x, Categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test.

4.5 SUMMARY

The discussion of the interviewed households' characteristics has illuminated a number of interesting points which will be briefly reiterated. Perhaps surprisingly, the survey revealed that very few newcomers had lived in North Devon before (9%) and equally few were of retirement age (8%) : themes which have been the focus of some of the literature on the population turnaround. Indeed the newcomers' data regarding age, household size, and marital status reflected the importance of the typical nuclear family unit and a very conventional household structure, there was no "communal" dimension to the newcomers.

When compared to the stayers, the newcomers had higher educational qualifications, a higher rate of owner-occupancy and were especially attracted to rustic style housing in the outlying villages. To some extent these characteristics were also reflected in their employment data. The newcomers (males in particular) were more likely to have professional, higher status jobs although very few were akin to the functionaries identified by Fielding (1982). In contrast, a significant number of stayers worked in farming and fishing (15%) and on factory shop floors (16%).

Despite these differences there were similarities between the interviewed groups. For example, the number self-employed was high for both newcomers (44%) and stayers (40%) and partially reflects the nature of the local economy: most were operating small businesses in the service sector. Similarly, data on the place of work showed that many newcomers and stayers worked within the confines of their own parish and certainly within the fieldwork area.

This chapter has provided, therefore, some useful contextual data and has illustrated the similarities and differences between newcomers and stayers with reference to their demographic, housing and employment characteristics. Having now presented a basic profile of the interviewed households, the next chapter takes the discussion a step further by

considering the relocation decisions which led the newcomer households to the study area.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE RELOCATION DECISION

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focusses on the newcomers' relocation process. As explained in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2) this is an aspect of rural population resurgence which has not been extensively researched. The main questions addressed here are, where had the newcomers come from? and why had they moved? Both of these themes were key components of the interview schedule, albeit the depth of analysis was to some extent restricted because of the questionnaire's overall length and the need to cover many other topics. For this reason, no attempt was made to adopt techniques which are used in disciplines such as cognitive psychology to evaluate the perceptual and behavioural aspects of decision-making. Nonetheless much useful basic information was assembled and a number of valuable insights were obtained into the households' relocation process.

The first section of this chapter considers the question, where have the migrants moved from? This is followed by a section on the actual decision-making process which deals in turn with why the newcomers left their place of former residence, the reasons why North Devon was selected and why in particular these households moved to the fieldwork area (South Molton and contiguous parishes). Somewhat different location factors emerged at each of these three stages. The data



also revealed that each household's relocation decision was extremely personal and in many ways a unique experience. In order to bring out the full complexion of the relocation process the ensuing discussion is enriched by a series of personal quotes made by the interviewees, and by a small number of brief case histories.

It should be noted that the data in this chapter pertain to the household and not to its individual members. The questionnaire design did in fact allow for the possibility that some households might have formed their current adult composition on arrival in North Devon and thus the individuals would have very different experiences of moving. In practice only a few such cases were found during the fieldwork period. For example, one couple who at the time of the interview were married, had relocated with different partners, from different areas of the country and for very different reasons. However, the number of such cases was small, and moreover some of the interviewees involved were unable to give sufficiently precise information on their present partner's previous address (or occasionally on the reasons behind his/her move). It was decided, therefore, that the data analysis should be conducted at the household level and in cases where the relocation involved different people, only the interviewees' experiences were used. The loss of detail involved was more than offset by the benefits of having

an approach which was simple, reliable and consistent.

## 5.2 THE PLACE OF FORMER RESIDENCE

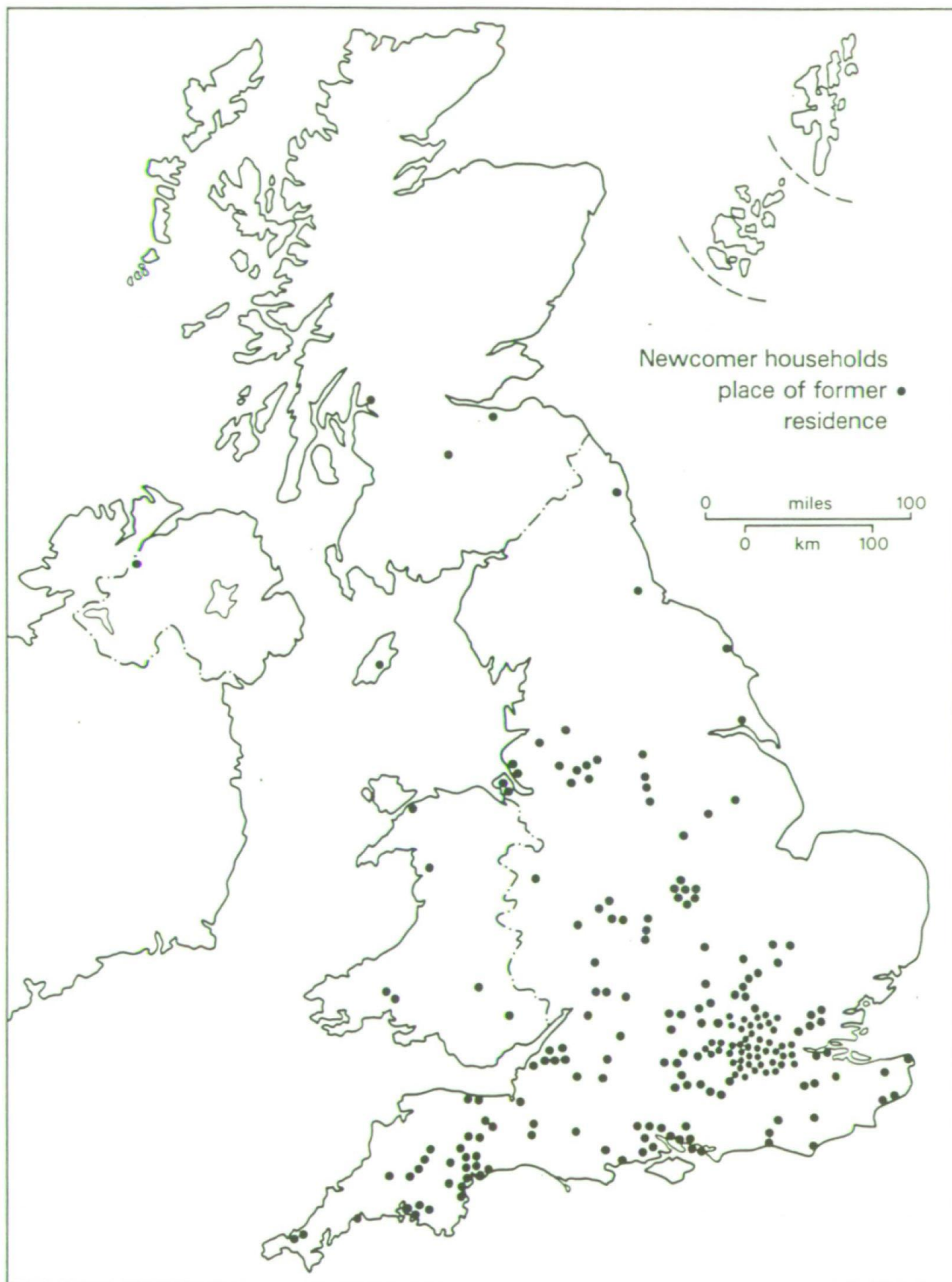
The place of former residence was analysed in four ways, namely the region which the newcomer households had left (using standard economic regions), the distance of the move, the settlement size and its functional region (using the work of the Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies). Out of the 226 newcomer households, there were 13 who were living abroad before moving to North Devon. These households have been omitted from this part of the questionnaire analysis partly because they did not fit the various classifications such as standard regions and partly because they obviously would have skewed the data relating to distance moved. They are, however, included in the analysis relating to the decision-making process in Section 5.3.

The previous locations of all newcomer households who were living in the United Kingdom are given in Figure 5.1 where each dot represents one migrant household. The most striking features of Figure 5.1 are the spatially uneven distribution of households across the country, and the much higher proportion of households moving from the south than the north. Indeed the South East region accounts for the largest number of newcomer households. Figure 5.1 also identifies clusters of migrants moving from particular places.

With the exception of the Exeter area, these clusters are associated with the main urban centres such as London, the Manchester-Liverpool area, the West Midlands and the Southampton-Portsmouth area. In contrast, Figure 5.1 shows that very few newcomers left other remote rural areas such as East Anglia, Northumberland, the Pennines, Wales or Scotland. Presumably most people in such areas already enjoy the environmental and social benefits often associated with areas like North Devon and, therefore, have no incentive to move.

This clustering effect around the major cities and away from remote rural areas is important because in spatial terms it confirms the view that North Devon's population turnaround is associated with a process of deconcentration a movement down the urban hierarchy. One other feature brought out by Figure 5.1 is a cluster of "boundary hoppers" who had moved short distances into North Devon from places such as Okehampton and the Taunton-Tiverton area. Generally the decision-making process of these households is different from the long-distance migrants. For example, several short-distance newcomers moved either to be married to a local North Devon person or because of a marriage failure, whilst for several other households the move to North Devon merely represented a change of business or the purchasing of a larger farm. It was interesting that these short-distance moves were not necessarily associated with return migration, even though many

FIGURE 5.1      THE NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' PLACE OF FORMER  
RESIDENCE



households did have family or business connections in North Devon.

Despite the lack of detail involved in using standard economic regions as a means of analysing spatial data, they are nonetheless useful in terms of making broad comparisons between the number of migrants leaving various parts of the country. Table 5.1 shows that 50% of the newcomer households had come from the South East (thereby confirming the picture given in Figure 5.1). The only other significant group is the 22% who moved from elsewhere within the South West. Table 5.1 also shows the percentage of newcomer households leaving each source area in relation to each region's percentage of all Britain's households. The difference between these two scores indicates each region's per household propensity to act as a source area for North Devon. It is clear that the pattern of in-migration to North Devon differs substantially from the standard regions' household totals. In particular the South East and South West are sending many more migrants to North Devon than would be expected on the basis of their total number of households. The South East, for example, provides 50% of the newcomers and yet has only 31% of Britain's households.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the distance of the newcomers' moves in terms of a series of 50 mile arcs which radiate out from South Molton itself. The map

FIGURE 5.2

DISTANCE OF MOVE BY NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS

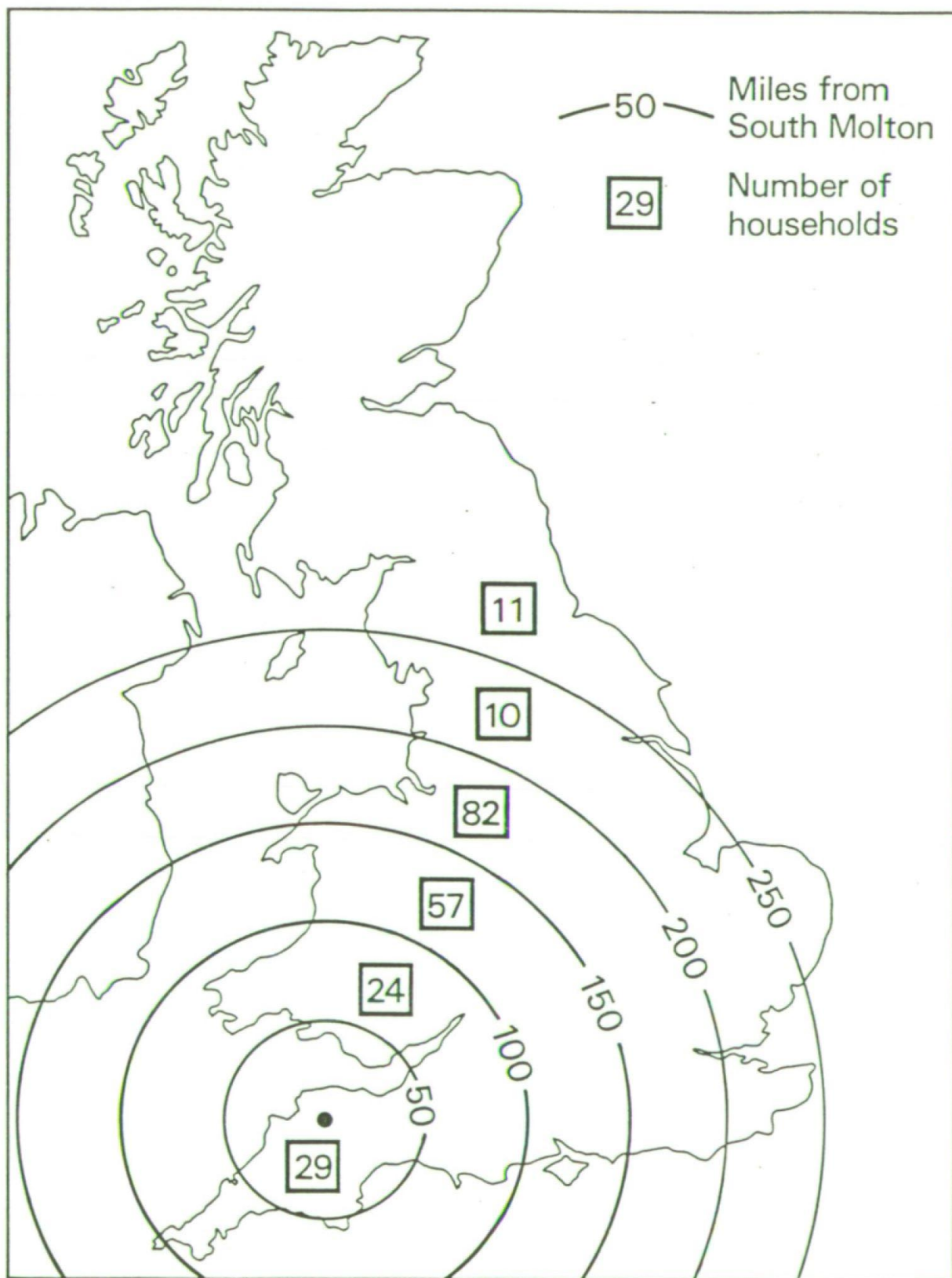


TABLE 5.1      NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' FORMER REGION COMPARED  
TO THE SENDING REGIONS' OVERALL POPULATION

Region	Newcomer Households		Great Britain Households	% Point Difference
	No	%	%	
Scotland + Northern Ireland	6	3	9 <sup>1</sup>	-6
North Yorks + Humber, + North West	5	2	6	-4
East + West Midlands	16	8	21	-13
Wales	26	12	16	-4
South West	5	2	5	-3
East Anglia	46	22	8	+14
South East	2	1	3	-2
Total	107	50	31	+19
	213	100	99	--

Note : 1 Only Scotland, data not available for Northern Ireland

Source: OPCS 1984a

shows that the largest number of households (82 or 38%) moved from between 150-200 miles. This band includes many of the major cities such as London, Liverpool and Manchester. The next largest number of households (57 or 27%) moved from between 100-150 miles. This zone includes not only large parts of the home counties but also much of the Birmingham-West Midlands conurbation. These two groups account for 65% of the newcomer households. There were only 11 households (5%) who had left areas over 200 miles away. Given that 46 households had moved from within the South West region, the relatively low number moving from within a 50 mile

radius (29 or 14%) is surprising and indicates the importance of counties such as Avon and Dorset which although part of the very large South West standard region were over 50 miles from the study area.

Table 5.2 analyses the newcomers' previous place of residence in terms of settlement size. For Metropolitan Districts and London Boroughs the population figure used was that of the Metropolitan area or Greater London. The single largest group (29%) left settlements which had a population of under 5000 (these nationally contain 6% of the population). A further 17% left settlements which had a population of under 25000. Indeed only 11% left an area with over one million inhabitants (these were mainly from Central London). Nationally 32% of the country's population live in settlements of over one million. This shows that the newcomers were drawn disproportionately from small settlements albeit it was still the case that 40% were from settlements of 50000 or more.

This conclusion on the disproportionate role of small settlements, however, seems at first glance to contradict the impression created earlier by Figure 5.1 of large numbers of newcomers emanating from the major urban areas. These two apparently divergent findings could nonetheless be reconciled if many of the small settlements were within easy commuting range of the major urban centres. This hypothesis will now be considered in some detail.



The functional regions approach, as devised by the centre for Urban and Regional Studies and Newcastle University (CURDS) is used to explore this issue. The functional approach is increasingly being used to overcome the problem of local authority boundaries which owe more to administrative and political convenience than to the realities of everyday life (see for example Champion 1986a). Many local authority areas fail to embrace both the city or town centre and the outlying areas, which although physically separate, are also reliant on the centre for employment and social and cultural amenities. The functional approach defines areas on the basis of patterns of commuting linkage to a set of centres which have been identified from employment and retailing statistics (Coombes et al 1980, 1981).

TABLE 5.2      SETTLEMENT SIZE OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS'  
PREVIOUS ADDRESS

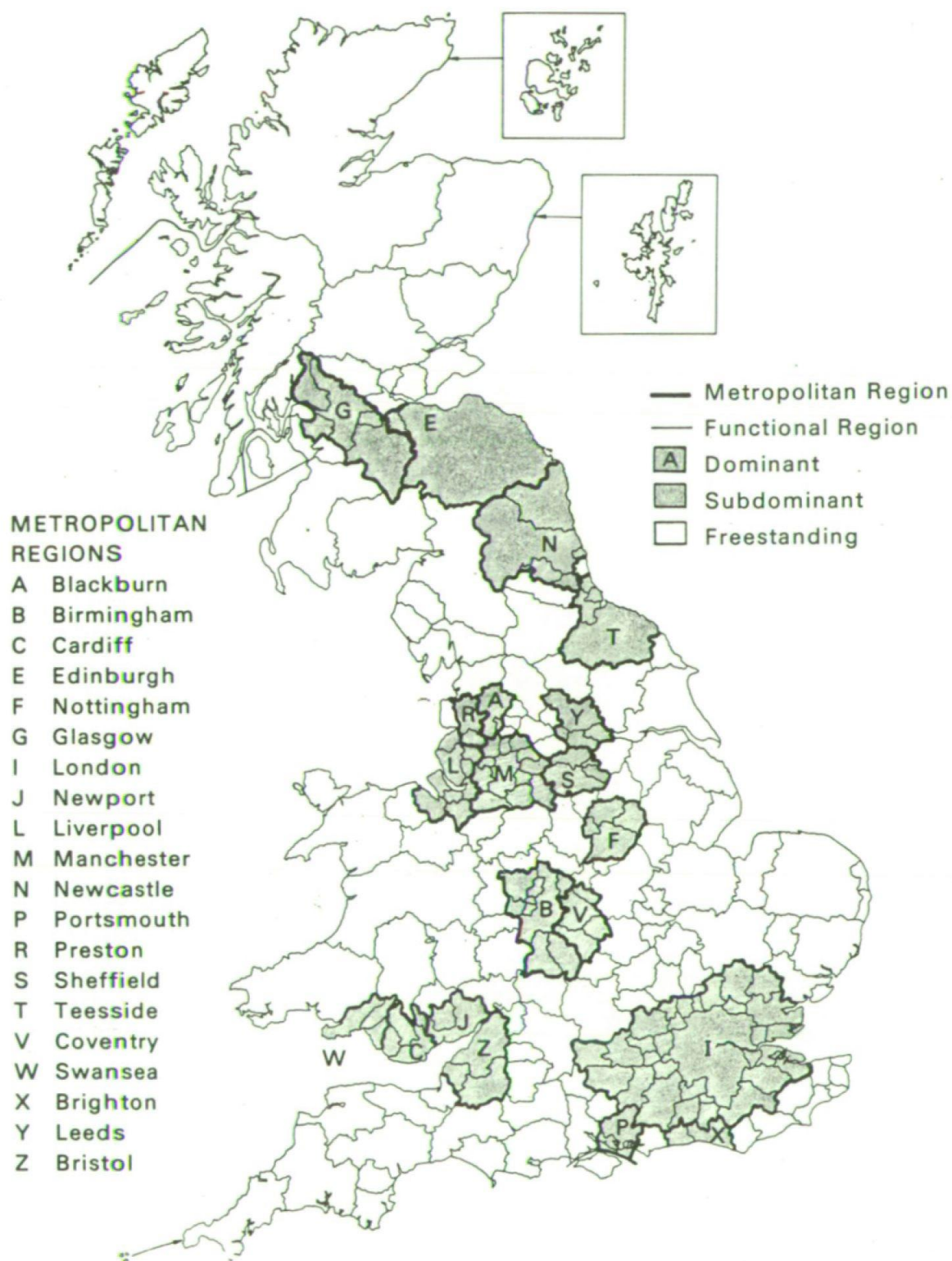
Settlement Size	Newcomer No	Households %
Under 5000	61	29
5000- 24999	36	17
25000- 49999	22	10
50000- 99999	23	11
100000-499999	37	17
500000-999999	3	1
Over 1000000	24	11
Inadequately described	7	3
Total	213	99
-----		

Note: Data from Bartholomew Gazetteer of Britain, 1977

There are two types of regions which are defined in Figure 5.3. Firstly, there are 20 metropolitan regions whose boundaries are indicated on Figure 5.3 by the thicker lines. These metropolitan regions are sub-divided to distinguish between a dominant area (the central part of Britain's 20 major urban centres) and sub-dominant areas (the outlying districts but which are still linked to the dominant area). Secondly, there are 115 free-standing functional regions which cover the rest of Britain. Both metropolitan and functional regions are broken down into four constituent zones. The cores are the pivotal nodes of economic activity and social life which exist in all regions. The other zones are defined on the basis of the degree to which their residents depend on the cores for jobs. The highly dependent commuting areas are termed rings, with less dependent areas termed outer areas. Those areas which are relatively independent of the cores and have no large urban centre of their own are defined as rural areas. All the parishes included in the fieldwork area for the questionnaire survey, for example, are classified as the outer area for Barnstaple, a southern freestanding service town.

Table 5.3 takes the newcomer households' former address and allocates it to one of the four constituent zones of metropolitan and functional regions. The data show that the core and ring areas together account for 84% of the newcomer households interviewed. Although

**FIGURE 5.3 FUNCTIONAL REGIONS AND METROPOLITAN REGIONS**



Source: Coombes et al 1980

Table 5.2 showed that a large minority of newcomers were drawn from small settlements it would appear that many of these were clearly dependent on the heart of a functional region. This is an important finding because it shows that most newcomer households have moved down the urban hierarchy from cores and rings to the outer area of Barnstaple, thereby supporting the notion of deconcentration.

Extending this analysis a little further Table 5.4 has taken the newcomers' responses and cross tabulated their source region (metropolitan or functional) with their constituent zone. Taken as a whole it is clear that for both kinds of regions both the core and the ring zones represent the main areas from which the newcomers left. Although no households left the outer or rural zone of dominant metropolitan regions it should be noted that some of these dominant regions (such as London and Manchester) have no outer or rural area classification. Half of the households which moved from the core zone of a dominant metropolitan region came from London.

Table 5.5 brings together the settlement size and functional regions approach and examines the relationship between the size of the source settlements and their functional region status. It clearly demonstrates the close relationship between large settlements and core areas. For example, with only one exception all newcomers who moved from settlements of

TABLE 5.3      NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS'   PREVIOUS CONSTITUENT  
ZONE OF A FUNCTIONAL/METROPOLITAN REGION

Constituent Zone	Newcomer Households	
	No	%
Core	109	51
Ring	71	33
Outer area	16	8
Rural area	14	7
Inadequately Described	3	1
Total	213	100

TABLE 5.4      FUNCTIONAL/METROPOLITAN REGION AND CONSTITUENT  
ZONE OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' FORMER ADDRESS

Constituent Zone	Metropolitan Region		Sub-Dominant		Freestanding Region		Total No
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Core	50	75	23	43	36	40	109
Ring	17	25	22	42	32	36	71
Outer area	-	-	6	11	10	11	16
Rural area	-	-	2	4	12	13	14
Inadequately described	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	67	100	53	100	90	100	226

100000 were leaving a core zone. It is particularly interesting that 70% of newcomers leaving settlements under 5000 in size were moving from a ring zone. This once again suggests the importance of commuter small towns and villages.

Some of the patterns discussed above relating to metropolitan and functional regions and settlement size can be illustrated further by examining in more detail

TABLE 5.5 NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' PREVIOUS SETTLEMENT SIZE AND PREVIOUS FUNCTIONAL/  
METROPOLITAN REGION

Settlement Size	Zones of Functional Metropolitan Regions								Inadequately described		Total No
	Core		Ring		Outer area		Rural area				
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Under 5000	5	5	43	61	6	38	7	50	-	-	61
5000 - 24999	7	6	15	21	9	56	5	36	-	-	36
25000 - 49999	11	10	9	13	1	6	1	7	-	-	22
50000 - 99999	22	20	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
100000 - 499999	36	33	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	37
500000 - 999999	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Over 1000000	24	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Inadequately described	1	1	2	3	-	-	1	7	3	100	7
Total	109	100	71	100	16	100	14	100	3	100	226

those newcomers who left the South East, which represented the source region for half of the newcomer households. The South East was shown in Figure 5.3 to have three major metropolitan regions, namely London, Portsmouth and Brighton, which embrace the overwhelming majority of the region's population except for a few functional regions in the west and the far south east. A feature of Figure 5.4 is its spatial unevenness with very few newcomers leaving the counties of Kent, Sussex (East and West) and Surrey. One explanation for this pattern may relate to the very attractive environment of the North and South Downs and the South Coast which offer many advantages over the Home Counties located to the north and west of London.

There is little evidence from Figure 5.4 to suggest that inner city decline has fuelled remote rural growth: relatively few left places such as South Kensington or South Clapham, to head for South Molton. This point has not been made clear in some of the literature (see for example Robert and Randolph 1983) as statistics relating to inner city decline and remote rural growth have often been juxtaposed as if the former might explain the latter.

From Figure 5.4, however, two clusters are worthy of special comment. The first is the cluster around Watford, which relates to key workers who transferred to South Molton with Aaronsen Brothers. The second is a similar clustering which can be identified around

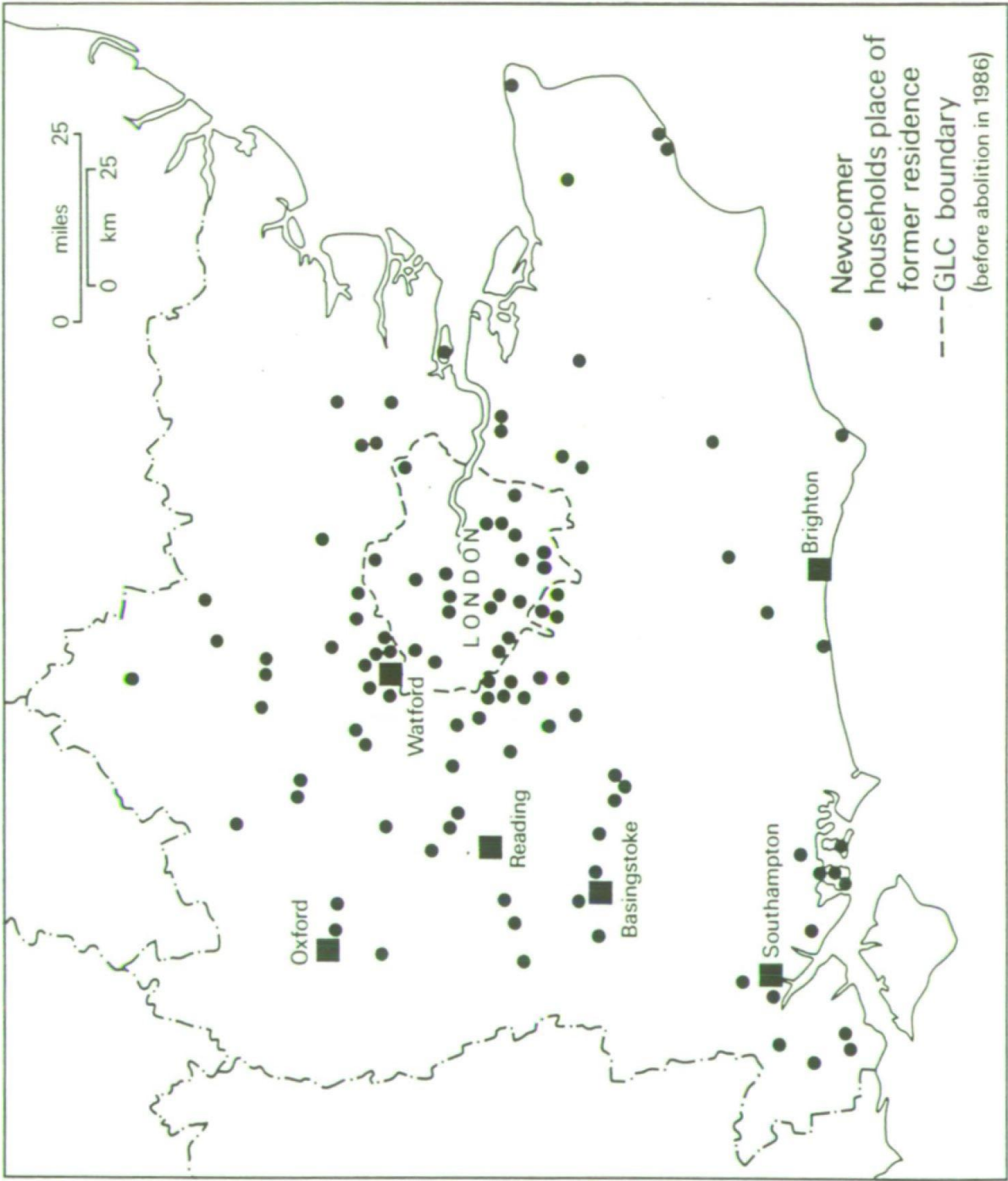
Southampton and Portsmouth which relates to the transfer of key workers from High Temperature Engineers' parent factory in Fareham.

It is interesting that a considerable number of newcomers left the fringe of the old GLC boundary, from places such as Harrow, Enfield, Staines and Romford, which following the CURDS classification are still included in the core zone of London. Thus whilst inner city decline does not account for North Devon's experience of population resurgence the role of the London fringe should not be neglected. The western fringes have been more significant than those to the east of London. This may reflect the greater affluence of the western areas or perhaps a disposition amongst migrants from the east to move to East Anglia or Kent. Moreover these western fringe towns (for example Reading, Maidstone and Basingstoke) have experienced substantial post-war growth and environmental change which certainly triggered a number of moves to the North Devon area.

The discussion on the migrants' place of former residence has, therefore, identified a number of key findings. The great majority had moved from elsewhere in southern England. Most migrants had formerly been living within the built up cores of substantial cities or within their commuting hinterlands in small towns and villages (indeed over a quarter had come from settlements of less than 5000 people). Although there



FIGURE 5.4      FORMER   PLACE   OF   RESIDENCE   OF   THOSE  
NEWCOMER   HOUSEHOLDS   WHO   LEFT   THE   SOUTH  
EAST



were a handful of households which moved to North Devon from old declining inner city areas such as central Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield, there was overall little evidence of a direct link between inner city decline and remote rural growth. Suburban and peri-urban locations in southern England were the prime source areas for North Devon's demographic reversal. In general terms the typical migrants were teachers, accountants or business people from Slough and Basingtoke, rather than artisans from Acton or unemployed blacks from Brixton, or Toxteth.

### 5.3 THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

#### 5.3.1 Introduction

Having now established where the newcomers came from the discussion proceeds next to examine their relocation decision-making process. This process is considered in three parts, namely, the reasons why the households left their place of former residence, the reasons why they moved to North Devon and the reasons why they chose the South Molton fieldwork area. Many previous studies of population movement, including population turnaround studies by Jones et al (1984, 1986), Dean et al (1984) and Perry et al (1986) have failed to separate out these three elements in the decision process. Yet the pilot study for the North Devon programme clearly identified the individual significance of each of these ingredients. The reasons

for leaving the source area could be quite different from the reasons for moving to North Devon which in turn could be different again from the reasons for moving to the South Molton fieldwork area.

One methodological problem, however, commonplace in studies of locational behaviour, could not be entirely overcome, namely the danger of post-event rationalisation. On the basis of the interviewing experience there was little or no discernible evidence of deliberate attempts to mislead, but in the case of the longer-established newcomers there was a danger that questions could be answered on the basis of what they now know about North Devon and South Molton rather than what they felt to be the area's attractions at the time of the locational choice. In practice, although the interviewees were invited to discuss the whole process of moving, in an open-ended way, they were particularly asked to nominate the main reasons operating at each of the three stages in their locational choice. This helped to cut through the sometimes complicated morass of shifting impressions and recollections and to focus the interviewees' attention on the principal forces at work. Few had difficulty in singling out a main reason and for each of the three parts of the decision-process it is this principal factor which is used in the analysis and discussion.

### 5.3.2 Reasons for leaving Place of Former Residence

The reasons for leaving the newcomers' place of former residence (Table 5.6) were divided into two main groups, economic and non-economic (both of which were sub-divided into a series of more specific reasons). The major division was based on the extent to which financial and/or employment considerations rather than environmental and/or social factors, shaped the households' decision to leave. Table 5.6 shows that non-economic reasons accounted for 58% of household decisions and tended to dominate the decision-making process at this stage, with economic reasons accounting for only 37%. Comparisons with the Scottish and the Cornish surveys are difficult because of the contrasting methodologies used, but it appears that economic considerations were even less important in these other studies.

The single largest category identified in Table 5.6 is that of lifestyle change which accounts for 23% of the total. In previous studies the term "lifestyle change" has been used when referring to households who practised some type of "counter culture" often linked to self sufficiency (Ford 1983). However, in the present survey this category is used in a more general sense, the common denominator being the wish to obtain a less pressurised way of life. This category includes all those households which actively sought a new direction and change from their former daily routine,

Table 5.6      THE MAIN REASON GIVEN BY NEWCOMER  
HOUSEHOLDS FOR LEAVING THEIR PLACE OF  
FORMER RESIDENCE

Main Reason Given	No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS		
- Move required by existing employer	23	10
- Voluntary job related/career	28	12
- Unemployment	23	10
- Housing/property	11	5
ECONOMIC REASONS TOTAL	85	37
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS		
- Lifestyle change	53	23
- Retirement	31	14
- Family and health	25	11
- Social and physical environment	22	10
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS TOTAL	131	58
OTHERS <sup>1</sup>	10	4
TOTAL	226	99

Note : 1 Newcomers who had been living abroad but  
whose contracts had terminated

career, commuting patterns and overall lifestyle. For these households their former personal circumstances were deemed unsatisfactory. One interviewee, for example, who moved from West London said,

"Myself and my wife were working together in the record export business. We worked extremely long hours and had little time, or energy, for a family life or socialising ... so we got out of the rat race."

Interestingly, this couple at the time of the interview had factory shop floor jobs in South Molton, and commented that whilst the work itself was boring they now had a life outside their place of employment. Another interesting case was that of a widow who knew that once her children were 16 years old the amount she

would get from her husband's pension would fall sharply. Rather than go back to full-time teaching she decided to make a clean break and try organic farming.

The category, "social and physical environment" differs somewhat from that of lifestyle change in that it refers to environmental circumstances (which are external to the household). For example, households which left an area because of the social and physical environment (10%) often referred to crime, vandalism, poor housing and so on. One family that left Birkinhead commented that:

"We left because of the appalling worry of bringing up a family there. We wanted to move to an area where the problem of urban living didn't really exist."

Many of the households which did cite the environment as the reason for moving, either had young families already, or intended to start one shortly, and felt their former surroundings were not suitable for raising children.

Explanations linked to retirement, and family and health reasons accounted for 14% and 11% of the household responses respectively. For example, a number of households took the opportunity of early retirement. Rather dramatically one interviewee said,

"Many people I know at the middle management level were dying prematurely, and I realised I needed to get out while there was still time."

Others left because of family and health reasons,

"My divorce explains why I left Cambridge - I felt I needed a complete change "

or,

"We left the Caribbean because my father was terminally ill and we could no longer afford the medical bills out there."

Three economic reasons for moving are also noteworthy. Especially significant were households which moved for job related reasons (usually promotion). These households accounted for 12% of the total, a figure which seems surprisingly high for an area which is traditionally viewed as having few job opportunities. This category included a number of teachers looking for promotion, alongside other professions such as doctors, dentists and veterinary surgeons. Households which moved because they were required to do so by their existing employer (10%) included both employees in the service sector such as banking and key workers who moved with an in-migrant industrial firm. For most of these households this move also represented job promotion. For example,

"I was told by the bank at very short notice that I was moving to South Molton. This meant job promotion, and unless you are prepared to forgo any future chances, you move."

Alternatively, one key worker said,

"My husband moved with 'High Temp' as an engineer supervisor and although I was only a driller back in Fareham, I came as a supervisor to teach the work to local people."

Another 10% of households left their former residence because of unemployment and the poor job prospects there. Most households which cited unemployment as the reason for leaving, moved from some

of the traditional 'black spots' of the country. For example, one interviewee who left South Wales said,

"I had been unemployed for a year and my wife, who is a trained secretary, was working as a sewing machinist in one of the local factories because it was the only work available."

Other households which had moved from places such as County Durham, Sheffield, Barnsley or Liverpool expressed similar sentiments either because there was no work or because of the constant threat of redundancy and overall lack of job security.

Finally a few households (5%) said that property prices explained why they had moved. This explanation was most relevant for those households moving from the South East, and wanting to buy their own business. One couple who were formerly publicans in Essex said,

"We wanted our own pub - we didn't want to be tenants for the rest of our lives. But the property prices are far too high in our area, so we knew we would have to leave."

Clearly Table 5.6 embraces a variety of different reasons for newcomer households leaving their place of former residence, which underlines the point that there is not just one explanation for the population turnround in North Devon. Rather the newcomer households themselves represent several different groups with contrasting attitudes and aspirations.

The rest of the tables in this section attempt to relate the reasons for leaving the previous address to other newcomer characteristics. It is possible, for



example, that the various reasons given for relocating are associated with the newcomers' source regions (Table 5.7). Indeed one relationship amply demonstrated by Table 5.7 is that between households required to move by an existing employer and the former region of residence. Amongst these movers the overwhelming dominance of the South East and the South West (95% combined) is explained in the case of the former, by key workers relocating with their incoming firm and for the latter, principally by bank or police force employees requested to move within the South West region.

In the case of households relocating for unemployment reasons Table 5.7 suggests a clear North-South divide. Only two households out of 107 left the South East because of unemployment, whilst four out of five households who moved from Yorkshire, Humberside and the North West left because of the poor job prospects. In fact the majority of households (74%) who left the South East, moved for non-economic reasons which includes 32% leaving for lifestyle change alone. In the light of earlier evidence relating to settlement size and functional regions it would appear that escaping from the pressures of long-distance commuting was especially important for newcomers leaving the South East. Indeed a chi square test with a value of 17.94 (significant at the 99% level) confirmed that non-economic reasons were more common

TABLE 5.7

## NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' REASONS FOR LEAVING TABULATED WITH SOURCE REGION

Reasons for Leaving	Source Region Of Newcomer Households																			
	Scotland & N.Ireland		North		North West Yorks. & Humberside		East & West Midlands		Wales		South West		South East		East Anglia		Abroad		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS																				
Move required by existing employer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	10	43	12	52	-	-	-	-	23	99
Voluntary job-related/career	1	4	1	4	3	11	4	14	-	-	8	29	10	36	-	-	1	4	28	102
Unemployment	-	-	4	17	6	26	3	13	2	9	6	26	2	9	-	-	-	-	23	100
Housing/property	-	-	-	-	2	18	2	18	-	-	3	27	4	36	-	-	-	-	11	99
Total	1	1	5	6	11	13	9	11	3	4	27	32	28	33	-	-	1	1	85	101
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS																				
Lifestyle change	1	2	-	-	1	2	6	11	-	-	7	13	34	64	1	2	3	6	53	100
Retirement	1	5	-	-	2	9	3	14	-	-	3	14	13	59	-	-	-	-	22	101
Family & health	2	6	-	-	1	3	5	16	-	-	5	16	15	48	1	3	2	6	31	98
Social & physical environment	-	-	-	-	1	4	3	12	1	4	2	8	17	68	-	-	1	4	25	100
Total	4	3	-	-	5	4	17	13	1	1	17	13	79	60	2	2	6	5	131	101
OTHERS	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10	2	20	-	-	-	-	6	60	10	100
Grand total	6	3	5	2	16	7	26	12	5	2	46	20	107	47	2	1	13	6	226	100

$$\chi^2 = 17.94$$

$$df = 1$$

There is a significant difference between the reasons for leaving and the newcomers' source region at the 99% level

Note 1: The percentage total is summed by row, not by column

Note 2: A 2x2 contingency test was used with economic and non-economic categories on one axis and South East and other regions on the other axis, hence  $df = 1$

among households from the South East than from the rest of UK.

The relationship between age and reason for the move was also considered (Table 5.8). One problem with this analysis was that data were available only on the age category of the main householder at the time of the interview (and at the time of the move). Consequently had a household been living in North Devon for 15 years it was possible that an individual could be placed in the wrong age category. This was most likely to occur with retirees. However these data drawbacks and reservations should not be overstated because almost half of the newcomer households had moved to North Devon since 1980 and because the age categories were very broadly defined. The importance of age is illustrated by the fact that 56% of newcomers in the 16-34 age band moved for economic reasons compared with only 28% of those newcomers in the 55-64 age band. This distinctive pattern is borne out by the high chi square value of 22.90 (significant at the 99% level) which indicates that the young did move for different reasons than the old. As expected, older people were less likely to be job or career motivated and more likely to be concerned with lifestyle, social and environmental considerations. For example one interviewee who had become a farmer since arriving in North Devon said,

"I was a doctor in the Midlands and felt that by the age of 50 you had done it all before, and therefore needed a change."

TABLE 5.8 NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' REASONS FOR LEAVING TABULATED WITH AGE OF MAIN HOUSEHOLDER

	Age Of Main Householder									
Reasons for Leaving	16-34		35-54		55-64		65+		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS										
Move required by existing employer	9	39	10	43	4	17	-	-	23	99
Voluntary job related/career	10	36	17	61	1	4	-	-	28	101
Unemployment	10	43	11	48	1	4	1	4	23	99
Housing/property	2	18	6	55	2	18	1	9	11	100
Total	31	36	44	52	8	9	2	2	85	99
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS										
Lifestyle change	9	17	29	55	11	21	4	8	53	101
Retirement	-	-	1	5	4	18	17	77	22	100
Family and health	10	32	15	48	4	13	2	6	31	99
Social and physical environment	3	12	16	69	2	8	4	16	25	100
Total	22	17	61	47	21	16	27	21	131	101
OTHERS	2	20	6	60	-	-	2	20	10	100
Grand total	55	24	111	49	29	13	31	14	226	100

$$\chi^2 = 22.90$$

$$df = 3$$

There is a significant difference between the reasons for leaving and the newcomers' age at the 99% level

Note : The percentage total is summed by row, not by column

This kind of change may be entirely voluntary (as in the above example) but it can also be triggered through bad health, redundancy or the offer of early retirement.

The final table of this section, Table 5.9, examines whether people of the same household social class moved for similar or different reasons. In practice it shows that the various social classes did not display really distinctive reasons for moving. Non-economic considerations were, as expected, rather more common among social classes I and II but the class differences were not statistically significant (chi square value 0.58). The preference for a better environment and a more wholesome lifestyle was not confined to those in professional occupations. (Lowe and Goyder 1983).

### 5.3.3 Reasons For Moving To North Devon

Table 5.10 summarises the main reasons why the newcomer households moved to North Devon. This table adopts the same categories which were used in the previous section on why the newcomers left their former place of residence, which makes possible comparisons between the two data sets. It should be noted, however, that the reasons given for leaving one location as opposed to selecting a new destination may have different meanings. For example, whilst the

**TABLE 5.9** NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' REASONS FOR LEAVING TABULATED WITH SOCIAL CLASS OF HOUSEHOLD BEFORE LEAVING

Reasons for Leaving	Household Social Class Before Leaving												Not Economically Active				Total			
	I		II		IIIN		IIIM		IV		V		Armed forces and inadequately described		Retired				Other	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%			No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS																				
Move required by existing employer	1	4	9	39	5	22	8	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	100
Voluntary job related/career	4	14	21	75	1	4	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	100
Unemployment	-	-	5	22	2	9	9	39	3	13	-	-	3	13	-	-	1	4	23	100
Housing/property	-	-	5	45	-	-	2	18	1	9	-	-	-	-	2	18	1	9	11	99
Total	5	6	40	47	8	9	21	25	4	5	-	-	3	4	2	2	2	2	85	100
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS																				
Lifestyle change	4	8	29	55	6	11	12	23	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	53	101
Retirement	3	14	13	59	2	9	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	9	-	-	22	100
Family and health	1	3	8	26	6	19	3	10	3	10	1	3	3	10	2	6	4	13	31	100
Social & physical environment	2	8	12	48	-	-	6	24	-	-	-	-	1	4	4	16	-	-	25	100
Total	10	8	62	47	14	11	23	18	3	2	2	2	4	3	8	6	5	4	131	101
OTHERS	1	10	2	20	-	-	-	-	2	20	-	-	2	20	2	20	1	1	10	100
Grand total	16	7	104	46	22	10	44	19	9	4	2	1	9	4	12	5	8	4	226	100

$$x^2 = 0.58$$

$$df = 2$$

There is no significant difference between reasons for leaving and newcomer households' social class at the 95% level

Note : The percentage total is summed by row, not by column

TABLE 5.10 THE MAIN REASONS GIVEN BY NEWCOMER

HOUSEHOLDS FOR MOVING TO NORTH DEVON

Main Reason Given	No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS		
- Move required by existing employer	23	10
- Voluntary job related/career	67	30
- Unemployment	4	2
- Housing/property	35	15
ECONOMIC REASONS TOTAL	129	57
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS		
- Lifestyle change	2	1
- Retirement	-	-
- Family and health	40	18
- Social and physical environment	54	24
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS TOTAL	96	43
OTHERS	1	-
<u>Total</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>100</u>

(poor) social and physical environment was a push factor in Table 5.6, the (good) social and physical environment of North Devon was a pull factor of Table 5.10.

The most striking feature of Table 5.10 is the emergence of economic factors at this stage of the decision-making process. In fact economic considerations account for 57% of the total responses, compared to only 37% of the reasons for leaving their former address.

This overall pattern is reflected in the substantial increase in the number of responses for some categories and the virtual demise of others. At this stage there are only a very small number of responses for the categories relating to retirement, lifestyle change and unemployment, whereas these had been much more prominent in Table 5.6 where lifestyle was the single largest category. At the North Devon stage the categories voluntary job-related, housing, family and health, and social and physical environment all increased. Indeed the voluntary job-related category more than doubled and with 30% of the total responses was the single largest category.

In order to facilitate further analysis of the decision-making process, Table 5.11 presents a matrix showing the newcomers' reasons for leaving their former address alongside their reasons for choosing North Devon. The general switch of emphasis from



TABLE 5.11 : NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' REASONS FOR LEAVING FORMER PLACE OF RESIDENCE TABULATED WITH REASONS FOR MOVING TO NORTH DEVON

Reasons for leaving	Reasons for Moving to North Devon																		Non-economic reasons total		Others		Total	
	Economic reasons								Non-economic reasons															
	Move req'd by existing employer		Volunt- ary/job related		Unemp. (Better chance of job)		Housing/ property		Economic reasons total		Lifestyle change		Retire- ment		Family & health		Social & physical environment							
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
ECONOMIC REASONS																								
Move required by existing employer	23	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	100
Voluntary job/ career related	-	-	28	100	-	-	-	-	28	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	100
Unemployment	-	-	15	65	4	17	2	9	21	91	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	4	2	8	-	-	23	99
Housing/property	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	73	8	73	-	-	-	-	2	18	1	9	3	27	-	-	11	100
Total	23	27	43	50	4	5	10	12	80	94	-	-	-	-	3	4	2	2	5	6	-	-	85	100
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS																								
Lifestyle change	-	-	15	28	-	-	13	25	28	53	2	4	-	-	2	4	21	40	25	48	-	-	53	101
Retirement	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	27	6	27	-	-	-	-	7	32	9	41	16	73	-	-	22	100
Family and health	-	-	3	10	-	-	1	3	4	13	-	-	-	-	19	61	8	26	27	87	-	-	31	100
Social and physical environment	-	-	5	20	-	-	3	12	8	32	-	-	-	-	4	16	13	52	17	68	-	-	25	100
Total	-	-	23	18	-	-	23	18	46	36	2	2	-	-	32	24	51	39	85	65	-	-	131	100
OTHERS	-	-	1	10	-	-	2	20	3	30	-	-	-	-	5	50	1	10	6	60	1	10	10	100
Grand Total	23	10	67	30	4	2	35	15	129	57	2	1	-	-	40	18	54	24	96	42	1	-	226	100

 $\chi^2 = 14.27$ 
 $df = 1$ 

There is a significant difference between the reasons for leaving and the reasons given for moving to North Devon at the 95% level

Note 1: The percentage total is summed by row, not by column

Note 2: A 2x2 contingency test was used with economic and non-economic categories on each axis, hence  $df = 1$

non-economic to economic reasons is confirmed by a chi square value of 14.27 which is significant at the 99% level. Only 43% of the newcomer households gave the same reason at both stages and most of these were either required to move by their existing employer or had originally left for job related/career reasons.

It is significant that 65% of those that left their former address because of unemployment moved to North Devon with a job already lined up. This trend is partly explained by the inability of High Temperature Engineers to find sufficient, appropriately skilled labour locally and their resulting need to advertise nationally in Job Centres. Over the last few years this has drawn a number of employees from various areas of high unemployment. It is interesting that the academic literature on rural economic change focusses on the increase in unskilled work for the indigenous population especially women (Massey 1983, 1984) or the availability of managerial/key worker posts for in-migrants relocating with the firm (Fielding 1982, 1985): in contrast the North Devon experience indicates that the availability of work has drawn some semi-skilled and skilled production workers long-distances from depressed industrial parts of Britain to a remote rural area which has traditionally offered relatively poor job prospects. Furthermore many of these newcomers moved to North Devon with little or no knowledge of the area. For example one

interviewee who saw the job advertised in the local Job Centre in County Durham said,

"I first of all had to get a map to see where North Devon was ... I was also told the firm was in a small lively town, but this is no more than a village."

Another group of particular interest is migrants who originally gave lifestyle change as a reason for leaving their former address, but who gave voluntary job-related reasons for choosing North Devon. Evidently the intention of some households was to get out of the rat race by choosing a less pressurised environment, but to move to an area where there was the possibility of a broadly unchanged kind of occupation (albeit often at a lower salary). For these households North Devon appeared to fit the necessary criteria. For example, one interviewee who was a legal executive with a firm of solicitors said,

"I needed to get out of Leicester to somewhere with fewer work pressures ... we moved to North Devon because it was a pleasant area and I got a similar job."

Similarly, one household that left Berkshire moved because the husband was a Financial Director and was frustrated by the attitude of the rest of the board who were feathering their pensions. His wife said,

"We moved to North Devon because the area was acceptable and the job my husband now does (still an accountant) seemed particularly appealing as it is with a co-operative organisation."

The other economic reason frequently stated by newcomer households in selecting North Devon as the new

destination was property and housing. The high property prices of some source areas (particularly the South East) were significant in influencing a number of households to move away to a less expensive area. One retiree explained that for health reasons a bungalow was needed, but they were too expensive in Cheshire. However her daughter's in laws live in South Molton and during one of her visits she obtained details from the local estate agents and put them on the mailing list.

Significant also were the number of households who were basically looking for a change of lifestyle and who moved to North Devon because of cheaper property. One of the few interviewees attempting self-sufficiency said,

"I moved to North Devon because the area was suitable, but more to the point so was the property. I used to regularly buy Exchange and Mart and saw this house advertised."

In addition property prices were a determining factor for those households who were buying a property which would combine as both a business and a home, such as a farm, pub or shop. It is important to note that the relocation to North Devon was not always the household's first choice but perhaps the most financially viable option. For example, one newcomer who wanted a change of lifestyle said,

"If we could have found a suitable property in Notts we would have preferred to stay there. We really didn't know Devon but saw an advert in a national newspaper for a 40 acre dairy farm."

Out of the non-economic reasons the most important were

those relating to North Devon's social and physical environment. Interestingly, the majority of these households were familiar with North Devon through holidaying, friends or family. The decision-making process was often straight-forward: in that above all else they specifically chose North Devon for its own unique characteristics. Several retired households, for example, moved to North Devon because of the fishing opportunities. Another retired migrant said,

"We purposefully chose North Devon in favour of South Devon or Dorset because it is less developed and much more unspoilt."

Alternatively, another migrant explained that ever since he visited North Devon on holiday when he was 14 or 15 years old he was determined to come back. On completion of an engineering apprenticeship in London the interviewee moved to Barnstaple in the first instance, looked for an engineering job and had only recently moved to the fieldwork area and the parish of Chittlehampton. Finally, one newcomer household in which the husband had left the BBC to try self-sufficient farming said,

"We chose North Devon in preference to Wales because we knew and liked the area and were less worried about the cultural differences and being accepted."

The second most important category of non-economic considerations related to family and health reasons. Several households moved to North Devon because of the presence of other family members who were themselves

newcomers to the area. For example, one household left their former location for retirement reasons and moved to North Devon in 1976 to be closer to their daughter, and son-in-law who had moved in the late 1960s. In addition, their other daughter left her previous address in 1984 due to personal reasons, and moved to North Devon because her closest family members were now all living in the fieldwork area. Although small in number it is clear that the in-migration of some households to North Devon has had a cumulative effect by drawing other family members to the area. This was especially evident among newcomers wishing to retire and those who had experienced a personal crisis and were looking for the support of their family.

Not all newcomers had been equally committed to relocating in North Devon: in some cases no alternative areas were even considered but in others the advantages and disadvantages of a number of competing areas were weighed up before the final decision was taken. Table 5.12 shows that 54% of newcomers did consider one or more alternative destinations. Table 5.12 examines this division in relation to the reason for choosing North Devon and yields a chi square score of 3.21 which is significant at the 95% level. Households moving for economic reasons were somewhat more likely to consider alternative destinations outside North Devon.

Of the households considering other destinations

TABLE 5.12 THE REASONS GIVEN FOR MOVING TO NORTH DEVON BY HOUSEHOLDS WHO CONSIDERED OTHER AREAS

Reasons for Moving to North Devon	Only North Devon		South West		South West and Wales		Wales		Elsewhere		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS												
Move required by existing employer	19	83	1	4	-	-	-	-	3	13	23	100
Voluntary job related/career	23	34	11	16	-	-	-	-	33	49	67	99
Unemployment	3	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25	4	100
Housing/property	8	23	11	31	3	9	-	-	13	37	35	100
Total	53	41	23	18	3	2	-	-	50	39	129	100
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS												
Lifestyle change	-	-	-	-	2	100	-	-	-	-	2	100
Retirement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family and health	28	70	2	5	-	-	-	-	10	25	40	100
Social and physical environment	23	43	20	37	1	2	-	-	10	19	54	101
Total	51	53	22	23	3	3	-	-	20	21	96	100
OTHERS	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100
Grand total	105	46	45	20	6	3	-	-	70	31	226	100

$$x^2 = 3.21$$

$$df = 1$$

There is a significant difference between the reasons for leaving and whether other areas were considered at the 95% level

Note 1: The percentage total is summed by row, not by column

Note 2: A 2x2 contingency test was used with economic and non-economic categories on one axis and North Devon and other areas on the other axis, hence  $df = 1$

almost half moved to North Devon for voluntary job-related reasons. Obviously their move to North Devon was generally determined by the most suitable job available. Not surprisingly, 83% of those households required to move by an existing employer did not consider other areas: for such people there was little real choice of destination.

Property prices are also relevant with regard to the data presented in Table 5.12. Most households who were attracted to North Devon by the low property prices did in fact consider other areas. Clearly such households looked into property prices in various parts of the country before making their final decision. For some, North Devon was their 'second choice' in that their most favoured area was simply too expensive. For example some retired households expressed a preference for the South Devon coastal resorts but because of the high housing prices settled for North Devon as second best. Property prices in North Devon are of course higher than in many parts of Northern England and some newcomers had, therefore, to accept a move to inferior accommodation as the price of entry to North Devon. This situation is highlighted by those newcomers living on the Mill-on-the-Mole Caravan Park, many of whom had left low cost regions and in order to move to the South West had to exchange a house for a mobile home.

One particular group of newcomers meriting special comment are the return migrants. Although they



form only 9% of the in-migrants they do exhibit some distinctive characteristics. Their move back was generally prompted by family or employment circumstances. For example, marital breakdown often prompted a return home in order to enjoy the support of parents and other kin. One woman said,

"My first husband was violent towards the children. I was pregnant again and decided to make the break and come back home."

By returning home to North Devon and living with their families a number of households were re-housed by the local authority relatively quickly. Several other newcomer households returned to North Devon because they were experiencing difficulties in finding suitable work and through local contacts thought their chances were better back in North Devon. For example,

"My husband was unemployed, and there was nothing holding the family to Yorkshire. We moved back because through various contacts he was more likely to get a job locally."

A number of additional tests were completed on the data relating to the reasons why newcomer households moved to North Devon but they proved inconclusive and are, therefore, omitted from the discussion here. Attempts were made, for example, to relate reasons for moving with variables such as social class and source region but no clear patterns emerged.

#### 5.3.4 Reasons For Moving To The Fieldwork Area

The categories used in the analysis of reasons

for leaving their former address and for moving to North Devon were no longer satisfactory at the local level: the number of categories was reduced from a possible nine reasons to five as the responses were less varied and more concentrated on a limited selection of key factors.

It is worthwhile noting that the definition of a newcomer was dependent on their arrival date in North Devon, not on their arrival date in the fieldwork area. The majority of newcomer households were shown in Chapter 4 to have moved to the fieldwork area at the same time as moving to North Devon and for these households, the two stages of the decision-making process are inextricably linked. For newcomers who had originally settled elsewhere in North Devon the move to the South Molton area obviously represented a short-distance relocation and one generally based on a firmer knowledge of the local area.

Overall the main reason given by the newcomer households for moving to the fieldwork area are set out in Table 5.13. Over half the newcomer households (54%) gave the availability of suitable property as the main explanation. A further 29% gave access to work and the need to live in close proximity to their place of employment. In marked contrast to the reasons discussed earlier for choosing North Devon, very few households referred to either the quality of the environment (8%) or to family reasons (8%) at this stage of the

decision-making process. Environment and family considerations were secondary at the local level. Indeed newcomers selecting a particular area within North Devon might well consider the quality of the environment in and around South Molton (albeit attractive) to be inferior to that of nearby coastal areas and Exmoor. In this context it was interesting that none of the newcomers who had originally settled elsewhere in North Devon later moved into South Molton for quality of environment reasons.

Table 5.14 allows an examination for all newcomers of the relationship between the reasons for moving to North Devon and the reasons for choosing the fieldwork area. A chi square test was applied to the data relating to economic and non-economic reasons given for moving to North Devon and the different reasons for moving to the fieldwork area. The high chi square value of 49.19 indicates the significant difference (at the 99% level) between these two stages in the decision-making process.

The key role of property considerations was shared by both those who were moving from within North Devon and by those moving straight into the fieldwork area from further afield. At the local scale the adequacy of the supply of housing and the ways in which people found out about the area and its stock of available properties were of particular significance. As the fieldwork area's housing supply was considered

Table 5.13      THE MAIN REASON GIVEN BY NEWCOMER  
HOUSEHOLDS FOR MOVING TO THE SOUTH  
MOLTON AREA

Reasons Given	No	%
Access to work	66	29
Property	122	54
Family reasons	18	8
Quality of environment	19	8
Others	1	-
Total	226	99

-----

in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.4), only one or two salient features need be reviewed here. Whilst those villages which were designated key settlements until 1981 have benefitted from some private housing projects (particularly North Molton), and some small local authority housing schemes, generally the fieldwork area's outlying parishes are under strict development control. In contrast it was shown in Sections 3.4.4 and 3.4.5 that South Molton town has a much more diverse housing stock. For example, South Molton has a number of streets with cheaper terraced housing, a variety of attractive listed buildings in the town centre, and modern detached houses and bungalows on several estates on the town's outskirts.

TABLE 5.14 NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' REASONS FOR MOVING TO NORTH DEVON TABULATED WITH REASONS FOR MOVING TO SOUTH MOLTON AREA

Reasons for Moving to North Devon	Reasons For Moving To South Molton										Total	
	Access to work		Family*		Environ- ment*		Housing					
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
ECONOMIC REASONS												
Move required by existing employer	17	74	-	-	2	9	4	17	-	-	23	100
Voluntary job related/ career	42	63	1	1	3	4	21	31	-	-	67	99
Unemployment	-	-	-	-	1	25	3	75	-	-	4	100
Housing/property	-	-	-	-	1	3	34	97	-	-	35	100
Total	59	46	1	1	7	5	62	48	-	-	129	100
NON-ECONOMIC REASONS												
Lifestyle change	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100	-	-	2	100
Retirement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family and health	5	13	17	43	1	3	17	43	-	-	40	102
Social and physical environment	2	4	-	-	11	20	41	76	-	-	54	100
Total	7	7	17	18	12	13	60	63	-	-	96	101
OTHERS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	100
Grand total	66	29	18	8	19	8	122	54	1	-	226	99

$$x^2 = 49.14$$

$$df = 2$$

There is a significant difference between the reasons for moving to North Devon and the reasons for moving to South Molton at the 99% level

Note 1: The percentage total is summed by row, not by column

Note 2: \* categories amalgamated for  $x^2$  test

These geographical contrasts in the housing stock have obviously influenced the type of newcomers who have located in South Molton on the one hand, and in the surrounding parishes on the other hand. Only 41% of the newcomers living in South Molton itself stated housing as the main reasons for moving to the fieldwork area compared to 69% of those living in the outlying parishes with its stock of attractive cottages and farm buildings for conversion. The greater variety of housing located in South Molton has resulted in a diverse group of newcomers including among others, first time buyers, council house tenants and those already established as owner occupiers. Thus for these households the move to South Molton is either because they could not afford the more "rustic" dwellings in the countryside, or because of a wish to be close to jobs and the town's social and cultural amenities.

In contrast the majority of newcomers living in the outlying parishes bought attractive traditional styled, and fairly expensive property. Generally this property was bought either by people wanting to combine a home and a business or by professionals intending to commute to the South Molton, or to the Barnstaple area. For example, one interviewee, a retired chairman of an in-migrant firm explained,

"The firm was located in Barnstaple and I used to commute to work. In fact all the management level employees lived in similar villages and had traditional cottages/farmhouses."

Before a newcomer can choose a particular dwelling he/she has obviously to learn of its availability and so at this scale the role of housing information is clearly significant. In this respect a distinction should again be drawn between those newcomers who were already living in North Devon and those who moved into the fieldwork area from further afield. Generally the former group had more knowledge relating both to the fieldwork area and to its housing stock. Some of these short-distance moves were council house transfers. For example one interviewee said,

"The council estate we lived on in Barnstaple was very rough and not good for the kids. I applied for a council house in a number of rural parishes and this one came up."

Many newcomers learned of South Molton and surrounding area because the town is on the A361, the main holiday route from the M5 to North Devon and Cornwall. South Molton itself, therefore, receives a large volume of "through traffic" and many newcomers knew of the area from driving through whilst on holiday. Once interested in the area many newcomers looked in the local estate agents during one of their visits. Family and friends were also used to find out about property.

The other means of learning about available property was through national advertisements. For example, Stags one of the estate agents in South Molton, is part of a regional enterprise which

advertises nationally. Similarly, particular accommodation types such as the Mill-on-the-Mole retirement park also advertise nationally (see Mobile and Holiday Homes December 1985) whilst other properties such as pubs and hotels are advertised in a variety of trade journals. Finally, many individual home owners also act independently and place adverts in journals such as Exchange and Mart which have national readership.

#### 5.3.5 Summary

The data in this section have demonstrated the value of analysing the newcomers decision-making process in three parts, namely, why they left their former place of residence, why they moved to North Devon and why in particular to the fieldwork area. The unravelling of the relocation process has shown that for the majority of households different factors operate at different stages of the move. Two exceptions to this overall pattern were observed which included those newcomers who were required to move with their existing employer and those newcomers moving for career reasons. For these households the location of their new job was the overriding explanatory factor permeating all aspects of their relocation. For most other newcomer households, however, the process was both complex and varied.

In seeking to summarise their decision-making



process it is of course important to bear in mind its very real heterogeneity. But at the risk of considerable over-simplification it could be said that the newcomers tended to leave their former area for lifestyle and socio-environmental reasons, they chose North Devon because of the availability of suitable employment and their presence in the South Molton fieldwork area was the result of the availability of a suitable property and proximity to their new place of work. Yet such a characterisation cannot obviously do justice to the diversity of the newcomers' experience. The message of this chapter has been that whilst some patterns and trends can be discerned there is no single, easily identifiable group of in-migrants that explain remote rural population growth.

## CHAPTER SIX: THE POST-MOVE EXPERIENCE

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter on the findings of the household questionnaire examines the post-move experience of the newcomer households and their impact on the local community. Households generally move in the hope of improving their quality of life and it is, therefore, of interest to examine how far these aspirations have been satisfied. Equally, migration can bring substantial changes to the host community and it is important that these should be identified and assessed.

The chapter is divided into two distinct sections. The first considers the newcomer households themselves and examines their post-move experience in terms of social and economic changes, and the extent to which the move has lived up to expectations. In contrast, the second section considers the wider issues of the relationship between newcomers and local residents and the impact of in-migration on the fieldwork area. This discussion covers a variety of themes including the degree of integration and assimilation of the newcomers into their new environment and their level of participation in local activities.

## 6.2 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES TO THE NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS

### 6.2.1 Economic Changes

#### Employment Change

As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3) both North Devon and indeed South Molton have experienced profound employment changes over the last two decades. These relate to a decline in agriculture alongside a rapid growth in manufacturing (D'Abbs 1974, Spooner 1972, 1974) and a modest growth in the service sector. The employment composition has also changed and, following the national pattern, more women have been entering into paid work, albeit much of it part-time and in the service sector. Chapters 4 and 5 showed that many of the newcomer households have contributed to this process of economic change and that they moved to North Devon for employment-related reasons and took up local jobs. In presenting a more thorough exploration of the newcomers' employment experiences this section addresses questions such as how many newcomers changed occupations when moving to North Devon and how the nature of their employment changed since the move.

Two problems were identified in analysing the data. Firstly, the use of aggregate statistics can on occasion disguise real trends: for example, a consistent number in a given occupational category could mask large

numbers leaving and being replaced by new entrants to that occupational category. In order to assess the full extent of employment change, therefore, the questionnaires had to be examined individually. The second problem relating to the analysis of employment was that changes could not in all cases automatically be ascribed simply to the move. For example, the life cycle process, may have been the main cause of employment change (such as women leaving or re-entering the labour market because of changing family circumstances). In other cases, both the life cycle and migrational dimensions of employment change were interlinked, as with a migrant moving on retirement. In recognising that there is no easy way to disentangle life cycle and move-related changes, the ensuing discussion nonetheless tries, where appropriate, to assess the relative importance of these two and the various other ingredients in employment change.

An important indicator of the nature of the population turnaround is the extent to which the newcomers' economic position has changed. For example, in the light of the anti-urban, pro-ruralist literature (Jones et al 1984, Ford 1983, Ilvento and Luloff 1982) it might be expected that many newcomers would be no longer working full-time, but would instead take part-time work or a variety of casual jobs. On the other hand Chapter 5 indicated the significance of employment as a relocation factor in moving to North

Devon and thus it might equally be anticipated that most newcomers would continue to work full-time.

It is clearly evident from the data in Table 6.1 that significant changes in the newcomers' economic position occurred both at the time of the move and subsequently in North Devon. Several patterns are evident from Table 6.1 but perhaps the most striking is the reduced number and percentage of newcomers in full-time employment at the time of arrival in North Devon. Although this change was temporary in that by the time of the interview the number in full-time employment had risen again, the figure still fell short of the pre-move level. Interestingly, this pattern was accompanied by rises in both the number of newcomers who were unemployed (listed as seeking work) and amongst those in part-time employment. For example, the number unemployed on arrival was nearly three times the figure given before leaving, thus indicating that a substantial number of newcomers had moved to North Devon with no pre-arranged job.

In fact detailed analysis of the questionnaires showed that nearly half of the newcomer households had no members with a pre-arranged job to come to. Thus many households did move to North Devon with little financial and personal security and were not certain what they would be doing on arrival.

Part-time employment was also significant and at the time of the interview the number was almost double

TABLE 6.1 CHANGE IN THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS

Economic Position of Adult Residents	Before Leaving		On Arrival		At Time of Interview	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Employed full-time*	248	53	166	35	228	45
Employed part-time	43	9	35	7	75	15
Occasional employment+	3	1	3	1	13	3
Seeking employment	24	5	68	14	17	3
Waiting to start	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employed seasonally+	2	-	2	-	4	1
Look after home	90	19	98	21	73	14
Full-time student	17	4	12	3	16	3
MSC scheme*	2	-	-	-	10	2
Permanent sicknessx	4	1	4	1	3	1
Temporary sicknessx	1	-	1	-	1	-
Wholly retired	36	8	59	13	63	12
Partially retiredx	-	-	1	-	-	-
Employment deferred*	-	-	21	4	3	1
Total	470	100	470	99	506	100

Before leaving/on arrival

$$\chi^2 = 59.98$$

$$df = 7$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers' economic position at the 99% level

On arrival/at time of interview

$$\chi^2 = 79.80$$

$$df = 7$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers' economic position at the 99% level

Before leaving/at time of interview

$$\chi^2 = 24.92$$

$$df = 7$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers' economic position at the 99% level

Note 1: \*, +, x categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test

Note 2: Unemployment "at the time of arrival" referred to those without jobs after 6 weeks from relocating in North Devon

that before leaving. Not surprisingly the number of retirees increased both at the time of the move and subsequently. By contrast the category "look after the home" reduced in importance by the time of the interview, perhaps reflecting national trends, the life cycle process, or more females finding a job that suits them.

Having examined the overall patterns of change of the newcomers' economic position, Table 6.2 disaggregates the data by gender. It is noteworthy that change was statistically significant for both genders and at all three stages. However the chi square values relating to female employment change are particularly striking, being appreciably higher than the males' results at each stage of the analysis: thus underlining the more profound changes experienced by the female newcomers. This difference between male and female employment change is explained in part through most women being the second wage earner and in part through the female stages in the life cycle process.

Table 6.2 shows that many male newcomers experienced a change of economic position at the time of arrival in North Devon. Alongside a decrease in full-time employment there was an associated increase in the number of males seeking work, fully retired and deferring employment. The seeking work category is significant because only six out of 21 males who were unemployed before leaving were among the 32 unemployed

TABLE 6.2 CHANGE IN THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS BY GENDER

Economic Position of Adult Residents	Before Leaving				On Arrival				At Time of Interview			
	M		F		M		F		M		F	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Employed full-time* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	171	72	77	33	132	55	34	15	173	68	55	22
Employed part-time* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	5	2	38	16	10	4	25	11	10	4	65	26
Occasional employment* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	-	-	3	1	2	1	1	-	5	2	8	3
Seeking employment	21	9	3	1	32	13	36	16	10	4	7	3
Waiting to start	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employed seasonally* <sup>2</sup>	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	1
Look after homex <sup>1</sup>	2	1	87	37	4	2	94	41	1	-	72	28
Full-time studentx <sup>2</sup>	11	5	6	3	8	3	4	2	8	3	8	3
MSC scheme* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	3	2	1
Permanent sicknessx <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	3	1	1	-	3	1	1	-	2	1	1	-
Temporary sicknessx <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Wholly retiredx <sup>1</sup>	20	8	17	7	28	12	31	13	31	12	32	13
Partially retiredx <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employment deferredx <sup>1</sup> x <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	-	16	7	5	2	3	1	-	-
Total	236	99	234	99	238	98	232	100	253	98	253	100

Before leaving/on arrivalMale

$x^2 = 24.79$

df = 5

There is a significant difference in the male economic position at the 99% level

Female

$x^2 = 53.11$

df = 5

There is a significant difference in the female economic position at the 99% level

On arrival/at time of interviewMale

$x^2 = 29.35$

df = 5

There is a significant difference in the male economic position at the 99% level

Female

$x^2 = 50.85$

df = 5

There is a significant difference in the female economic position at the 99% level

Before leaving/at time of interviewMale

$x^2 = 12.19$

df = 5

There is a significant difference in the male economic position at the 95% level

Female

$x^2 = 19.28$

df = 5

There is a significant difference in the female economic position at the 99% level

Note: \*<sup>1</sup>, \*<sup>1</sup>, \*<sup>1</sup> Male categories combined for  $x^2$  test  
 \*<sup>2</sup>, \*<sup>2</sup>, \*<sup>2</sup> Female categories combined for  $x^2$  test



males on arrival. Thus the majority of newcomers who were unemployed before leaving had pre-arranged jobs to come to in North Devon. Clearly these results do not support the notion that the unemployed move to locations which are environmentally desirable in order to live a life of ease in attractive settings (McNabb 1978, Fielding 1982), albeit South Molton may not represent a prime destination point compared to Devon's coastal resorts. Those newcomers who were unemployed on arrival varied enormously from young single males to middle aged persons with family responsibilities. For example several newcomer households moved with young adults who themselves then sought appropriate employment on arrival, whilst several of the pre-retirement households looked for a casual or part-time job once settled, which would bring in a small income. In addition to these newcomers there was also a small group of temporary unemployed return migrants who were arranging suitable employment locally through their family contacts.

Employment deferral was the other category of particular interest. This category was small in numbers and almost exclusively confined to male newcomers: all were seeking some form of lifestyle change and several spent a considerable length of time renovating/ converting old dilapidated buildings. One example was a qualified town planner from Surrey who was re-building an old mill house with the eventual aim of getting the mill itself operating which could then be run as a

hobby/tourist attraction or sold for profit. Another example was a family from Cambridgeshire who converted an old railway station into a family home, while another household had converted an old chapel. Alternatively, in several households the husband deferred employment in order to set up a private self-employed business. For example, in the case of one household which moved from Leicester, the husband took over six months to prepare and launch his business as a market trader in the North Devon coastal resorts. His intention was to work during the summer months and travel the various resorts selling merchandise popular with teenagers (such as "pop" related goods including badges, posters, t-shirts, scarves, etc). Interestingly, no example was found of anyone merely deferring employment to have a rest and "unwind", which indicates that most who did defer employment had relatively firm plans for their immediate future.

Turning to the changes in the economic position of female newcomers, the contrasts between the different stages are still more striking with the greatest period of change occurring at the time of arrival. There was a large reduction in the number of female newcomers employed full- and part-time. In fact the number in full-time employment on arrival (34) was less than half the number given before leaving (74). Interestingly, at the time of the interview there were still considerably less females working full-time (55) than before leaving.

In contrast, whilst the number of females working part-time had originally decreased, by the time of the interview, many more had part-time work (65) and the figure far exceeded the number before leaving (38). This increase in part-time work fits the pattern of rural female employment changes, as described by Massey (1983, 1984), although it is not clear to what extent the newcomers have taken these jobs in preference to full-time work or because it is the main form of paid work available in the study area.

Another key result is the high number of women seeking work on arrival (36) in North Devon. Indeed not only is there a marked increase when compared to the figures before leaving (3), but it is also higher than the number of males seeking work on arrival. This trend indicates that the male newcomer was the chief wage earner and his job generally took precedence, and was secured before his wife's. For example, one interviewee who left Barnstaple said,

"Although I had a good job, once my husband got his forestry degree and obtained work down here we both moved with the view to me getting organised once here."

Not surprisingly this pattern was also linked to the life cycle process. Many women recognised their position as secondary wage earner because they also looked after the home, while other women who had professional jobs (such as teaching or nursing) indicated their intention to have children and the wish

to stop working in order to raise them.

The extent of change in the newcomers' job classification is another important theme. Surprisingly, data presented in Table 6.3 indicate overall a comparative absence of change. In spite of the considerable distances moved and the variety of reasons given, most newcomers appear to have continued working in fairly conventional jobs. Furthermore, Table 6.3 shows that overall the newcomers are doing much the same kinds of job as before. Given this general pattern of relatively little change it may seem unexpected that two of the three stage comparisons yield statistically significant chi-square scores, with the greatest contrast being that between the newcomers jobs before leaving and on arrival in North Devon (significant at the 99% level). Close inspection of the data, however, shows that the chi square figures derive from change only in one or two categories, such as managerial (which embraces a wide variety of occupations from small self-employed businesses to Managing Director of a large industrial enterprise).

It must be recognised of course that the data in Table 6.3 underestimate the real extent to which individuals were involved in changing occupations. The total outcomes in various categories may look broadly similar but it can be different individuals making up these totals. The second point to note is that because of marked differences in the total numbers in employment

TABLE 6.3 CHANGE IN JOB DESCRIPTION OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

Job Classification Taken After OPCS	Before Leaving		On Arrival		At Time of Interview	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Professional education and other social welfare	49	17	31	15	46	14
Professional, other*	30	10	21	10	18	6
Literary, artistic*	8	3	4	2	7	2
Managerial	70	24	69	34	90	28
Clerical and selling	46	16	15	7	35	11
Catering and cleaning	26	9	10	5	26	8
Farming and fishing	5	2	13	6	14	4
Materials processing	38	13	31	15	58	18
Painting and construction+	13	4	7	3	16	5
Transport+	3	1	-	-	5	2
Miscellaneous+	7	2	4	2	5	2
Total	295	101	205	99	320	100

Before leaving/on arrival

$$\chi^2 = 22.64$$

$$df = 7$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers' job description at the 99% level

On arrival/at time of interview

$$\chi^2 = 10.43$$

$$df = 7$$

There is no significant difference in the newcomers' job description at the 95% level

Before leaving/at time of interview

$$\chi^2 = 14.39$$

$$df = 7$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers' job description at the 95% level

Note 1: The categories have been taken from OPCS job classification

Note 2: Farm owners/managers are classified under managerial occupations

Note 3: \*, + categories combine for  $\chi^2$  test

the percentage and absolute changes can point in opposite directions. For example the percentage employed in managerial occupations rose on arrival in North Devon, whereas the actual number of people with managerial jobs declined.

Although across the three time stages the overall balance of occupations was fairly consistent, the large absolute increase in the numbers employed in materials processing (from 38 to 58) is noteworthy. These were mainly newcomers working on the shop floor of local factories such as High Temperature Engineers and Aaronsen Brothers. These were not Fielding's functionaries and had not been imported by the new firms (Fielding 1982, 1986). Indeed some had moved to North Devon entirely for lifestyle reasons but with limited local employment opportunities had ended up on the shop floor. Clearly industrial employment change and lifestyle change were not mutually exclusive dimensions of the population turnaround.

Table 6.4 disaggregates the occupational categories by gender and reveals one important exception to the general pattern of relatively modest change. There is a striking contrast in female employment between "before leaving" and "on arrival". Table 6.2 has already emphasised the change in the number of females in work and now Table 6.4 shows the disruptive effect of the move even for those with jobs. There was, for example, a considerable shift out of clerical

**TABLE 6.4 CHANGE IN JOB DESCRIPTION OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT BY GENDER**

Job Classification	Before Leaving				On Arrival				At Time of Interview			
	M		F		M		F		M		F	
Taken after OPCS	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Professional education and other social welfare* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	27	15	22	18	24	17	7	12	27	14	19	15
Professional, other* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	22	13	8	7	16	11	5	8	14	7	4	3
Literary, artistic* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	4	2	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	2	3	2
Managerial	50	28	20	17	46	32	23	38	54	29	36	27
Clerical and selling* <sup>1</sup>	15	9	31	26	9	6	6	10	13	7	22	17
Catering and cleaning* <sup>1</sup>	3	2	23	19	4	3	6	10	1	1	25	19
Farming and fishing* <sup>2</sup>	3	2	2	2	6	4	7	12	7	4	7	5
Materials processing* <sup>2</sup>	32	18	6	5	28	19	3	5	48	25	10	8
Painting and construction* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	11	6	2	2	6	4	1	2	11	6	5	4
Transport* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	-
Miscellaneous* <sup>1</sup> * <sup>2</sup>	6	3	1	1	4	3	-	-	5	3	-	-
Total	176	100	119	100	145	100	60	100	189	101	131	100

Before leaving/on arrival

Male

$$x^2 = 4.25$$

$$df = 6$$

There is no significant difference in the males' job description at the 95% level

Female

$$x^2 = 18.73$$

$$df = 5$$

There is a significant difference in the females' job description at the 99% level

On arrival/at time of interview

Male

$$x^2 = 4.38$$

$$df = 6$$

There is no significant difference in the males' job description at the 95% level

Female

$$x^2 = 7.50$$

$$df = 5$$

There is no significant difference in the females' job description at the 95% level

Before leaving/at time of interview

Male

$$x^2 = 6.48$$

$$df = 6$$

There is no significant difference in the males' job description at the 95% level

Female

$$x^2 = 10.83$$

$$df = 5$$

There is no significant difference in the females' job description at the 95% level

Note 1: The categories have been taken from OPCS job classification

Note 2: Farm owners/managers are classified under managerial occupations

Note 3: \*<sup>1</sup>, \*<sup>1</sup>, \*<sup>1</sup> Male categories combined for  $x^2$  test

\*<sup>2</sup>, \*<sup>2</sup> Female categories combined for  $x^2$  test

employment for women which had only partially recovered by the time of the interviews: this seems to reflect the fact that the office sector is not strongly developed in North Devon. Conversely, the number of women working in managerial occupations increased and is largely explained by the growth of small businesses run in partnership with husbands.

Another particularly important issue was whether there had been a change in the numbers of self-employed. Chapter 4 has previously recorded the importance of self-employment amongst the migrants, but it was not known whether this derived from large numbers of already self-employed people moving into North Devon or whether the migrants were becoming self-employed following their relocation. Table 6.5 shows that prior to relocation 23% of newcomers were self-employed (more than twice the national average) but that this figure leapt to 44% on arrival, thereby producing a significant chi square value. Moreover, the self-employed were not merely recorded as such for tax purposes: with only a handful of exceptions they were genuinely employed in running a business. Clearly relocation triggered a sharp increase in self-employment: for many the move to North Devon was in parallel with the move from employment to self-employment.

In terms of gender it might have been anticipated that the self-employed newcomers would be overwhelmingly male. In practice, however, female self-employment



TABLE 6.5      CHANGING LEVELS OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN  
NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS

Employment Status	Before Leaving		On Arrival		At Time of Interview	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Employed	226	77	114	56	179	56
Self-Employed	69	23	91	44	141	44
Total	295	100	205	100	320	100

-----  
BEFORE LEAVING/ON ARRIVAL

$$x^2 = 24.51$$

$$df = 1$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers who are employed or self-employed at the 99% level.

ON ARRIVAL/AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

$$x^2 = 0.01$$

$$df = 1$$

There is no significant difference in the newcomers who are employed or self-employed at the 95% level.

BEFORE LEAVING/AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

$$x^2 = 29.17$$

$$df = 1$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers who are employed or self-employed at the 99% level.

levels increased over all three stages from 36% before leaving to 41% on arrival and 43% at the time of the interview. Many of the self-employed women were, however, working part-time in family businesses with their husbands working full-time.

The majority of these family enterprises fall into one of the following categories: farms, pubs, hotels, guest houses including "B & B", antique shops and other forms of retailing. Newcomers establishing businesses for the first time tended to be in "easy entry" trades where relatively little technical expertise was required. At the other end of the spectrum were a small number of professionals such as architects, solicitors and dentists. Many of the newcomers' businesses were run from home, examples including a piano teacher, driving instructor, wood turner, a writer and a cabinet maker. The businesses with craft dimensions tended to be located in the more remote outlying parishes and few of these seemed to be really flourishing in financial terms. Nonetheless the self-employed were generally very positive about their post-move experience and none of those interviewed expressed real regret about their transfer into self-employment.

Some commented on the additional responsibilities and risks of their new position but there were few serious complaints. In some cases the risks and relatively low and uncertain incomes were offset by

wives working part-, or full-time in jobs such as teaching and nursing. The security of the wives' paid employment provided a safe base which permitted the husband to venture into the less certain territory of running a small business. Whilst recording the general well-being of the self-employed it must be admitted, of course, that the study was looking only at survivors and that others, whose business had failed, may have left the area altogether. Nonetheless based on the author's experiences the impression is one of the self-employed newcomers enjoying their new status and the pleasures of being one's own boss.

#### Social Class Change

The question addressed in this section is whether the newcomers overall have experienced a change in social class (based on occupation) either as a result of their move or in the period since. Has the post-move experience affected their social class? The answer would seem to be that it has not. Whether one looks at overall household social class (based on the household member with the highest status occupation) or at the individual class of all those in employment, both Table 6.6 and 6.7 tell the same story. While some households and individuals will of course have changed class, the aggregate position has changed very little, with the only discernible trend being a very slight downward shift.

TABLE 6.6      CHANGE IN NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class (From OPCS)	Household		Social Class	
	Before Leaving		At Time Of Interview	
	No	%	No	%
Social Class I*	16	7	14	6
Social Class II*	104	46	92	41
Social Class III N+	22	10	18	8
Social Class III M+	44	19	52	23
Social Class IV x	9	4	12	5
Social Class V x	2	1	-	-
Armed forces and inadequately described	9	4	8	4
Retired	12	5	27	12
Other household with no econom active persons~	8	4	3	1
Total	226	100	226	100

-----

$\chi^2 = 3.04$   
df = 4

There is no significant difference in the newcomer households' social class between before leaving and at the time of interview.

Note: \*, +, x, ~ categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test.

TABLE 6.7      CHANGE IN SOCIAL CLASS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS  
OF NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

Social Class (From OPCS)	Individuals' Social Class		Social Class	
	Before Leaving		At Time Of Interview	
	No	%	No	%
Social Class I*	19	6	15	5
Social Class II*	136	46	142	44
Social Class III N+	50	17	38	12
Social Class III M+	65	22	82	26
Social Class IVx	19	6	35	11
Social Class Vx	3	1	6	2
Armed forces and inadequately described	3	1	3	1
Total	295	99	320	101

-----

$$x^2 = 4.75$$

$$df = 2$$

There is no significant difference in the individual members of newcomer households' social class between before leaving and at the time of interview.

Note : \*, +, x categories combined for  $x^2$  test.

Given that nationally and locally the class composition has been shifting upwards, the absence of "gentrification" amongst the newcomers is of interest. It may be that the South Molton area presents few opportunities for further upward mobility or perhaps that newcomers have been content to accept a static or even reduced occupational status as a price worth paying for living in Devon. Indeed given that lifestyle change was the most common reason for leaving their former area, the newcomers may care relatively little for upward social mobility. Certainly, once arrived, the newcomers have not proved a major force for a further or continuing "improvement" in the area's overall class structure albeit a number of the more attractive villages have experienced an influx of wealthier newcomers.

#### 6.2.2 Social Changes

##### Household Change

This short section considers the newcomers' post-move experience in terms of changes in household composition. Chapter 4 has shown that contrary to some of the literature (Law and Warnes 1982, Allon-Smith 1982) retirement migration was not commonplace and that there were few elderly households among the newcomers. Still rarer were any attempts to form communes or to experiment with "alternative" family arrangements, a

trend found elsewhere in Britain (Ford 1983). The overwhelming majority of newcomers comprised conventional nuclear families. In comparing the household composition on arrival in North Devon with that at the time of interview, Table 6.8 shows a reduction in one, two and three person households and an increased number of larger households. Average household size grew from 3.08 to 3.47, both figures being above the national and the regional figures.

TABLE 6.8      CHANGE IN THE NEWCOMERS' HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Size of Household	Size At Time Of Move		Size At Time Of Interview	
	No	%	No	%
1 Person Household	23	10	14	6
2 Person Household	74	33	64	28
3 Person Household	46	20	33	15
4 Person Household	42	19	63	28
5 Person Household*	32	14	29	13
6 Person Household*	5	2	15	7
7 Person Household*	2	1	6	3
8 Person Household	2	1	2	1
Total	226	100	226	101

---


$$\chi^2 = 15.53$$

$$df = 5$$

There is a significant difference in the newcomers' household size at the 99% level.

Note: \* Categories combined for  $\chi^2$  test.

Individual analysis of the questionnaires showed that the most common reason for household growth was the birth of a new family member rather than the arrival of an adult member (such as an elderly parent). A

reduction in household size was only rarely accounted for by a death. In rural and coastal areas which have received substantial retirement migration the subsequent death of the husband or wife has left large numbers of isolated widows and widowers, some of whom regret having moved away from their friends in the former area of residence (Warnes 1982, Glyn-Jones 1977). Among North Devon newcomers this is not a significant problem. The most common explanation of reduced household size lay with households who originally moved with young adults who have subsequently out-migrated either entirely from North Devon, or have moved from their parents' home to live independently elsewhere in the area. Those that left North Devon entirely either went to college/university, took up a job outside the region or returned to their previous location (as return migrants) where they had a core of family and friends and improved chances of suitable employment.

### Lifestyle Change

So far, lifestyle change has been used as an umbrella term to denote all those households who relocated with a view to obtaining a less hectic or pressured lifestyle (often with less commuting). Basically many of these newcomers were trying to get out of the "rat race" and enjoy a slower pace of life. This section divides the migrants seeking a lifestyle change into three broad groups, namely those seeking



"alternative" lifestyles, those seeking a degree of autonomy in their working life and those who have merely changed their social and physical environment without a marked change in how they earn their living. It should be noted, however, that the divisions between these three main groups cannot be precisely determined and that there is overlap between them.

The most radical form of lifestyle change is "alternative" lifestyles which includes households attempting self-sufficiency and participation in counter cultures. The North Devon survey, however, revealed only two households (1%) attempting to be entirely self-sufficient in the food requirements and in some other commodities such as clothes, and firewood; and a further 5% that were largely self-sufficient in their everyday food requirements. Moreover it is interesting that most of these "alternative" lifestyles have had to adopt a more practical approach and compromise their original ideals, a trend also identified by Ford (1983) in his research on Dyfed. For example, one family tried self-sufficiency on arrival in North Devon, but found it much harder work than originally anticipated and quite uneconomical. One newcomer household living in Satterleigh and Warkleigh commented on the pressures of this kind of lifestyle, "it's like being in your own self-created rat race." Although this household was still practising self-sufficiency at the time of the interview, they were also producing a specialist cheese

which was sold at the luxury end of the food consumer market in London and which provided the household with a regular income. Another household which left London to get out of the "rat race" and the world of media, bought a house and a two hectare plot of land in order to become self-sufficient and develop alternative sources of power (windmills and solar energy). In reality their plans proved too ambitious and now both the husband and wife have part-time jobs in South Molton and work the rest of the time on their small-holding.

The second group of "lifestylers" comprises newcomers operating their own semi-commercial or profit-orientated businesses, most of whom were not self-employed before moving to North Devon. These newcomers have thus taken the risk of entering the less predictable world of self-employment which for many had yielded a lower and less secure income than they might otherwise have enjoyed. In return, however, these households have gained a higher degree of autonomy and control over their work routine than they had before. In addition, most operated their businesses from the home, thereby reducing the distinction between "workplace" and "homeplace." Newcomers who moved to North Devon to run small farms provide examples of this type of lifestyle change. One pre-retirement couple moved from Berkshire to take on a small 16 hectare farm in Satterleigh and Warkleigh which they farm organically. This represents a marked change in the

husband's employment as he had previously been part of the senior management of a major car manufacturing company.

The third main group of "lifestylers" are those who wanted to improve their social and physical environment. Whilst these households now enjoy a less pressurised environment, many of them are employed in similar jobs to before the move, occupy a semi-detached and look to trade-up the housing market, pay a mortgage, and live in many respects, a similar lifestyle to the one they had before but in a more attractive geographical environment. For some of these, the post-move experience has been disappointing in that they had hoped for a change of job as well as place, but all are pleased to be out of the cities and in a small town or rural setting.

Thus in summary this survey's data indicate very clearly that the majority of newcomer households moving for a lifestyle change are not breaking from mainstream society. Moreover those that do harbour such radical notions find them difficult to achieve in practice. For most newcomers an essential part of the post-move experience is still work and business but in a more agreeable place. Of course, even newcomers who did not move principally for lifestyle reasons found their way of life substantially changed by their move: different job, different house, different neighbours, different schools and different shops. They may not have sought a

new way of life but to some degree a change in their daily routine was inevitable. How the newcomers as a whole view their new circumstances and how they rate the success or failure of their move are the subjects of the next section.

### 6.2.3 Post-Move Evaluation

This section considers the newcomers' overall assessment of the most common advantages and disadvantages of their move. Given that the overwhelming majority of moves were entirely voluntary, it was of special interest to examine the extent to which the newcomers have fulfilled their ambitions and the extent to which the post-move experience has lived up to expectations (Sofranko and Fliegel 1984).

The interviewed households were asked whether in retrospect they felt the move to North Devon had proved the right decision for their household. The answers to this type of question are difficult to interpret because they are highly dependent on the honesty of the respondent. Some interviewees who were dissatisfied may have been reluctant to admit this to the interviewer because they may not have come to terms with it themselves. Moreover they may not have wanted to admit to the failure of their judgement in having made a decision which proved ill-advised. There are no ways of overcoming these methodological problems entirely, although the length of the interviews and trust

developed between the respondent and interviewer minimised these dangers of deliberate concealment. This topic was explored by means of an open-ended question and the responses were then coded-up at a later stage on a scale from highly satisfied to highly dissatisfied. The results presented in Table 6.9 overwhelmingly support the move to North Devon with 55% of the newcomer households recorded as "highly satisfied" and a further 24% as "moderately satisfied" (accounting together for 79% of the total). Only 10% of the newcomer households were moderately or highly dissatisfied with their move.

TABLE 6.9      NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' POST-MOVE EVALUATION

Post-Move Evaluation	Newcomers' No	Response %
Highly satisfied	124	55
Moderately satisfied	54	24
Unsure/too early	25	11
Moderately dissatisfied	17	8
Highly dissatisfied	4	2
No response	2	1
Total	226	101

-----

A variety of reasons were given by the newcomers for their satisfaction with the move. For example, one household who left Essex spoke of the relief at leaving their former place of residence.

"Of course we're satisfied - we are out of the rat race and for the first time feel in control of our lives and live in a superb area."

Other households emphasised the importance of the surrounding countryside. One household who moved from Manchester for retirement reasons said,

"We wanted to be close to both Exmoor and the coast, but with the necessary social amenities which are needed once you start getting older: South Molton is ideal for this."

In addition to these environmentally based views many newcomers expressed satisfaction with the move for either social or employment reasons. One interviewee who had recently moved and intended to run a guesthouse was delighted by the friendly, lively attitude. He said,

"Market day in South Molton epitomises why we are so pleased to have left Bedford ... Everyone goes to South Molton on a Thursday, either for the market, for shopping or just to socialise ... there is a feeling of togetherness."

In terms of employment satisfaction many thought it was the lack of pressure and less competitive atmosphere which was important. Even those newcomers with professional jobs in South Molton and who had moved for job related reasons enjoyed the reduced geographical separation between home- and work-life. For example, some of the newcomers who worked in South Molton had purposefully chosen to live in the town itself because they could then walk to and from work and go home for lunch. These were considered "luxuries" which they had been unable to savour when working in urban and metropolitan areas.

Only 10% of the newcomer households were dissatisfied with their move. Although a variety of

reasons were given for this dissatisfaction, one of the more common, related to some form of economic or personal failure. Although these set-backs were not generally the product of locational considerations, nonetheless the newcomers' post-move evaluation was heavily influenced by these extenuating circumstances. For example, one household had experienced a business failure and was now for financial reasons unable to move from the area. Personal "failures" related either to the breakdown of a marriage, or to the death of a partner which then greatly diminished the newcomers' enjoyment of the area. A second group of just over half a dozen households had experienced no particular business or personal calamities but were simply disenchanted with the area and its facilities. The most common complaints related to education, housing and the limited range of job opportunities for many of the newcomers' children. Although this group included a few households who had been asked to move here by their employer, it is noteworthy that most of the households which had not moved entirely voluntarily had few regrets.

Although very few were disappointed by the move there was still some (quite marked) job dissatisfaction. Overall about one quarter of the newcomers rated their North Devon job as less satisfying than their previous employment before the move. For example, some key workers who were neither promoted nor given any real

financial incentive perceived little increased job satisfaction. Another example was a policeman who was posted from Plymouth to North Devon at the same grade and who felt his new job was less demanding or exciting. Nonetheless many commented on the benefits of a less pressurised job and even those who were less satisfied with their job were generally still pleased to have moved. The environmental, social and lifestyle advantages of North Devon more than offset any disadvantages about employment, salaries and promotion prospects.

The final table in this section, Table 6.10, gives the newcomers' response to the question of whether they anticipated staying in the fieldwork area over the next five years. The data strongly support the sentiments expressed in Table 6.9. Seventy percent of the newcomer households expected to be living in the survey area over the next five years, and only 8% saw themselves moving away. Nonetheless it should be noted that a number of the younger households pointed out that they did not anticipate staying in the fieldwork area, or even North Devon for the rest of their lives. One or two may have been merely trying to impress the interviewer that they had ideas and ambitions beyond their present circumstances, but most seemed genuinely anxious to sample life elsewhere, albeit none expressed any desire to move to the conurbations or to experience the "excitement" of the big cities. The kinds of people



who had moved to North Devon were not interested in "bright lights" or "streets paved with gold".

TABLE 6.10      NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS' LIKELIHOOD OF  
REMAINING IN THE SOUTH MOLTON AREA OVER  
NEXT 5 YEARS

Likelihood Of Remaining	Newcomers Response No	%
Likely to stay	175	77
Likely to move	19	8
Unsure	29	13
Inadequate data	3	1
Total	226	99
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### 6.3      ECONOMIC    AND    SOCIAL    IMPACT    OF    THE    NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS

#### 6.3.1    Economic    Issues

##### Employment

This section considers the impact of the newcomer households on the employment market in the locality. The main aim here is to indicate the ways in which the newcomers have had a positive or negative effect on the local economy and on employment opportunities (Perry et al 1986). The field of rural employment research is a complex one, bedevilled by inadequate statistical information (McAllum and Adams 1981, Hodge and Whitby 1981, Gilg 1983). Moreover, given the diversity of

other themes explored in the South Molton study, it was clearly not practicable to look in real detail at local economic change or to engage in a thorough quantitative analysis of the newcomers' impact on the local economy. Furthermore, the newcomers' diversity of experience with regard to employment makes it difficult to assess a set of clearly identifiable and measurable effects which can be labelled as the "employment impact". The intention, therefore, is simply to draw together the relevant employment characteristics of the newcomers which have been previously discussed and provide a short review of the ways in which they have affected the economic life of the study area.

In many rural areas, population growth has been accompanied by a marked shift in employment patterns and in particular there has often been a substantial increase in commuting. Indeed, in the past, commuting has been used as a characteristic which identifies in-migrants as urban orientated, thereby setting them apart from the local population (Connell 1974).

In the case of the present study, however, the distance between the fieldwork area and the South West's main urban centres (Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth) meant that long distance commuting among newcomers was negligible. Indeed few newcomers commuted out of the fieldwork area to other places in North Devon, even Barnstaple and Braunton, and almost half the newcomers worked and lived in the same parish. Seventy six per

cent of those newcomers living in South Molton also worked there and even in the outlying parishes 38% still worked and lived in their parish of residence. Clearly, the study area is not in danger of becoming a dormitory without its own economic life.

The reasons for the increased number of jobs in the local community were discussed at considerable length in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3). Whilst the reservations associated with branch plant manufacturing development in the rural periphery (Massey 1984, Healey 1982, Austin and Benyon 1979) were acknowledged, the particular firms which had moved to the study area had created a large number of relatively stable new jobs with very few cases of branch plant closures. Nonetheless the kinds of posts occupied by newcomers as against stayers has proved a controversial issue with the indigenous population on two main counts. The first is the continued importation of skilled labour by firms, such as High Temperature Engineers Ltd from other parts of the country. According to "High Temp" these posts are advertised both locally and nationally because they usually cannot obtain the right sort of labour from the immediate area. During the survey interviews several local respondents expressed grievances over such a policy, considering it was the firm's duty to train local people rather than bring in "outsiders" who have little knowledge and sometimes little regard for the North Devon environment and way of life. However,

information provided by the careers teacher at South Molton Community School revealed that manufacturing apprenticeships offered by firms such as High Temperature Engineers Ltd were not widely taken up by school-leavers: a finding which is consistent with research relating to school-leavers' job aspirations in Devon (Dench 1985, Toyne 1977) and elsewhere (Drudy and Drudy 1979). It appears that at the local level there may be some misconceptions relating to the recruitment role of a firm such as High Temperature Engineers.

The second issue related to newcomers who arrived jobless and then, for whatever reasons, took up positions with the new companies. A few of the local residents did not approve of this, arguing that such people were taking jobs away from the local population. Although it was shown in Table 6.1 that only 14% of newcomers arrived unemployed, the numbers subsequently entering and re-entering paid employment increased substantially. The jobs issue would have been still more contentious if local unemployment had not been below the regional and national average.

Both from the questionnaire survey and from living in the area it was also apparent that a number of the town's higher status professional occupations were filled by newcomers. For example, many of the professional service occupations such as doctors, dentists, teachers and church leaders all had a significant number of newcomers. Four doctors out of

the six working at the South Molton practice were newcomers. Similarly all three headmasters of the infants, junior and senior schools in South Molton, as well as the headmasters at North Molton and Chittlehampton junior schools were newcomers. Indeed, the farming community formed the only major sector denominated by the local population which enjoyed a high status and considerable influence.

Generally these newcomers bring a greater level of expertise and knowledge to the area which can be beneficial also to the stayers. For example the indigenous population, especially farmers, have some very close links with some of the town's bank managers, accountants and solicitors. In addition, many of these professional newcomers contributed to the community in other ways. For example, there were several cases of senior bank employees acting as treasurers for local voluntary organisations. Generally the presence of newcomer professionals excited very little comment from the locals whereas there was more marked opposition to outsiders taking factory jobs. This distinction may derive from a certain deference to the professional classes or from the view that few locals had the expertise necessary for professional posts but most could be trained for factory labour.

The high self-employment level among the newcomers has been shown to be a key ingredient in the area's population turnround and it is necessary to

consider briefly the consequences of this for the local economy. It is important to note that very few newcomers merely transferred their own existing business into the area. Table 6.11 divides the businesses owned by newcomers (79) into those already in existence and those actually created by newcomers. An admittedly crude attempt has also been made to assess whether the business was primarily commercially orientated or not. Not surprisingly, it was found that all 10 newcomer households which had taken up full-time farming had in fact replaced an existing business. Moreover the purchasing of farms were, in the main, from North Devon families who were selling either because there was no-one to take over or because of financial difficulties. Other pre-existing businesses which were now run by newcomers included a number of the area's pubs and guest houses and in some cases the newcomers injected new life and enthusiasm into hitherto rather neglected enterprises. For example, one couple who ran the Stags Head just outside South Molton claimed to have purchased the pub at a much reduced price because its former owner had allowed it to run down and its clientele to fall. Yet in other cases newcomers became self-employed with little or no previous experience and in reality rarely found it to be the "soft option" they had anticipated before moving.

The businesses newly created by the newcomers were strikingly varied. Many of the more commercially orientated firms were targeted at the area's tourist

TABLE 6.11      PROFILE OF NEWCOMERS' BUSINESS

Business Orientation	Business Already Existing	Business Created by Newcomers	Total
Commercially operated business	27	32	59
Semi-commercial business	-	20	20
Total	27	52	79

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industry. For example, a number of households had converted old disused buildings for B & B, and holiday lets. Whilst these may seem to represent a net addition to the local economy a note of caution is required, since they may merely displace or compete with existing businesses. For example, many of the local farmers also rely on the seasonal holiday trade and at a time when farmers are increasingly looking to diversify their activities into tourism, the development of new businesses could have an adverse effect on the farmers' potential trade.

Another type of new business created by newcomers and which has become a distinctive feature of the South Molton economy is the proliferation of arts and antique shops in the town. Evidence would suggest that in this sphere of the economy, rather than saturation point being reached, the establishment of new businesses has acted as a stimulus which has turned South Molton into the main arts and antiques centre in North Devon. In South Molton town itself there are some 10 businesses.

Moreover this sector has diversified and also includes an art shop (selling prints and original paintings by North Devon artists), two potters of international standing, a shop specialising in antique lace and a large architectural antiques business. Although many of these newcomers bought vacant premises in the town and have gradually built their businesses up over a number of years, it is a changing aspect of the local economy not welcomed by some members of the indigenous populations. It is felt that the merchandise has little relevance for local people and that the town is being fast over-run by these "yuppie" businesses. Certainly their appeal is principally to the visitors who pass through, particularly during the summer months. However, with the North Devon Link road soon to divert traffic away from South Molton's town centre the successful marketing of the town as North Devon's antique centre could be important to the local economy and attracting visitors.

As previously discussed (for reference see Section 6.2.2) a handful of semi-commercial craft businesses were set up by the newcomers, mainly in the outlying parishes. It is sufficient to note here that such businesses included wood-turning and weaving as well as several newcomers restoring and making furniture. Although small in number it is noteworthy that these add another dimension to the local economy and help in a modest way to strengthen the area's



interest for tourists (Perry 1983).

In order to assess the benefits of the newcomers' business to the area's economy, it is also necessary to look briefly at whether they have generated additional employment opportunities locally. Data were analysed on the number of persons employed both when the newcomers' businesses began and at the time of the interview. The evidence clearly showed that the majority of newcomer firms (78%) have no employees apart from family labour. For most there has been little change in the number of employees between the date of starting and the time of the interview. These two trends re-emphasise the small and relatively static nature of most newcomer businesses. They are clearly not a source of large numbers of new jobs. This finding tends to confirm the existing research both in other areas and nationally on the growth of small businesses (Storey and Johnson 1987, Potter?, Shaw et al 1987).

There were a few exceptions to this general pattern, with a handful of businesses increasing their number of employees whilst only one business contracted in size. It is worth noting though, that the survey obviously could not reveal the numbers of unsuccessful newcomer businesses which have folded and whose owners may well have left the area. Two firms which have experienced growth are especially interesting because they have been developed by newcomers who originally moved with an incoming firm but have subsequently turned

independent and developed their own businesses. Both have grown considerably. One a toy manufacturing firm employs between 25-30 persons and the other, a small engineering firm has 15 employees. With these exceptions, however, there was little evidence of the area's major new companies "spawning" spin-off enterprises. The big factories were not breeding grounds for entrepreneurs, nor were the entrepreneurs the seed beds for large scale employment growth and large factories.

### The Housing Market

Population change in the study area has obviously had considerable implications for the local housing market. In particular the increased demand for accommodation has required the planning authorities to allocate and release more land for residential purposes than was originally envisaged. This lack of forward planning and insufficient housing provision throughout the 1970s has in the opinion of local estate agents led to a situation where supply has not been able to keep pace with demand.

Within South Molton itself there is a particular shortage of larger family sized homes (with four or more bedrooms) and several interviewed households had to wait a considerable length of time before finding a suitable property. Outside South Molton housing pressures are especially acute in the more attractive and

"traditional" villages where demand is strong and new building tightly controlled in the interests of conservation. Parishes such as Chittlehampton, Bishops Nympton and North Molton have therefore all experienced particularly sharp increases in house prices which have led councillors to comment on the difficulties which local young couples face in obtaining homes within their price range. Although this problem is still not as acute as in the most attractive South Devon villages, it is of growing concern. Chittlehampton with its high level of commuting to Barnstaple has been especially prone to gentrification and it is noticeable that the housing pressures are much less intense in the more remote outlying parishes such as East Buckland and the hamlets of Molland and Bentswichen. The availability of some land owned by the district council has recently led to a new housing association development in Chittlehampton. From discussions with the North Devon Estates Offices it was clear there had been a very quick take-up of these new homes, thereby indicating the extent of local need. Predicting this kind of latent demand for housing is very problematic (Winter 1982, Shucksmith 1981) and it is difficult to estimate whether other parishes in the study area have a comparable level of need.

In view of the social and occupational characteristics of the newcomers it is perhaps surprising to find that local authority housing is also

a relevant issue. It should be remembered, however, that the newcomers were a very diverse group who had not all left professional jobs in South East. Six percent were in local authority housing at the time of the interview and a further 4 percent had recently purchased their home from the local authority. In addition to some key workers who had been given preferential treatment for council housing, the district housing department also pointed at two other relevant sources of pressure on council housing in the area. The first is from in-migrants who take a seasonal let over the winter, often in a coastal setting, and on being evicted in the summer then declare themselves homeless. The second is from in-migrants who settle in or around Barnstaple and then apply for a transfer into the more rural areas such as South Molton.

Although the local authority's points system tends to preclude council housing from very recent arrivals, the study interviews revealed amongst the stayers some disquiet about the numbers of council dwellings being taken over by outsiders. Given that the actual statistical evidence in the present survey shows that newcomers are overwhelmingly owner-occupiers these fears may be exaggerated but there is nonetheless a strongly held view that local authority housing should be allocated only to households with well established local credentials. Several stayers commented on cases where local young people were unable to obtain a council

house, meanwhile council houses were occupied by relative newcomers. In Bishops Nympton and North Molton especially, strong views were expressed about unemployed newcomer households taking up council houses while locals with jobs could not find suitable accommodation.

In the private sector and to some extent in the public sector too, newcomers and locals were often in competition for the area's housing stock. There was, however, one very clear example of market segmentation: South Molton's Mill-on-the-Mole mobile home park has grown in response to newcomers' needs. Its 100 units are almost entirely occupied by newcomers for whom it affords a relatively inexpensive means of entry to the South Molton area. Being physically separated from the town, and offering very "different" housing it is regarded as a newcomers' ghetto and viewed with a certain degree of suspicion. Mill-on-the-Mole symbolises the inability of the more formal housing market to accommodate all those who wish to live in the area. But although a very distinctive form of newcomer housing it is of no more than marginal significance. It is the owner-occupied sector and to a lesser extent council housing which have been most substantially affected by the process of population growth.

### 6.3.2 Social Impact And Community Implications

#### Introduction

The demographic and social changes that have

occurred during the post-war period in the more accessible parts of rural Britain have been the subject of a host of community studies (Pahl 1965, Bracey 1964, Thorns 1968, Ambrose 1974, Connell 1978, Pacione 1980) and were discussed in Chapter 1, (Section 1.5.1). Much of this research has focussed on the relationship between the locals and the newcomers (Strathern 1982, 1984, Forsythe, 1980) and more recently on a class-based analysis of community change (Newby et al 1978, Little 1984). It is unlikely that the newcomers identified in the North Devon study will be identical to those who moved into the metropolitan hinterland of lowland Britain. A number of characteristics already set them apart and identify them with a very different set of economic and social processes. The commuter dormitories of Hertfordshire (between 20-50 miles from London) are far removed both geographically and socially from the small towns and villages of North Devon. The scale and nature of these contrasts is an important theme in this section on community implications of population growth.

Under the heading of social and community change the range of topics which could be explored is extremely wide : in practice the following discussion focusses on a limited number of key themes, namely the environment, community services, social integration, community spirit and participation and finally local politics. At the outset, it must be recognised that the underlying key question, "In what ways have the newcomers changed the

area's life and landscape?" cannot be answered with absolute precision. For example, who can say what would have happened to the area if there had been no demographic revival? Certainly some changes in occupational structure, the physical landscape, social class composition and the like would have happened anyway. Because various social changes have accompanied population growth they have not necessarily been caused by it and thus it is obviously important not to ascribe all change to population change.

### Landscape

Over the last two decades the landscape of the fieldwork area has experienced a number of significant changes. For example, South Molton has had two industrial estates built, plus one other large-scale industrial site located just outside the town (see Figure 3.12 in Chapter 3). The South Molton land use map also indicated the post-1970 housing developments together with proposed future housing schemes. Since 1970 the town's built-up area has grown by about 10-15% mainly through westward expansion. Although the increased housing provision has been partly a response to decreasing household size and improving residential standards there is no doubt that the major new housing and industrial developments are intimately related to population growth. Nonetheless not all landscape and environmental change can be attributed to in-migration.

Recent developments in farming practice, for example, have brought changes to the rural landscape which are quite unrelated to local population growth. Despite the many pressures on the area's environment, some parishes have experienced comparatively little physical change principally because they have been subject to strict development control.

Although North Molton, Bishops Nympton and Chittlehampton (key settlements until 1981) have all had some small scale local authority and private housing development, the appearance of most of the parishes outside South Molton has changed little except in response to the pressures of conservation and gentrification. It was shown in Chapter 4, for example, that the majority of newcomers living outside South Molton had obtained pre-1850 character homes, a trend which has been especially profound in the more accessible villages such as Chittlehamholt and Kings Nympton (both located on the Exeter-Barnstaple axis). Additionally, there were a dozen or so households renovating and in some cases re-building old farm buildings, schools, railway stations, barns and dilapidated houses. This trend has certainly affected the area's landscape but until recently it is a pre-occupation largely confined to the newcomers, with comparatively little participation from local residents.

In many rural areas the influx of an articulate and conservationist-conscious middle class has been a



force for protecting heritage and often opposing further residential or commercial expansion (Phillips and Williams 1984, Little 1984). Certainly the newcomers living outside South Molton tend to conform to this general pattern. Many left other parts of the country (especially the home counties) to find an unspoilt area not influenced by the creeping urbanisation of lowland Britain. Having arrived, they were keen to protect their new surroundings from developments which might impair the traditional and rustic landscape they had come here to enjoy (Lowe et al 1986).

Within South Molton town, however, the newcomers tended to be rather less heritage-conscious. Most were living in modern "suburban style" housing with little character to protect. Indeed discussions with local planners and the North Devon Conservation Officer indicated that in most parts of North Devon the conservation lobby is still not especially active or vociferous. Taken as a whole it is possible that the area's newcomers are somewhat less affluent, middle-class and conservative-minded than their counterparts in the less remote areas of lowland England.

The landscape implications of growth are, therefore, many and varied. It is not possible here to explore in detail the question of whether these changes are on balance to the detriment or to the benefit of the area's environment. Nonetheless the general impression

is that the presence of the newcomers in the villages and hamlets has helped to conserve the heritage and raise environmental standards. In the case of South Molton town, however, the newcomers have been part of an expansion process which has brought the Mill-on-the-Mole mobile home park and some rather undistinguished new estates with a decidedly suburban flavour.

Finally, it is noteworthy that while many landscape changes have occurred already, the area is likely to experience still more changes in the future. For example a number of new housing developments are proposed on the western side of town with the aim of accommodating population growth and rounding off the built up area. A new hospital is being built for the town, a new community sports hall has just been completed at the school site, and the North Devon Link road is currently under construction. None of these developments can be attributed exclusively to the pressures and demands of an increased population, but the growth in numbers has certainly been a key ingredient in the rationale for their provision.

### Community Services

It is generally recognised that rural areas are under-provided with many community services that are taken for granted in urban areas (Clout 1972). Repopulation by generating new demands for services provides an opportunity for reversing the spiral of

decline hitherto often associated with rural settlements (Shaw 1977). However, the academic literature does stress that it is too simplistic to expect that population increases should automatically produce improved services. Indeed, some research has shown that the arrival of an advantaged population with urban-orientated lifestyles and high car-ownership levels has done little to retain community facilities and in some cases has precipitated their demise (Moseley 1979, Phillips and Williams 1984). Thus in the present North Devon study the socio-economic characteristics of the newcomers as well as their total numbers are extremely important in reviewing their impact on community service development.

One of the most contentious aspects of service provision in Britain's more remote rural areas has been the closure of schools in response to dwindling pupil numbers. Clearly an influx of newcomers can be highly beneficial in injecting new life into schools which might otherwise have been under threat. In the case of Devon, the County Council's education official for North Devon has stressed that the present policy is to retain and strengthen the area's village school base. High rates of in-migration have clearly been an important part of the reasoning behind this approach and North Devon is not experiencing the same level of staffing reductions experienced elsewhere. Schools in the area's outlying parishes such as Chittlehampton, with its 39

pupils are in effect being protected by in-migration. In the present survey, 33% of the members of newcomer households were in the 0-15 age group.

Another important element in rural services is the village shop or post office. Some research has suggested that the influx of an advantaged population can place these services at risk because the newcomers (and many of the locals) do not patronize them sufficiently frequently and instead travel to higher order urban settlements (Shaw 1977, Phillips and Williams 1984). Although the present survey collected no data on shopping habits it did reveal a high degree of newcomer entrepreneurship which tends to support a more optimistic interpretation. For a number of newcomers the move to North Devon represented the opportunity to change their lifestyle and take on a small commercial venture such as a village shop or pub. Within the fieldwork area, six out of the ten parishes which had a shop or pub, had at least one newcomer household involved in such an enterprise. Thus these newcomers provide a degree of entrepreneurship which is helping to sustain some village services rather than precipitate their closure. In fact one newcomer household which at the time of the interview had recently taken over the village pub in Kings Nympton has subsequently diversified so that part of the building is now the post office. In such a brief review it is not possible to ascertain whether the local residents lacked

the inclination or ambition to be involved in such business ventures or whether they were unable financially to compete for the purchase. However, it appears clear that in this respect the newcomers have brought some benefits to service provision in the area.

### Community Integration

The extent to which the interviewed groups perceived themselves to be integrated into the local community is a useful means of gaining further insights into the impact of the newcomers on the fieldwork area. Interestingly, the data presented in Table 6.12 show a significant contrast between the two interviewed groups' responses (statistically significant at the 99% level) with the stayers generally feeling more integrated. If the categories strongly and moderately integrated are combined the results show more stayers (55%) than newcomers (39%) feeling a part of the community.

TABLE 6.12 LEVEL OF PERCEIVED COMMUNITY INTEGRATION BY  
INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

Level of Community Integration	Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%
Strongly integrated	38	17	21	28
Moderately integrated	50	22	21	28
Unsure	47	21	7	9
Moderately independent	50	22	17	22
Strongly independent	38	17	9	12
No response	3	1	1	1
Total	226	100	76	100

Community integration and the local/newcomer dimension was, of course, complicated by the effects of social class. In many of the studies of social and population change in the commuting villages of lowland England the class distinction between the generally middle class newcomers and the generally less privileged local people has been a key feature (Newby 1972, 1980, Pacione 1980, Little 1984). In the case of South Molton, however, although in-migration has brought in a larger proportion of Social Class I and II (see Chapter 4, Tables 4.19 and 4.20) the class differences between newcomers and stayers are not particularly marked. The class and residence dimensions are not, therefore, so co-extensive and mutually reinforcing as they have been in many of the more metropolitan villages. This has no doubt been an aid to community cohesion and assimilation. Nonetheless it is noteworthy that within the newcomers there was a tendency among the well educated with higher status occupations to feel more fully integrated than other newcomers. Interestingly, these people were often aligned to one of the main institutions in the community such as the Church, School or Parish or Town Council. Similarly, the stayers' responses to the question of community integration were also socially differentiated with most of those living in local authority housing considering themselves not well integrated into the local community, whereas the farming fraternity of the area, almost without exception

had a strong sense of belonging to the area.

Of course, not everyone was keen to integrate themselves into the local community life. For example, those newcomers who were attempting some form of alternative lifestyle (such as self sufficiency on a small holding) tended to view North Devon folk with a certain amount of scepticism particularly over conservation issues relating to farming. For example, woodland clearance and land management practices adopted by the North Devon farming community were cited on several occasions. One newcomer living in Satterleigh and Warkleigh summed his feelings up by saying,

"I have a personal aversion towards South Molton and surrounding area .... it is difficult to be accepted because of the cliques."

Such views were, however, the exception rather than the rule. The great majority of newcomers had seen an improved community life as being one of the attractions of a move to North Devon and were interested in participating in that life rather than criticising it. Assimilation was generally easier in South Molton town than in the outlying parishes. The town offered more opportunities for social contacts and perhaps a more open stance to newcomers which contrasted with the more conservative stance in many of the villages. But even those middle class newcomers who felt relatively assimilated into the community recognised their position as outsiders and different from that of local residents. For example, many newcomers were careful to

point out the difference between being integrated and being treated as a local. One newcomer from East Buckland said,

"Yes there's a very good atmosphere here ..... outsiders are accepted readily but as friends, not as locals."

In fact, many of the newcomers made the point that it took 20 years before North Devon people even started to treat you as a local.

Another important aspect of community integration is of course family ties. Not surprisingly, it was found that approximately 60% of the stayers had immediate family ties (parents, children, grandparents and grand-children) in the area compared with approximately 20% of the newcomers. Furthermore it was the author's impression that relatively few marriages straddled the newcomer local divide. Although no statistical evidence is available on this subject this view was strongly supported by one local farmer who commented:

"Locals marry locals ... marriage up here cuts across class ... in my family we have had all sorts of marriages ...."

Interestingly, those newcomers who did have relatives in the area generally had more frequent contact with them than the stayers did with theirs: when living in a new environment established family ties are of special significance.

The differences between the two groups are still more pronounced in respect of friendships in the area.



Although no precise data were obtained on this theme, most newcomers commented that their friends were in-migrants rather than stayers, while the converse was true for the stayers. An exception, however, to this overall pattern were return migrants.

To some extent this local/newcomer distinction was accentuated by both groups having stereotyped images of the other, which were for the most part inaccurate representations. Two stereotyped images were most often identified by the local community as representing the newcomers. At one end of the spectrum were the "well-to-do Land Rover brigade" who had left the South East, who still had "urban" middle class values and lifestyles and who tried nonetheless to muscle in on the farming community. At the other end of the spectrum were an "off-beat" group, seeking alternative lifestyles and who were generally full of "left wing nonsense." In reality neither of these groups were at all representative of the majority of newcomers, but both had captured the local residents' imagination (despite the fact that the majority of newcomers were doing conventional jobs in offices, factories, shops, schools and running small businesses).

Similarly, the newcomers had stereotyped images of the local population which hinged on two highly oversimplified characterisations. Firstly, there was the farming fraternity who were felt to be "politically strong, culturally barren and always dressed in browns,

greens and tweeds." The other image was of "local yokels" who were parochial in attitude, poorly educated and living in a world gone by. Neither of these were fair representations of local residents but these images and stereotypes did feature strongly in the newcomers' everyday perceptions and private conversations.

### Community Spirit

Linked to the interviewees' perceptions of their level of community integration are their views on the extent to which the area has a community spirit. One methodological problem encountered with this particular question was that of spatial scale. The survey question aimed to get an overall assessment of perceived community spirit on the fieldwork area but some respondents living in the outlying parishes raised the complication that whereas they felt their own village had a community spirit, South Molton did not. Despite the pilot survey, this was unforeseen and thus many households were asked to give a more generalised response than perhaps they would have wished. For the purposes of this section Table 6.13, therefore, gives a general indicator for the whole of the fieldwork area albeit the discussion will also refer to the differences between parishes.

The results in Table 6.13 show little difference between the newcomer and stayer households (chi square not significant at 95% level), the overwhelming view

TABLE 6.13 LEVEL OF PERCEIVED COMMUNITY SPIRIT IN THE  
SOUTH MOLTON AREA BY INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS

Level of Community Spirit	Newcomers		Stayers	
	No	%	No	%
Definitely strong	104	46	36	47
Moderately strong	55	24	18	24
Unsure	28	12	6	8
Moderately weak	16	7	12	16
Definitely weak	18	8	2	3
No response	5	2	2	3
Total	226	99	76	101

$$X^2 = 1.46$$

$$df = 3$$

There is no significant difference between the newcomers and the stayers at the 95% level.

being that the fieldwork area did have a community spirit. Only 15% of the newcomer households and 19% of the stayer households expressed a less positive view. Most newcomers, especially those that felt integrated, enthused over the area's community spirit. For example, one newcomer who lived and worked in South Molton town thought the community spirit was excellent:

"it's shown by the number of organisations in the area and the way people rally around in times of crisis."

Two crises which demonstrated this point were the 1984 and 1985 fires at Chittlehampton and North Molton, both of which involved the loss of newcomers' homes. In both cases, stayers and newcomers alike rallied round to assist the families affected and provide alternative

accommodation.

It would be misleading, however, to convey the impression that all newcomers viewed the area as having a strong community spirit. The social exclusiveness of local farmers' cliques was frequently commented on, as was the lack of anonymity:

"I left the South East to make a clean break and a fresh start, but the people here know more in six months than they ever did back home!"

It was noticeable that attitudes on community spirit were more influenced by age than by their newcomer or local background. Teenagers and the elderly tended to be the least impressed by the state of the community. From the survey interviews and from many other conversations and meetings it was clear that many teenagers felt there were not enough social and sporting entertainment facilities. Although this problem was exacerbated in the outlying parishes, through the lack of accessibility, it was also prevalent in South Molton itself. This inadequate teenage provision may perhaps help to explain the rise in petty crimes in the town (one of the Town Council's major concerns). For example the Town Mayor's Christmas message in 1985 included the following observation:

"My only regret during my term of office is that we have suffered a severe increase in vandalism and I make this appeal to the persons concerned to consider the damage and expense they cause the community in which they are growing up and will in future bring up their own families."

South Molton Gazette 24/12/85.

Moreover several of the elderly residents

interviewed identified a declining community spirit with the changing attitudes of youngsters. For example, one couple in North Molton complained about youngsters picking and trampling their flowers in the front garden, "something that would have never happened a few years ago." Among elderly locals the influx of newcomers and the area's changing social complexion were also often seen as having contributed to the erosion of community spirit. Perhaps the old tended to have a nostalgic view of times past as many looked back with great affection to the days when every village had its own tradesmen and craftsmen and active church and chapel.

Perceptions of community spirit varied not only with age but with location. Broadly speaking the area's parishes could be divided into three groups. Firstly, there was South Molton itself which both acted as a community centre for its townspeople and for the area generally. Given South Molton's size and increasing "cosmopolitan" character it was perhaps surprising to find most people enthusing about the town's community spirit. Indeed the Community Council of Devon referred to South Molton as a "dynamic community, open to change, ideas and projects." There are numerous clubs, societies and organisations (approximately 50 in total) which are all run on a voluntary basis. Some organisations, such as Friends of the Museum, League of Friends, Rotary Club and Tourist Association, do also serve and cover neighbouring parishes; others are purely

South Molton based such as the Women's Institute, Young Farmers and various sports clubs. A number of additional features make the town an important focus for the wider area. For example, there is the town's Information Centre which has brought a variety of organisations and advisory bodies under one roof, such as the library, Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB), Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas (CoSIRA) and a Tourist Information Centre (TIC). In addition the centre has been used as the second pilot area for the Public Information Rural Areas Technology Experiment (PIRATE) originally sponsored by the British Library. Through the installation of a micro-computer the residents have instant access to all kinds of information including details of local organisations, events, public transport timetables and employment information. Furthermore, the word processing unit has allowed preparation of master copies of publications like newsletters, accommodation guides, tourist attraction leaflets and local organisation lists. Local clubs have also been allowed to use the computer to prepare minutes, membership lists and so on.

Another recently developed focal point for the South Molton community has been the charity shop "Faith Hope and Charity", a Manpower Services Commission project run under the auspices of the South Molton Council of Churches. This shop sells items such as secondhand furniture, clothes, and crockery as well as

providing a sales outlet for "non-commercial" craft and arts. The shop also encourages people to come and meet others over a coffee by providing a small seating area. The success of the shop can be attributed largely to the enthusiastic direction of the project leader, a newcomer to the town. Moreover a new dimension to the scheme has been a recycling project jointly sponsored by the MSC and the Community Council for Devon with the intention of it providing permanent employment opportunities and developing eventually into an alternative energy centre.

Community spirit was also strong in a number of outlying parishes which included, North Molton, George (and Queens) Nympton, Bishops Nympton, Kings Nympton and Chittlehampton. All of these parishes had a village centre and while maintaining a close relationship with South Molton, they also had many independent organisations and clubs. For example, North Molton had recently completed their new sports club (in 1985) which was built by a local builder using voluntary labour. Interestingly, even in the more gentrified villages there was little evidence of really serious tensions between newcomers and locals. Some locals did complain about the effects of rising house prices, but these were not blamed on individual newcomers.

The final group of parishes identified in the fieldwork area includes, Filleigh, Satterleigh and Warkleigh and East Buckland, all of which seemed to have less community spirit. None of these villages had an

identifiable village centre containing a shop/pub/church. Rather the parishes were characterised as being far-flung with many dispersed settlements. The parish of Filleigh was unusual as it is dominated by the Fortescue Estate, a private agricultural estate which still employs most of the parish's residents. Outside the estate there are a few hamlets, such as Heddon, all of which lie on the outskirts of the parish. These basic facts of settlement geography have shaped the level of community life more than the presence or absence of newcomers.

But if the general conclusion of this section is that the newcomers' arrival has not led to serious social tensions or community disintegration, then it must nonetheless be recognised that some important latent differences between the two groups still survive. The stag hunting incident of 1984 illustrates very effectively how these differences can occasionally surface. In September 1984 the Devon and Somerset Staghounds failed to call off the hunt in time and drove the stag into South Molton itself where it was eventually shot in a supermarket car park. This incident sparked off a major confrontation between the hunt supporters and those opposed to blood sports with the former group mostly comprised locals and the latter group mostly comprised newcomers. The confrontation was furthered by a petition with some 1595 signatures organised by the wife of a South Molton businessman who



pressed for a bye-law banning the hunt from entering the town or any council-owned property. The Town Council's decision, however, was a compromise which fell short of the total ban but took the form of a strong appeal to the Devon and Somerset Staghounds not to hunt in future within the town's boundaries.

The interesting point here was the virulent attacks made by the opposing parties which highlighted the stereotypical images each held of the other. For example, the newcomers tended to describe the sport as archaic, barbaric and downright cruel and felt that it should have been prohibited long ago. Apart from arguments linked to the need for culling stags and the importance of this pursuit for the area's farming economy, many locals had the attitude "... well if the new folk don't like it, they can leave - we didn't ask them to come." Even the majority of farmers and local townspeople not actively engaged in the sport passed comment on the newcomers' lack of understanding for the area's traditional sporting pursuits and on that basis, privately at least, supported stag hunting.

This example is interesting because on a day-to-day basis the newcomers tended to feel fairly well assimilated and the community appeared to be a reasonably cohesive unit. But clearly significant underlying differences do exist and the newcomer/local distinction although only one among many axes of social differentiation within the study area is more than a

geographical description. The image which the two groups have of each other, reinforced by incidents like the stag hunt, sustain a stereotype which disguises the very real diversity within both sections of the population.

### Participation

The nature of people's participation in the community varied appreciably between the newcomers and stayers (Hill 1978, 1982). In terms of sporting activities the newcomers were, for example, more involved in keep fit and aerobics whereas rugby, soccer, whist drives and skittles were especially popular among the local residents. Furthermore, a conversation with the adult education officer also indicated that the demand for courses came increasingly from the newcomers. New courses were being offered on subjects such as judo, yoga, and art classes which would not have been mounted without newcomer interest and support.

Some newcomers, however, thought the fieldwork area was deficient in the arts and culture and many referred to the lack of theatre, cinema and concerts. In fact one household in Bishops Nympton commented,

"I didn't realise I was going to miss the arts so much - this place is a cultural desert."

Although small in number, it is noteworthy that these newcomers were assessing the community in terms of values and criteria more commonly associated with

in-migrants in rural Britain's more accessible parts (Pahl 1965, Thorns 1968, Ambrose 1974). Even Forsythe's (1980) research in the Highlands and Islands region of Scotland indicated that migrants moved with values which they then tended to superimpose onto local culture. However, in the North Devon survey the newcomers were fairly heterogeneous in their backgrounds, their tastes and values and there was no concerted attempt to introduce "middle-class" or "high brow" culture.

The elderly locals' views on community participation were particularly interesting. In the same way that the decline of community spirit was in their minds indirectly linked to the newcomers' arrival so several referred to declining levels of community participation, a similar finding to Hill's research in East Anglia (Hill 1978, 1982). For example, one couple in North Molton said,

"I don't mind them coming, but it does annoy me that they don't want to join in and get involved in local activities."

Another in Satterleigh and Warkleigh said,

"Nothing really happens now .... we used to have all sorts of village socials and dances but they have gone."

In practice, of course, the loss of such events is the product of wider social changes and cannot be ascribed principally to the arrival of newcomers. Moreover the elderly locals often neglected the contribution the newcomers have made in starting new activities in the area or reviving old ones. For

example, newcomers played a key role in re-establishing the South Molton Carnival and the Olde English Fayre week which brings together a multitude of different clubs and organisations to participate and raise funds for charities. Outside South Molton the pattern is similar and two events revived by newcomer clergy come to mind. Firstly, in Bishops Nympton the vicar re-introduced "Revel Week" an old parish tradition, and among the other activities there is one day of beating the bounds. Secondly, the vicar at North Molton has introduced a pantomime every Shrove Tuesday which has now become a traditional annual event in the village.

These kinds of events are open to all to participate in. However, some community events are very much more limited in their access. This applies particularly to activities run and organised by the local farming fraternity. These tend to be more exclusive, albeit some are attended by a cross-section of those involved in farming (labourers as well as farm owners). Few newcomers are accepted into this circle. Generally the most exclusive and cliquey events relate to horse-riding, stag hunting and shooting. Apart from these activities there are a number of other traditional agricultural events, such as the South Molton sheep fair, which are attended by newcomers, although they remain largely on the periphery as observers rather than participants. To some extent, of course, the same is true of those locals who have little

direct involvement with the world of farming. However, many of the locals have a family history which connects them to agriculture so that they can identify more closely with the calendar of farming shows and other activities. The newcomers enjoy these events but cannot really feel part of them.

### Local Politics

The fieldwork area is strongly Conservative and in South Molton this was the only political party to have any real standing. This local situation is also reflected in the political complexion of the District as a whole. In terms of social class the newcomers were a heterogeneous group but with a clear bias towards middle class occupations and owner-occupied housing. Thus it is unlikely that population growth has diminished the area's support for Conservative politics. Certainly in this sense the newcomers do not pose a threat to the established order or political composition of the area. This is in marked contrast to some rural areas where post-war new town expansion and overspill developments occurred.

Nonetheless although very small in number some newcomers were part of the more radical alternative fringe and were involved in bodies such as CND, and the Ecology Party. Participation in left wing or "green" political activity was organised at the North Devon level and was barely evident within South Molton or the

fieldwork area. For example, one couple living in Filleigh involved in fund-raising for the miners strike through the winter of 1984-85 exclaimed,

"South Molton ..... no chance. We wouldn't get any sympathy there - our efforts have been directed at raising money in Barnstaple."

Mainstream politics at the parish and town council level is rather different, with significant newcomer involvement particularly amongst the retired and semi-retired and the more advantaged migrant types, a finding not dissimilar with research in other rural areas (Newby et al 1978, Connell 1978). For example, in the past few years several of the newcomers have been town mayors and at present about a third of the town council are newcomers. Outside South Molton the picture is slightly different, with the parish councils rather more under the locals' control. Nonetheless, North Molton for example, currently has two newcomers on the parish council, one of whom holds the post of Secretary. The main political parties do not run candidates at the town and parish council elections and candidates election addresses stress the personal qualities more than their party political leanings. A review of these election leaflets reveals that being a local or having lived in the area for many years is widely regarded as an electoral advantage (albeit not so compelling as to prevent newcomers becoming councillors).

### The Area's Advantages and Disadvantages

Finally in drawing this chapter to a close it is interesting to explore the differences between the newcomers and the stayers with respect to the perceived advantages and disadvantages of living in North Devon. The information was recorded at the household level and a maximum of three advantages and three disadvantages per household were registered, albeit the locals (perhaps because of familiarity) found it more difficult to articulate their views and, therefore, often nominated fewer factors.

The most striking feature about Table 6.14 is the very large differences between the two groups' responses. Three advantages were most frequently stated by the newcomer households. Firstly, 38% nominated the physical environment as a distinct advantage which is not surprising considering that many newcomers gave it as the prime reason for moving to North Devon. Secondly, 25% thought the social environment was an advantage which once again emphasises their overall positive feelings towards the local community. Thirdly, 24% thought the pace of life was very attractive. Interestingly, this advantage was expressed not only by retired households, but also by many younger households who had moved for lifestyle change reasons. For stayer households, the overwhelming advantage was the social environment, accounting for almost half (47%) of the total number of responses. This reflects the stayers'

Table 6.14 INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS' PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES  
AND DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN NORTH DEVON

Stated Advantages & Dis- Advantages	Newcomer Households				Stayer Households			
	Advantages		Dis- Advantages		Advantages		Dis- Advantages	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Job prospects/ wages	5	1	24	9	12	18	72	95
Physical environment	162	38	13	5	1	1	2	3
Social environ .ment	108	25	159	59	32	47	2	3
Education	36	8	9	3	-	-	-	-
Family and friends	2	-	45	17	10	15	-	-
Cost of living	13	3	13	5	11	16	-	-
Pace of life	101	24	7	3	2	3	-	-
Total Reasons, Total Households	427	99	270	101	68	100	76	101
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Note: The responses in the interviews were arranged so that no household could be recorded twice in any given category of advantages or disadvantages. The % column figures are therefore percentages both of reasons and households.



greater sense of belonging and their close ties of family and friendships. That only one stayer household perceived the physical environment to be an advantage of living in North Devon is a striking reminder of how much local people take their landscape for granted. It seems that only those who have lived elsewhere are really consciously appreciative of the attractiveness of the area's physical environment.

The perceived disadvantages of living in North Devon are also interesting and once again there are striking differences between the two groups. Taking the newcomers first, the most commonly stated disadvantage (59%) was the social environment. Although, as explained earlier, small town and village life was generally welcomed there were complaints about the lack of cultural and social amenities (shopping, transport, theatre) as a result of living in a remote rural area. The only other significant disadvantage mentioned by newcomers was the absence of family and friends. The only disadvantage cited by the stayers was the lack of good employment prospects and the low wages they received. These job-related concerns accounted for no less than 95% of the stayers comments. Among newcomers such employment issues were very much less pronounced, perhaps because they tended to occupy higher paid and more secure positions or perhaps because the move to North Devon had been in a sense a rejection of career dominated lifestyles. Apart from job prospects no other

disadvantages were cited by the stayers. Quite simply it was the only place in which these households had lived and most had no intention of moving away.

At the outset of this chapter the reader was reminded that newcomer/local differentiation is only one ingredient in the complex social geography of the study and fieldwork areas, and that the two groups are by no means spatially discrete or socially homogenous. This chapter closes, however, by having highlighted one theme which does seem clearly to distinguish the two groups: they perceive and evaluate the place differently.

## CHAPTER 7 : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

The major aim of this research project has been to examine population growth in a remote rural area, North Devon. At the outset of the project it was evident that although the published OPCS data made clear the scale of population growth and the key role of in-migration, there was little evidence with which to answer basic questions such as who the migrants are, where they have moved from and above all why they have come. Only a purpose-designed household survey could answer questions of this kind. Thus, over a five month period in 1985, 302 household interviews were completed in South Molton and contiguous parishes. This included a sample of 226 households who had moved into the fieldwork area from outside North Devon since 1970 (called newcomers), and a smaller group of 76 households who had been living in North Devon prior to 1970 (called stayers).

The household questionnaire survey and the official population census have together provided a rich data base with which to re-examine some of the key hypotheses relating to the population turnaround which were discussed in the literature review in Chapter 1. Furthermore, this North Devon study is viewed as making a positive contribution to the growing number of detailed area case studies on remote rural population

resurgence.

The role of this final chapter is then to draw together a number of the more significant elements within the thesis and to provide a synopsis of its principal findings. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first provides a census based summary of North Devon's experience of the population turnaround, considers the role of employment expansion and planning policy in shaping the pattern of growth and reviews the main results of the questionnaire survey. The chapter's second section compares the North Devon experience with other studies of the population turnaround and re-assesses the process of rural population growth and its contrasting explanations. In the light of the North Devon evidence a migrant typology is proposed which incorporates the different stages of the decision-making process. This typology is then used to develop an explanatory framework of the population turnaround, which places the fieldwork results within their wider academic setting. Finally, the chapter closes by suggesting further areas of research which could be developed in the future.

## 7.2 Population Turnaround : The North Devon Experience

The census analysis, presented in Chapter 3 has amply demonstrated the significance of the population change which North Devon has undergone. The results showed a clear shift from depopulation to repopulation

in North Devon's rural parishes. Moreover, this change followed the expected temporal and spatial patterns generally associated with the population turnaround. Whilst North Devon's larger urban settlements and coastal resorts had experienced population growth in the decade 1961-71, most of the district's inland parishes were still at the time witnessing population decline or at best had static populations (this was even true of the main market towns of South Molton and Chulmleigh). In contrast, in the decade 1971-81, population growth rather than decline characterised most of these inland parishes, often for the first time this century. Thus the census evidence tended to support the "clean break" hypothesis (in both a spatial and a temporal sense), as proposed by Vining and Strauss (1977). It was especially noteworthy that whilst the largest absolute gains were associated with the designated key settlements, population growth occurred in many other parts of the area, with some of the highest percentage increases in the remotest parishes such as Twitchen. Thus it was argued that there was not a strong relationship between settlement size and population change, and that policies aimed at concentrating population in the larger rural centres have not precluded growth in other areas too.

Chapter 3 also considered the role of employment growth in North Devon's population resurgence. Since 1960, North Devon's economy has experienced profound

changes, with a considerable expansion of manufacturing employment. Over the decade 1971-81 the number of manufacturing employees in the South Molton RD increased by 187% (albeit in absolute terms in North Devon, as elsewhere, the service sector remains much the highest employer).

The role of the state was shown to have been particularly influential in explaining this growth in manufacturing. From 1966 to 1979 the whole of the North Devon district was designated a Development Area and thus it was eligible for substantial grants with which to attract industry. Although industrial development was especially significant around Barnstaple and Bideford, a number of in-migrant businesses were set up in South Molton. Two incoming firms to South Molton (High Temperature Engineers Ltd and Aaronsen Brothers) were especially noteworthy and as a result of their subsequent employment growth have come to play a dominant role in the local labour market.

Apart from the availability of government grants, industrial growth was shown to have been encouraged by Devon County Council's economic development policies. These were closely related to the county's settlement policies in that efforts were made to channel investment and resources to those locations with the best prospects for economic growth (Clope 1979, Woodruffe 1976). South Molton as the only key inland town in North Devon had two industrial estates

established during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Both were in part funded by Devon County Council.

In considering the relationship between industrial and demographic change it was significant that the major incoming firms generally brought with them less than 15 per cent of their total workforce. The demographic impact of industrial growth has, therefore, operated mainly through the making available of additional jobs, which have both encouraged the in-migration of new employees and allowed the retention of a proportion of the existing population which might otherwise have left in search for work.

Population resurgence has obviously been associated with a growth in the area's housing stock. The new dwellings have been predominantly for owner occupation, there having been relatively little public sector provision since the mid-1970s. The geography of the new housing provision has been considerably influenced by the county's settlement policies which have attempted to steer growth to South Molton town and to a number of the larger villages. Restrictive planning policies in the most environmentally attractive areas have produced an element of gentrification in villages such as Kings Nympton and Chittlehampton where house prices have been beyond the reach of many local people.

Obviously spatial variations in the availability of housing and jobs have had a significant bearing on

the individual decisions of in-migrant households on where to live. More generally, Chapters 4,5 and 6 reviewed the whole process of household relocation, the discussion centring on questions such as who the migrants were, where they had moved from, why they had moved, what socio-economic changes they had experienced and what socio-economic changes they had brought to the area.

The single most significant characteristic of the in-migrant group was its diversity. Ideally in writing a summary it would be convenient to highlight one or two dominant types of migrants whose behaviour and experience might be said to characterise or be representative of the population turnaround as a whole. In practice, however, the reality revealed in the survey was very much more complex and no summary can do full justice to the heterogeneity of the migrant population. Households had moved from many different areas and for many different reasons. For example, whilst the furthest distance moved was Tristan di Cuna, the shortest was from Okehampton in Mid Devon. Similarly, the reasons given from moving ranged from career promotion to the search for an "alternative lifestyle".

Chapter 4 outlined the basic household characteristics of the in-migrants and compared them with the control group (stayers). Although examples of many different kinds of migrants were encountered in the study, it was noticeable that there were relatively few



return or retirement migrants and little evidence of the ageing population structure, so noticeable in many parts of South Devon.

Indeed, when compared with the control "stayers" group, the newcomers were by no means distinctive in their age or marital status : neither was their approach to family life particularly unconventional. Not one communal type of household was identified in the fieldwork area (even though a couple were known to exist elsewhere in North Devon) and most households were based on a nuclear family unit. This finding is similar to those of other case studies of rural population growth both in Britain (Dean et al 1984, Perry et al 1986, Jones et al 1984) and abroad (Ardagh 1982, Ploch 1980, Voss and Fuguitt 1979). Another indication of the newcomers' "conventionality" was that only a handful were attempting self-sufficiency and other radical lifestyles.

Another basic characteristic of the newcomers analysed in Chapter 4 was their housing status : 89% were owner occupiers. Although this might seem to suggest a homogenous group, the value of their homes varied from £20000 to over £200000. In terms of property age, the newcomers can be broadly divided into two distinctive groups, with 34% living in post 1970 housing (mainly on estates in South Molton itself) and 39% in pre-1850 housing (mainly in the surrounding parishes). This pattern clearly indicated the influence

of North Devon housing stock and settlement policy on the pattern of population change.

The results pertaining to the relocation decision in Chapter 5 were amongst the survey's most interesting. The chapter opened with an analysis of the in-migrant households' former place of residence. Given North Devon's remote location it was inevitable that the area's demographic turnaround was linked to long-distance population deconcentration rather than urban decentralisation. The new migrants were not commuters working in Exeter or Plymouth (50 and 70 miles respectively from South Molton). Although most people were moving from large to smaller settlements, there was little evidence that inner-city decline had directly fuelled remote rural growth. These kinds of findings were demonstrated by analysing the newcomers' former address in terms of the region which the newcomer households had left, the distance of the move, the former settlement size and its functional region.

Using the standard economic regions it was shown that no less than 50% of the newcomer households had left the South East. A further 22% were drawn from within the South West (albeit there was relatively few very short-distance migrants from areas just outside the North Devon boundary). Thus the great majority of households had moved from the southern half of the country. Not surprisingly, the distance of move reflected this trend, with 65% of newcomers moving

between 100-200 miles. This zone includes large parts of the home counties and the London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool conurbations. Interestingly, despite the presence of these conurbations in the survey's main zone of origin, 46% left settlements with a population under 25000 persons and only 29% were from settlements of 100000 or more. Migrants from the built-up areas of major cities were the exception rather than the rule.

A functional regions approach was used to shed further light on the source areas. Although the data showed that the majority of newcomers left core (51%) and ring (33%) zones (that is areas with a high dependence on a major urban centre) in practice many were from small or medium sized commuter towns, particularly from the home counties and western fringe of London.

Chapter 5 reviewed in turn three separate aspects of the households' relocation decision, namely why they left their former address, why they moved to North Devon and why, in particular, they chose the fieldwork area. In the data analysis a broad distinction was drawn between economic and non-economic reasons for moving, although within the basic twofold division a variety of other more detailed considerations were identified. The results revealed once again the heterogenous nature both of the households and their motives for moving.

Fifty eight per cent of the total gave some form

of non-economic reason for leaving their former address, including lifestyle change, retirement, family and health reasons and the search for better social and physical environment. The 37% leaving for economic reasons, although in the minority, feature more strongly than in the Cornish or Scottish surveys. This presumably reflects the fact that South Molton itself and Barnstaple and Bideford have had more buoyant economies than the areas included in the Cornish and Scottish research. North Devon has presented, therefore, greater economic opportunities and has perhaps attracted more people whose desire to move derived from dissatisfaction with their existing job or employment condition.

This line of argument is confirmed by the reasons households gave for choosing North Devon as their destination : 57% gave economic reasons and 43% gave non-economic reasons. This reversal of priorities was explained by the fact that although many migrants to North Devon were not moving in order to obtain increased incomes or a higher status post, they did recognise the need to choose an area where a suitable job was available.

If one compares the reasons for leaving the area of origin with the reasons for selecting North Devon, it is very noticeable that some categories grew while others showed considerable decline. For example, only two households (17%) gave lifestyle change as the reason

for choosing North Devon and none gave retirement. Clearly there were other parts of the country which could equally well have satisfied lifestyle or retirement ambitions. At the North Devon scale the single most common location factor (30%) was in fact the availability of suitable employment with the next largest category being the social and physical environment (24%).

Having chosen North Devon as the household's destination, the reasons for moving into the South Molton area related primarily to the availability of the right property (54%) and proximity to work (29%). Property was given by no less than 69% of those newcomers living outside South Molton town many of whom were looking for old "character" homes, often with some land attached. Villages such as Bishops Nympton, George Nympton and Satterleigh and Warkleigh were typical destinations for such migrants. In contrast, the newcomers living in South Molton itself tended to obtain cheaper and more conventional (suburban style) homes on the town's new estates. This group included first-time buyers, retirees and others wishing to live close to the shops and amenities of the town centre.

The final chapter on the household questionnaire (Chapter 6) explored the post-move experience by considering both the change the newcomers had experienced themselves, and the newcomers' impact on the receiving area.

Only about half the newcomer households had at least one member with a pre-arranged job on arrival in North Devon. The remainder included retirement migrants, those seeking work and those who deliberately decided to defer employment for a while (usually to allow time for property renovation or the launch of a new business). In the short term, therefore, relocation had a profound effect on employment patterns with only 35% of adult newcomers with full-time jobs on arrival in North Devon compared to 53% before leaving. That the downward trend in numbers in employment can be largely attributed to the move is confirmed by the fact that by the time of the interview the employment figures were much closer to those before leaving. Although these changes affected both sexes the disruptive effect of the move was especially pronounced for female newcomers, and in many households in which the male adults had a job in North Devon to come to, their previously employed wives faced a period of unemployment.

At the time of the interview the newcomers' employment pattern was rather different from that of the stayers. The sectoral distribution of newcomers' employment showed 59% working in services, 25% in manufacturing industries and only 10% in primary industries, albeit this figure is high when compared to the national picture. Amongst stayers the figures were 49% in services, only 15% in manufacturing and 30% in primary industries. The newcomers were, therefore, much

more involved with North Devon's new manufacturing industries and much less involved in the primary sector.

By national standards, a high proportion of migrants were self-employed before the move and this pattern was strongly reinforced by the relocation to North Devon. By the time of the interview the number of newcomers who were self-employed (141) was more than double the figure before leaving (69). Partly by moving into an area with lower property prices many were able to buy or launch their own business and the newcomers included proprietors of public houses, hotels, guest houses and shops.

Interestingly, the self-employed newcomers ranged from those who were strongly commercially-orientated, to those for whom job satisfaction was more important than profit. Although many newcomers found this form of employment more risky and less financially rewarding, the increased level of personal autonomy more than compensated. Where the home also operated as the place of business many newcomers commented on the more relaxed atmosphere and the less distinctly drawn demarcation between home-life and work-life.

The shift to self-employment and other changes in jobs and in housing obviously contributed to the newcomers experiencing a pronounced change in their everyday lifestyle. Their new geographical setting and move to a smaller-scale community were also important. In asking the newcomers to make an overall assessment of

the "pros and cons" of their move, there was the obvious methodological problem in that households dissatisfied with their move might have already left the area; thus it was recognised that any analysis of post-move evaluation would inevitably be open to error. Nonetheless, there was a remarkable consistency in the data on how satisfied the newcomers were and whether it was likely they would stay in the area over the next five years. A very large majority (over 75%) of households gave a positive response to both questions, commenting on the improvement the move had made to their quality of life. The escape from long-distance commuting and easy access to the countryside were among the most important benefits of the move. The few households who were less satisfied generally commented on the social and community aspects of the area, such as inadequate leisure and entertainment provision.

The final part of the questionnaire concerned the social and economic impact of the newcomers on the fieldwork area. In relation to this theme of community change the research also benefitted from the author living and working in the area for a five month period. Studies of rural communities in lowland England (Ambrose 1974, Newby 1979) have often noted the tension between the established local population and the affluent, generally professional group of newcomers who commute to work. The evidence of this North Devon survey, however, is rather different. This thesis has shown the



newcomers to be extremely heterogenous, being geographically dispersed within the study area and occupationally diverse. As a result they lack a clear spatial or socio-economic identity which in turn reduces the possibility of the newcomers being labelled as a distinct or separate group. However, amongst the households interviewed, many of the management-level and professional-level posts were taken by newcomers, both in the service sector (doctors, veterinary surgeons, teachers) and in manufacturing industries, which confirms Nelson and Potter's research (1982) on the South West's employment. Although this particular occupational division could potentially be a source of conflict there was in practice little evidence of real resentment at outsiders taking high status posts. The threat of conflict over jobs has been reduced by the fact that unemployment (particularly among young South Molton school-leavers) is lower than the North Devon and national rates. There was also some recognition among stayers that the newcomers, by bringing in skills and setting up businesses had contributed positively to the local economy. Furthermore, the fact that both newcomers and stayers had a high proportion of self-employment may also help to create shared experiences and allegiances which transcend the newcomer/stayer distinction. Similarly the fact that both newcomers and stayers live and work in the locality is important in welding the community together and in

avoiding the "dormitory" effect often associated with long-distance commuting (Phillips and Williams 1984).

Nonetheless the newcomers have not been absorbed without considerable pressures particularly on the housing market. Twenty years ago population resurgence was not anticipated (South Molton outline plan 1967) and thus the planning framework did not identify sufficient land for housing provision. Despite sufficient amendments to planning policies, housing supply has found it hard to keep pace with the growth in demand. The result has been an especially rapid increase in house prices. Newcomers wishing to live in character homes in the outlying parishes such as Kings Nympton and George Nympton have exacerbated these problems and produced local housing markets in which many indigenous people find it hard to compete.

The resulting housing tensions have, however, not been sufficiently widespread or acute to produce serious resentment towards newcomers, most of whom feel integrated into the local community (albeit many did comment on the difference between feeling integrated and being treated as a local). Both among the newcomers and stayers most of those interviewed felt that the area still has a strong community spirit. This permeated many different aspects of the area's social environment and was expressed particularly in the number of voluntary organisations and local fund-raising projects. Whilst it is not the purpose of this research

to assess or to recommend particular policies for the future of the study area, it is perhaps worth pointing out that with the exception of those villages under gentrification, the area has not yet reached the point where growth is seriously affecting the community's cohesion or fabric.

### 7.3 POPULATION TURNROUND RE-EXAMINED

This section's intention is to place North Devon's experience of demographic change in a wider context by relating it to the literature on the population turnaround which was discussed in Chapter 1. Particular attention will be given to the contribution the North Devon study can make towards an understanding of the causes of population growth in remote rural areas. An explanatory framework is developed which is based in part on a new migrant typology and in part on adopting a locality-based approach to the final analysis.

No claim is made here that the North Devon experience is entirely typical or representative of other rural areas in Britain. Indeed, the evidence suggests that the North Devon experience is in some ways different from that of Scotland, and even neighbouring Cornwall. However, many of the results are indicative of broad trends occurring elsewhere even if their precise manifestations are unique to each area.

Chapter 1 noted that most researchers broadly

agreed on two principal characteristics of the pattern of rural population change. Firstly, the population turnaround has not been associated with changes in birth or death rates but rather with migratory patterns from urban to rural and remote rural areas. Secondly, whilst suburbanisation and decentralisation were particularly important in the 1950s and 1960s respectively, deconcentration has become a major feature in the 1970s and 1980s affecting small towns and villages in remote rural locations.

Given this broad consensus on the population turnaround's pattern, it is not surprising that these points were amply demonstrated by the North Devon study. Analysis of OPCS data showed that population growth was explained principally by in-migration and had followed the expected temporal pattern with remote rural parishes experiencing depopulation until 1971 due to in-migration. From the questionnaire survey detailed analysis of the migrant's former place of residence showed that North Devon's population resurgence was the product of long-distance migration and of the migrant households moving down the settlement hierarchy.

Although the major patterns of rural repopulation are, therefore, reasonably clear-cut, the processes giving rise to them are not so straightforward and there is little agreement in the literature as to their causes. In Chapter 1, the following four competing explanations were outlined: household-led,

structuralist, state intervention and firm-led.

Household-led explanations emphasise the ability of families and individuals to choose where they live and the key role of a growing environmental preference for the 'rural' over the 'urban'. There are five main migrant types in the literature on household-led explanations and each of these will now be briefly re-considered in the light of this survey's findings.

#### 1. Return migration

Although return migration has been identified as a potentially significant element in rural population growth (Bell and Kirwan 1979, 1981, Davies and Davies 1983) there was little evidence from North Devon to support this view.

#### 2. Retirement migration

In North Devon retirement migration formed under 9% of the total number of in-migrants. Indeed, many of the migrant households were relatively young families with adults still in the child-bearing age. The coastal areas of South Devon and other counties in the South West have certainly attracted large numbers of elderly people (Warnes 1982, Warnes and Law 1984, Allon-Smith 1982) but in this inland area of North Devon, retirement migration is not a major ingredient in population growth.

### 3. Commuter migration

Given the long distances and the poor road links to the regional centres of Plymouth and Exeter it was not surprising that long-distance commuting was virtually non-existent. Commuting within North Devon, especially to Barnstaple or Braunton was also on a very limited scale and in fact a large proportion of the in-migrants worked within their parish of residence. The South Molton area is simply too remote to function as a commuting hinterland.

### 4. Migration of the unemployed

It is possible that some people without work would move to coastal and/or rural settings in order to be unemployed in a more pleasant environment (Perry 1979, 1983, McNabb et al 1978). In fact, only 10% of the newcomers had been unemployed immediately prior to moving to North Devon and two thirds of these had pre-arranged work to come to. Although the fieldwork area's inland, rather than coastal setting may have affected these results, there is no evidence from this survey to suggest that the in-migration of unemployed persons was significant in explaining the population resurgence.

### 5. Alternative lifestyle migration

The rejection of the modern materialist way of life is another theme in the literature (Jones et al 1984, Ford

1983), yet very few genuine anti-materialists were found in the survey and only a handful of households were attempting some form of radical or alternative lifestyle such as self-sufficiency. In terms of social values, therefore, it would be inappropriate to say that "counterurbanisation" occurred in North Devon. For many newcomers there were changes of environment, job, workplace, commuting patterns, income and housing, but all this stopped well short of a rejection of traditional family patterns or of modern levels of material comfort.

Although none of these 'household-led' hypotheses found much support from the North Devon data Chapter 5 highlighted that, nonetheless, most migrant households did exercise a degree of choice in relocating to North Devon. Other areas were often looked at and notions of preference and choice were, therefore, relevant to the final decision. Moreover only 10% were required to move by their existing employer. Hence it would be incorrect to reject or write off the voluntarist, household-led approach. Rather it is suggested that this literature has stereotyped and exaggerated the role of certain small groups of migrant types who make only a minor contribution. It would be over-simplistic, therefore, to see household-led reasons as providing a sufficient explanation for the population turnaround. Employment opportunities, the state of the local property market

and the price of residential and business premises were among the key structural features. Certainly, therefore, the migrants' relocation did not occur in a vacuum but was related to a plethora of constraints and opportunities which helped to fashion the household's decision-making process.

The exponents of the structuralist explanations emphasise economic considerations and the ways in which the changing national and international economy produces a new geography of production and a new spatial division of labour (Fielding 1982, 1985, 1986, Massey 1984). Because structuralism emphasises underlying processes which reveal the dynamics of the capitalist mode of production, its key proponents claim that it is the only theory capable of providing a truly fundamental explanation of the population turnaround. The evidence from North Devon, however, lends support to only certain aspects of this structuralist perspective.

Certainly, North Devon did experience sectoral employment change with a substantial shift towards manufacturing industries at a time when national figures recorded a net decline. It is also true that the area's labour force has a non-militant record with relatively few disputes. In addition, manufacturing growth in North Devon has been characterised by the development of a branch plant economy and thus an externally controlled labour market, albeit the area has seen relatively few branch plant closures in comparison with other areas



(Healey and Watts 1986, Healey 1982, Perrons 1981).

One significant element in the structuralist scenario has, however, been missing. Fielding (1982, 1985) argued that one outcome of the changing geography of production is that the resulting labour migration is composed largely of key workers or functionaries (managers) who are required to move by their company in order to establish and run the new rural plant. Yet no more than 7% of the North Devon newcomers could be classified as functionaries in Fielding's sense.

Another expected outcome in the structuralist scheme is that rural industrial growth would lead to the feminisation of the labour force. Although the female employment rate is rising faster than that for males, evidence from the fieldwork area showed that their increases were associated mainly with part-time employment in service industries and that the bulk of semi-, or unskilled shop-floor work was done by males on a full-time basis.

Another inconsistency between the structuralist hypothesis and the North Devon evidence is that many households moved to North Devon for reasons not directly related to the spatial re-organisation of capitalist enterprises. For example, whilst 7% of the in-migrant households were identified as functionaries, 23% moved as self-employed and this figure rose to no less than 44% by the time of the interview. Furthermore, the majority of the self-employed were working within the

service sector, not manufacturing. Clearly this presents a problem for the proponents of structuralist explanations. Structuralism is dependent on an economic rationale of change linked directly to major manufacturing industries with other factors generally considered residual and relatively insignificant. However, in 1981 only 27% of the national population were employed in manufacturing industries and in North Devon the figure was only 22%. It could, of course, be suggested that without local manufacturing growth there would in areas like South Molton be no economic foundation for the development of either self-employment or the service sector (an idea deriving ultimately from an economic base theory). However, such a view would be contentious and is anyway not an argument that the structuralist literature actually develops. Indeed, the structuralists say little or nothing about self-employment or the service sector. Yet in North Devon, these are both central elements in the process of population growth.

The role of the state has also been nominated as a key factor in the population turnaround. However, one of the main problems with this argument, as already cited in Chapter 1, is that many countries with weak planning systems and non-interventionist policies have also experienced rural population resurgence (Hodge 1983). In addition other research has questioned the efficacy of regional policy (Armstrong 1982, Perry et al

1986).

In the case of North Devon the role of regional policy cannot be disregarded. The availability of grants for firms such as Aaronson Brothers, and restrictions of firms such as High Temperature Engineers Ltd growing in the South East, provided a strong inducement for firms to move to the area. Although low labour costs and high environmental quality were also important, the views of North Devon District Council on the importance of regional policy grants are very clear;

"Only whilst the area enjoyed Assisted Area status was it successful in attracting industry ... This success was entirely due to the area having Assisted Area status."

North Devon District Council 1986a

However, local authorities may be tempted to exaggerate the role of regional policy in order to persuade central government to retain Assisted Area status. Moreover, the evidence in Chapter 3 showed that very few firms have moved into North Devon since the mid-1970s even though regional development grants and serviced industrial land were both available. This reflects the reduction of "footloose" mobile industry or industry seeking expansion during the recession.

In assessing the significance of regional policy for population growth in North Devon there is a need to distinguish between those conditions necessary for industrial growth and those conditions sufficient to produce it. Whilst the state can provide some of the

former, the activities of the firm under the conditions of advanced capitalism dictate the latter (Grafton and Bolton 1987). This is certainly not to argue that regional development incentives have been unimportant, but rather to recognise the need to place the locus of explanation with the realm of the broader economy rather than that of the state per se.

Finally, the North Devon experience of population growth also sheds some light on firm-led explanations of the population turnaround. These explanations focus less on major international changes in capitalist production and more on industry's changing locational and property requirements. Thus much of the existing literature (for example Fothergill and Gudgin 1982, Fothergill et al 1985, 1986, Keeble 1980) emphasises agglomeration diseconomies in Britain's metropolitan areas and deglomeration economies in rural, non-metropolitan areas.

Although in a project of this kind it has not been possible to assess fully the merits of firm-led explanations (a separate industrial survey would have been necessary), some interesting points have emerged. For example, cramped sites, inadequate space for expansion and land costs were indeed important in the decision by Aaronson Brothers (now one of the largest local employers) to close their three separate production units in London in order to move to the South West, where production could take place on one single

site. Moreover, North Devon certainly represents an escape from the agglomeration diseconomies of the major cities. On the other hand, the literature on deglomerating economies emphasises the key role of unprecedented improvements in road transport and telecommunications in facilitating industrial dispersal but manufacturing has grown in North Devon without the benefit of substantial infrastructure improvements. Even when the North Devon Link road (NDLR) is completed, the area's road network will remain poor. The telecommunication argument would also seem to be overstated: for example, only one of the home-based businesses encountered in the survey made extensive use of this kind of technology.

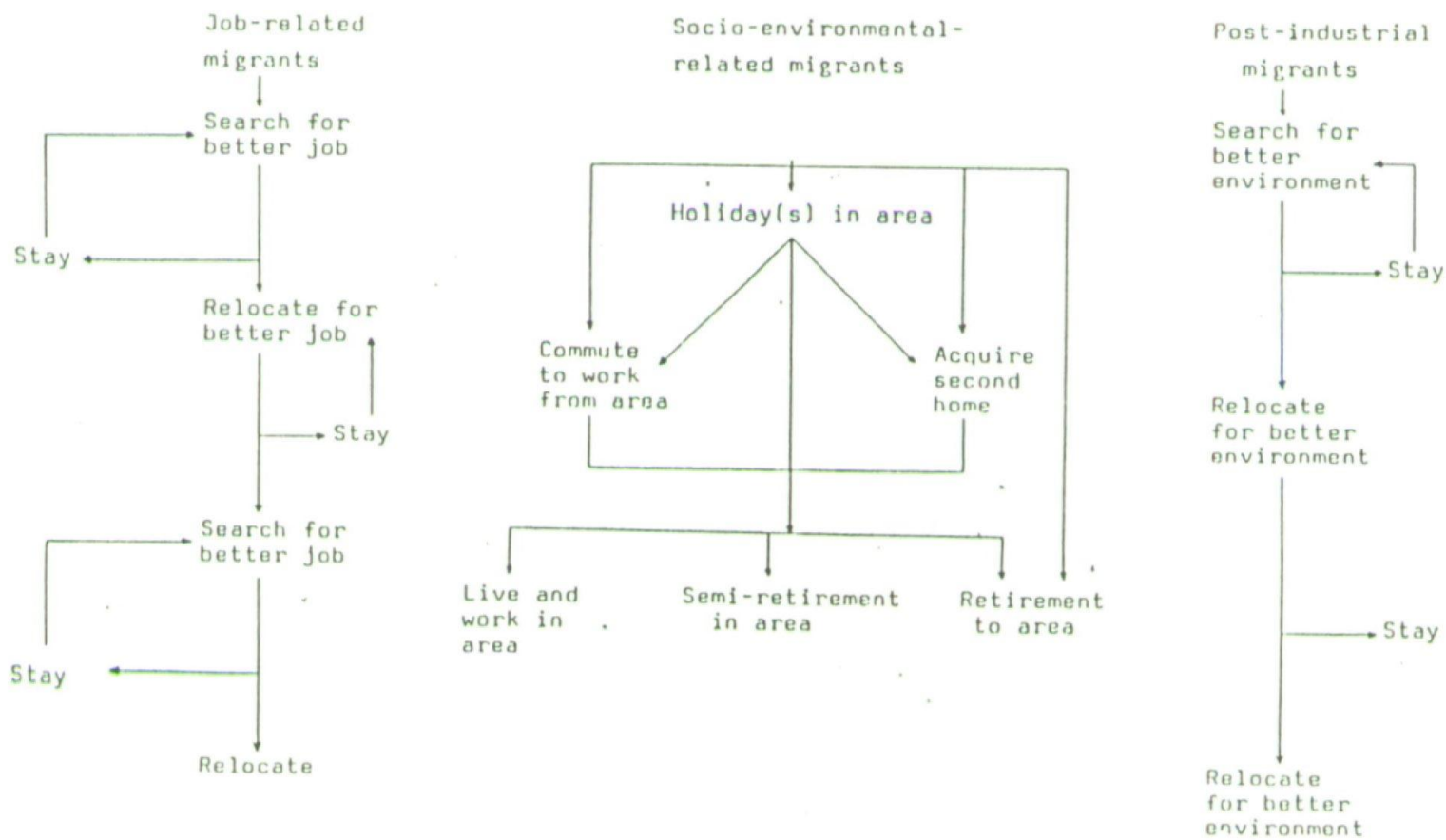
Thus the foregoing discussion illustrates the various ways in which the North Devon survey has exposed weaknesses in all of the main existing scenarios on rural population growth. Clearly, it is inappropriate to rely on a single explanation. Too often in seeking a single over-riding causal process the literature has masked the complex set of circumstances which combine and inter-relate at various levels to initiate change in a remote rural area (Grafton and Bolton 1987). Indeed, this survey's results have revealed that the duality that supposedly exists between voluntarist and non-voluntarist explanations is a false and unhelpful dichotomy. It is proposed here that only by embracing elements of both voluntarist and non-voluntarist

explanations can a fuller understanding of the population turnaround be developed

Such a fusion is partly achieved by Perry et al (1986) who developed three models or types of migration process which are given in Figure 7.1. The typology presented is useful in that it identifies a range of migrant types by conventional socio-environmental conditions and those seeking a post-industrial lifestyle. However, there is little evidence from North Devon to support the detailed specifications of the migrant types identified in Perry et al's model (1986). Post-industrial migrants were very few and though many moves were inspired by socio-environmental considerations the model's references to commuting, second homes and retirement are not really consistent with the North Devon experience.

Another weakness is that Perry et al's (1986) schema merely classifies households into three groups depending on their level of involvement with economic motivations. Yet through analysing the individual stages in the decision-making process the North Devon survey has shown both economic and non-economic dimensions are often present to different degrees at different stages in the household's migration decision process : a finding which has also emerged recently in the American literature (see for example Adamchak 1987). Perry et al's model neglects this key feature of the relocation decision process.

FIGURE 7.1 THREE MODELS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS



Source: Perry et al 1986

Another typology, this time based on Scottish evidence, has been developed by Jones et al (1984). Their survey's migrants were divided into the following three categories:

- (1) a retirement group (environmentally motivated) accounting for 25% of the total.
- (2) an environmentally motivated but economically active group accounting for 50% of the total, many of whom were committed to post-industrial lifestyles.
- (3) an employment motivated group accounting for 25% of the total, but generally with environmental considerations as supportive secondary reasons for moving.

Once again it is clear that the various stages which might play an important role in formulating a migrant typology, are ignored. It is also noteworthy, the relative weight given to the three categories is different from the North Devon experience. Certainly the Scottish study indicates much more retirement and post-industrial migration.

In introducing the typology derived from the North Devon evidence two points of preface are needed. The first is that like all such typologies this classification is a conceptual construct which cannot do full justice to the diversity of the migrants and their decision processes. Nonetheless the models (see Figures 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4) are sufficiently detailed to identify all the important sub-groups within the migrant



FIGURE 7.2 MIGRANT TYPOLOGY ILLUSTRATING JOB AND/OR BUSINESS RELATED MOVERS

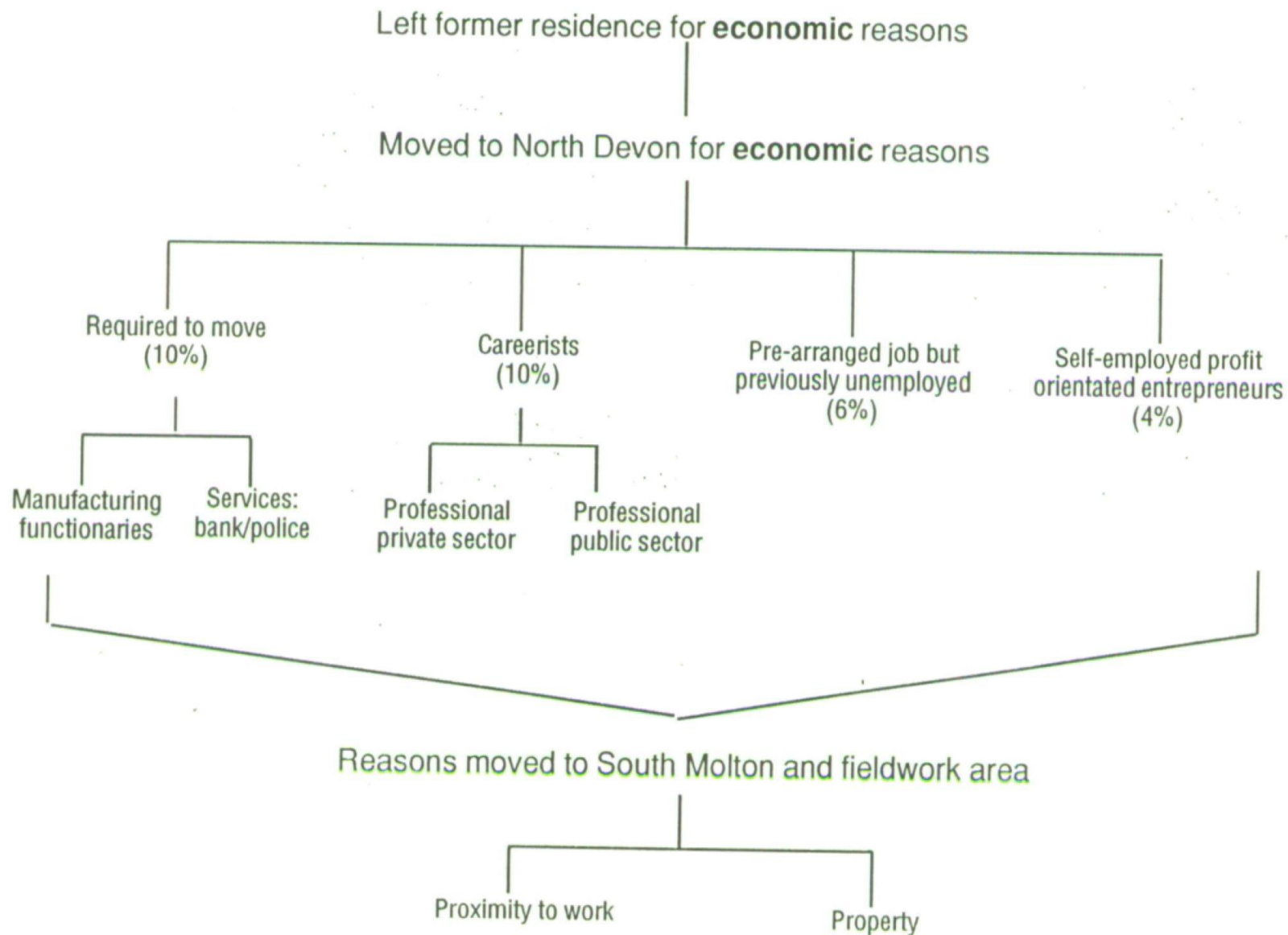


FIGURE 7.3 MIGRANT TYPOLOGY ILLUSTRATING LIFESTYLE-LED  
BUT EMPLOYMENT SATISFICING MOVERS

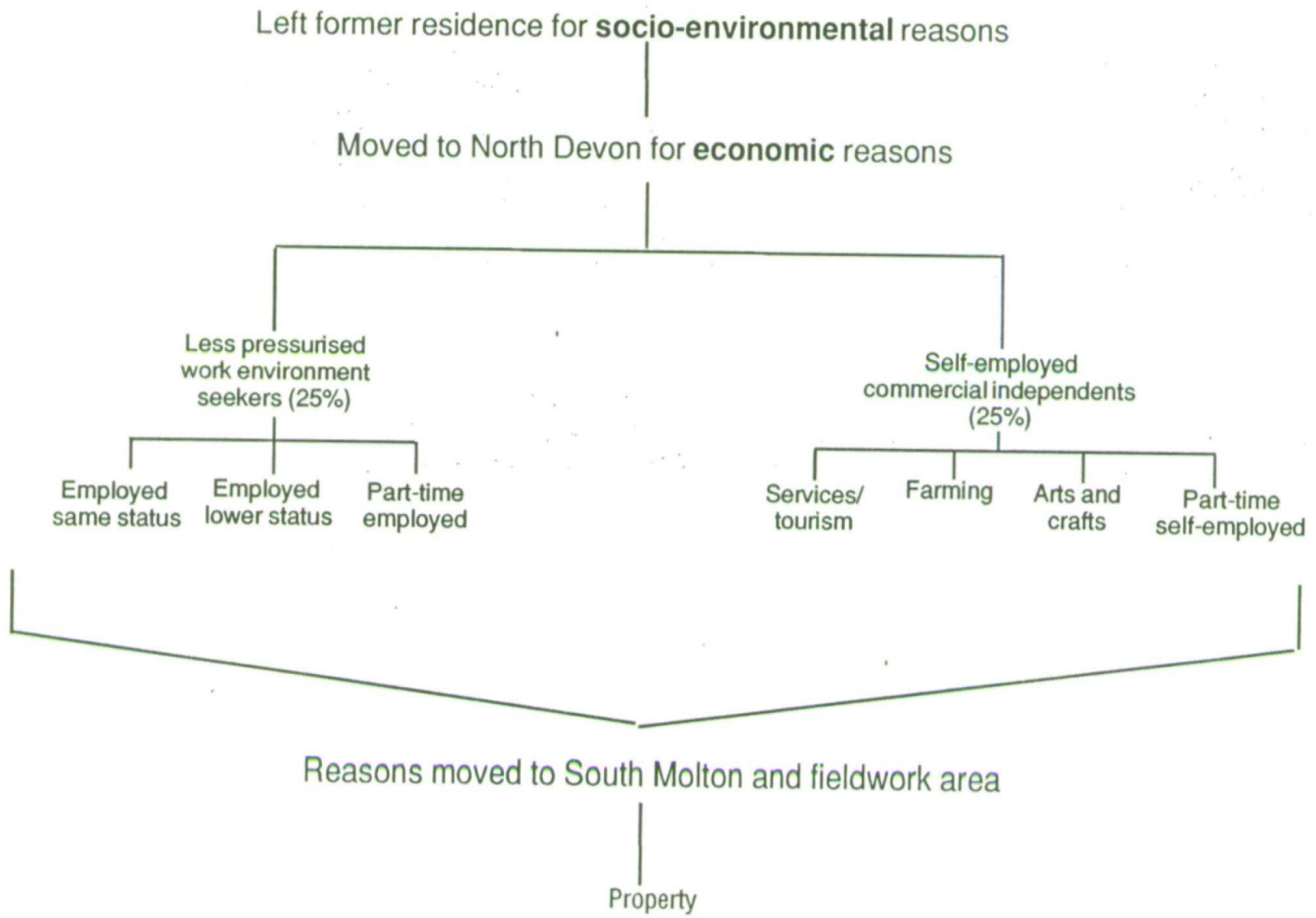
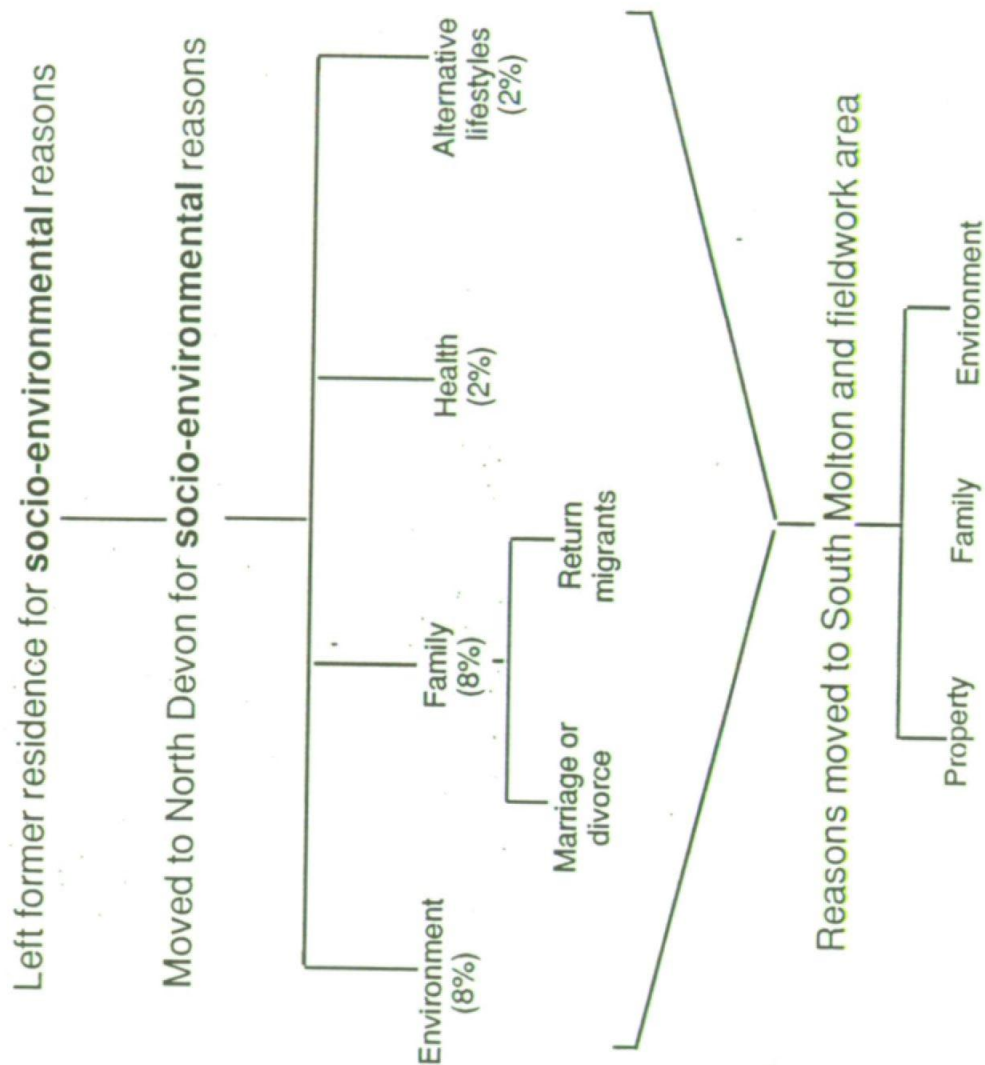


FIGURE 7.4 MIGRANT TYPOLOGY ILLUSTRATING LIFESTYLE  
MOVERS UNRELATED TO EMPLOYMENT



population. The second point is that unlike the work of Perry et al (1986) and Jones et al (1984) this schema deliberately extends to encompass the notion of different stages in the decision process. This is seen as a significant advance. In order to assess the contribution of each migrant type towards the demographic turnaround some attempt has been made from the evidence given in Chapter 5 to weight the significance of each category. It is important, however, to see this weighting as a broad guide rather than a precise empirical measure.

The first category, job and/or business related moves (Figure 7.2) accounted for about 30% of all migrants and represents households who both left their former address and moved to North Devon primarily for economic reasons. The reasons for choosing the South Molton fieldwork area were also economic, relating either to proximity to work or the availability of suitably priced residential or business properties. Within this category, two migrant sub-groups are especially important, each accounting for 10% of the total. Firstly, there were those who were required to move by their existing employer and those included as Fielding's functionaries (1982). Secondly there is a group of migrants who chose of their own volition to move for career reasons.

The second main group of migrants (Figure 7.3) is of special significance, accounting for about half of

the survey's newcomers. For these "lifestyle-led, employment satisficing" migrants the push from their former area of residence was related to social and environmental conditions : the pull exerted by North Devon was that it offered suitable employment or business opportunities in a geographical setting which satisfied the underlying social and environmental impetus behind the move. This "lifestyle-led, employment satisficing" group of migrants in North Devon is divided equally between employed migrants seeking a less pressurised lifestyle and migrants wanting the independence and personal benefits of running their own business in an attractive area. Within both of these employed groups there is considerable variation in the degree of economic motivation. Of particular interest, however, were migrants with professional and semi-professional backgrounds who took a reduction in job status and income and worked on factory shop floors as skilled and semi-skilled labourers. They were prepared to accept an industrial occupation in order to live in a non-industrial area. The job mattered less than the place. In Figure 7.3 the typical reason given for choosing the fieldwork area was the availability of suitable property. For some, who were financially constrained, this meant living in small, often modern housing generally in South Molton, whilst for others it meant choosing an appropriately sized home with accompanying land or the potential to develop for

commercial purposes.

The third and smallest migrant group accounting for some 20% of the total are those households which moved for lifestyle and environmental reasons only (Figure 7.4). For this group all three stages of the decision-making process were strongly influenced by socio-environmental factors. This group included retired migrants, a number of return migrants and those households who moved for health reasons or for radically alternative lifestyles.

The complex typology displayed in Figures 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 together with the spectrum of voluntarist to structuralist considerations discussed earlier, further highlights the inadequacy of seeking a single over-riding explanation of the population turnaround. Certainly population growth in North Devon is complex and multi-dimensional and leads one to ask how much more varied must the population turnaround be in total when looking at the experience of population growth in other rural regions and in other countries.

The typology based on North Devon is a commentary on rural population growth in one area and can claim no universal applicability. Nonetheless the question of its wider relevance needs to be addressed given the two most compatible surveys in Britain alone (Perry et al 1986, Jones et al 1984, 1986) reveal somewhat different results. Although this may be explained in part by the different methodologies adopted, it is also in part the

product of real socio-economic and geographical differences between the locations studied. Interestingly, a diversity of experience of the population turnaround has also emerged from local studies in the United States (see for example Ploch 1980, Bradshaw and Blakely 1979, Dailey and Campbell 1980, Voss and Fuguitt 1979). Although common themes are apparent in the various studies, local scale research has highlighted the differences between locations and their unique role in understanding the population turnaround.

One limitation of the North Devon typology is that it is essentially a descriptive classification which seeks to impose an empirically based order as a means of explaining the population turnaround. Thus it is not particularly closely linked to the relevant theoretical models. It seems that theory and practice have yet to be successfully combined, and herein lies the problem with much of the emergent case-study evidence from Great Britain and elsewhere. The empirical evidence points to a variety of pressures and preferences leading to rural population growth and this diversity is not readily accommodated into any single theoretical perspective. Recognising this problem some authors have advocated an eclectic approach as the only practical alternative. For example, Perry et al (1986) write,

"The chief possibilities seem to be to accept one paradigm only and reject the rest, or attempt a grand synthesis of them all - a Giddens - like 'structuration' - or simply allow them to co-exist without resolving the contradiction that may result. We opt for the final choice, with all the pitfalls."

It is maintained here that an eclectic approach as suggested by Perry et al (1986) is far from ideal, because perspectives such as structuralism and humanism have developed from very different philosophical positions which inevitably have very different epistemologies. Relating to this point, Sayer (1982) warns of the dangers of,

"a kind of eclecticism which innocently combines incompatible philosophies such as positivism and critical theory, and which serves to confuse the debate further by blurring crucial distinctions between doctrines"

There is clearly a tension between empirical diversity and local variations on the one hand and the need for a consistent theoretical framework on the other. Recent work on locality studies, however, suggests the possibility that this dilemma can at least be partly overcome within a paradigm which is internally consistent and derived largely from one theoretical perspective, namely that of political economic theory. Particularly significant to the idea of locality research has been the development of historical materialism, and the work on uneven development by authors such as Massey (early work in 1979) Murray et al (1972) and Lipietz (1980). In its opening phase this research tended to view local change



as merely the product of economic structural changes which were associated with particular stages of capitalist development. However, more recently a series of locality studies have emerged which allow a more positive explanatory role for the particular circumstances of individual places. These include Cooke (1981, 1983), Bradley and Lowe (1984), Gillighan (1984) and the Changing Urban and Regional System (CURS) research programme (Cooke 1986, 1986a, Robson 1986, Newby 1986). It is Massey (1983), however, that best summarises this change of direction

"Local changes and characteristics are not just some simple "reflection" of broader processes ; local areas are not just in passive receipt of changes handed down from some higher national or international level. The vast variety of conditions already existing at the local level also affects how these processes themselves operate".

With the exception of Cloke (1985) there has been surprisingly little in the literature on the population turnaround which examines local conditions. Yet evidence from the North Devon survey has shown that existing local conditions have had an important influence on the shape and form of the population turnaround. For example, local planning policies, the inherited building stock, the nature of the local labour market and the quality of the area's physical and social environment have all played a significant part in shaping the scale, nature and geographical disposition of the area's population change. Thus it is argued that to date the

literature on the population turnaround has tended to place too much emphasis on the development of the all-embracing demand-side theories (which assume the locality plays only a passive role) with too little consideration on the supply-side influences within specific localities. These provide a particular geographic surface that both modifies and in turn is modified by the wider externally derived processes.

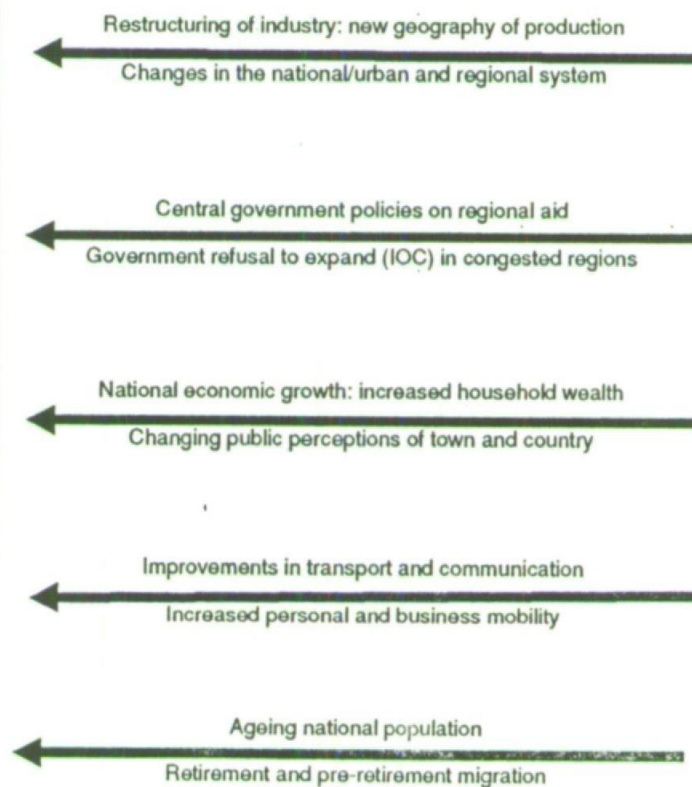
Figure 7.5 gives a diagrammatic representation of how localities embody a particular set of local conditions which are linked to broader structural changes at the national scale. The particular factors itemised in the diagram are those which have been important in North Devon but obviously this kind of approach has a more general relevance. The important point to note is that both sides of the equation impinge on each other and it is at the interface of these various factors that the equation is "resolved" and locality change occurs. Many of the factors on either side of the equation have already been discussed individually within the North Devon context. However, Figure 7.5 is able to demonstrate the complex interplay between these factors and provides a useful explanatory framework on the population turnaround in North Devon. For example, the national restructuring of industry alongside the operation of government regional policy resulted in some rural and remote rural locations becoming favourable destinations for firms during the

### Localised Conditions Affecting Socio-Economic and Demographic Change



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### National Conditions Affecting Local Socio-Economic and Demographic Change



EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK

1960s and early 1970s. North Devon represents one such area, partly because of local circumstances such as its availability of labour, and the relatively strong economic policies adopted by the local state. Together these national and local conditions led to firms such as Aaronsen Brothers and High Temperature Engineers choosing North Devon as an appropriate destination.

A contrasting but equally important example of this interplay between internal and external forces relates to the public's changing perception of the town and country. For many migrants who left the home counties and the once old market towns such as Sevenoaks, Reading and Aylesbury, the push resulting from profound changes in the national urban network was compelling. Many in-migrants from the South East commented on the changed built environment of these kinds of towns and reminisced on their general character. Given North Devon's attractive physical environment and its relatively unspoilt small towns and villages it obviously represented an attractive destination to those disaffected by growth and change in the metropolitan areas and their hinterlands. In this way population growth can be seen as a response both to external pressures and internal opportunities. Only by this full focus combining both local and wider considerations can a full understanding be reached of change in a particular locality. Although this is true of many facets of human geography it has a special

relevance for the study of long-distance migration which by its very nature has its origin and destination in very different areas. Given that the migrants coming to a particular destination (like North Devon) are often drawn from a wide range of different source regions it is essential to combine a detailed knowledge of the recipient locality with an appreciation of the wider forces affecting the many areas of origin.

#### 7.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

Inevitably no research project can do full justice to its chosen topic and explore thoroughly all the possible avenues of interest. Moreover it is also inevitable that research studies will raise new questions as well as shed fresh light on old ones. This final section, therefore, selects from a range of potentially rewarding themes, three topics which merit particular consideration for future research.

The first relates to the balance between the contribution of in- and out-migration to rural population change. The North Devon study has followed the line of much previous research on rural population growth by focussing attention on the role of increased in-migration. It has not examined the role of reduced out-migration. Whilst recognising the methodological problems to be overcome in this area, key questions which might merit further attention include: how important is reduced population loss in the recent

demographic experience of rural areas? What has been the changing level of rural out-migration and how and why has it varied over time and between places? What role has employment growth played in rural population retention? Are local people being joined by newcomers or displaced by them?

The North Devon research has highlighted the demographic implications of the district's very large employment growth in manufacturing industry. Yet it has also shown that the in-migrants were twice as likely to be working in the service sector. Clearly, a second area of research interest would be, therefore, the role of the service sector in rural areas and its relationship with demographic change. For example, one key issue is the extent to which rural service growth is independent of manufacturing growth and a separate cause of demographic change. Many of the North Devon in-migrants were running small service sector businesses: what contribution can such businesses make to local economic development? Are they a passive or active element in the communities they join?

And finally, a third theme which needs to be addressed further relates to the timing and durability of the population turnaround. The main focus of this thesis has been on the population turnaround of the 1970s and early 1980s. However, this turnaround may well have peaked in the early 1970s and indeed there is recent research both in this country (Champion 1986, 1988) and

others (Findlay and White 1986, Forstall and Engels 1984) which points to at least a slowing down of this process, if not its reversal. The question of whether the population turnaround is a time-specific phenomena now in retreat is crucial to its understanding and this is a potentially exciting area in which new research can inform both academics and policy-makers of the latest developments. The North Devon study presented in this thesis should, therefore, be seen as representing and illustrating simply one stage in the continuing story of rural demographic change.



APPENDIX A: THE HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Geography  
Plymouth Polytechnic  
Plymouth,  
Devon

POPULATION AND COMMUNITY CHANGE

IN THE SOUTH MOLTON AREA

Niki Bolton 1985



GENERAL INFORMATION

1. INTERVIEWEE DETAILS:

Name(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

2. CALL RECORD

	DATE	TIME
1st call		
2nd call		
3rd call		

3. FINAL OUTCOME

FULL QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED
QUESTIONNAIRE PARTIALLY COMPLETED
NO CONTACT AFTER 3 CALLS
REFUSAL
NON-EFFECTIVE (ILL HEALTH, ETC.)
VACANT DWELLING
OTHER

4. PARISH WHERE INTERVIEWED \_\_\_\_\_

POPULATION OF PARISH \_\_\_\_\_

5. CLASSIFY TYPE OF DWELLING

1. Bungalow
2. Terrace
3. Semi-Detached
4. Detached
5. Cottage
6. Flat
7. Other

If OTHER, please state \_\_\_\_\_

6. State approximate value of property \_\_\_\_\_

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 16

# SECTION A - HOUSEHOLD DATA

1. How many members of the household, if any, have moved to North Devon since 1970?

- (A) 1-8 = Number of people moved  
9 = No-one

(B) If more than one - did you/they/your household move together?

- 1 = Yes  
2 = No

(C) If coded 1-8 for (A) - When did you/they/your household move to North Devon? \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 = Since 1980  
2 = 1975-1979  
3 = 1970-1974

If coded 9 for (A) - How long have you/they/your household lived in North Devon? \_\_\_\_\_

- 4 = 1965-1969  
5 = 1955-1964  
6 = 1945-1954  
7 = Before 1945

(D) Code member of household, if necessary.

2. How long have you/they/your household lived in the South Molton area?

(A) Code length of time as with (C) above.

(B) Code member of household if necessary.

3. I would now like to ask a few questions about the people who live in this household:

(A) Code each member of the household (1,2, etc.)

(B) Please state the sex of each person

- 1 = Male  
2 = Female

(C) To which age band do you/they belong?

- 1 = 0-15  
2 = 16-34  
3 = 35-54  
4 = 55-64  
5 = 65-Over

A	B	C	D

17

24

A	B

25

28

A	B	C	D	E	F

29

76

## Section A (continued)

(D) What is your/their marital status?

- 1 = Single  
2 = Living as married  
3 = Married  
4 = Separated  
5 = Divorced  
6 = Widowed

(E) Which of these qualifications do you/they have?

- 1 = School Certificate  
2 = City and Guilds  
3 = CSE/O levels  
4 = A levels  
5 = Further Education  
6 = Higher Education  
7 = Other

If OTHER: Please state

(F) Have any members of the household lived in North Devon prior to your moving here?

- 1 = Yes  
2 = No

If YES: Were these your childhood years?

- 3 = Yes

4. For Newcomers Only:

Has your household changed since your arrival in North Devon?

If YES: What was your household composition at the time of your arrival in North Devon?

1			5
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	A	B	C	D	E
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# SECTION B - THE MOVE

## NEWCOMERS ONLY

1. On arrival in North Devon was it necessary for any member of the household to take temporary accommodation?

(A) Code member of household, if necessary.

(B) If YES: How long for?

- 1 = Less than 3 months
- 2 = 3-6 months
- 3 = 6-9 months
- 4 = 9-12 months
- 5 = Over 12 months

If NO: Code using 6

(C) If YES: How many members of household took temporary accommodation?

2. At the time of the move, was the value of your new home worth more or less than your previous dwelling?

- (A)
- 1 = More
  - 2 = Less
  - 3 = About the same

(B) Code member of household, if necessary.

3. Where were you/members of the household living prior to your move to North Devon?

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4. Can you tell me (maximum of 3) the main reasons why you/your household decided to leave.....?

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Does any one of the above mentioned reasons stand out as particularly important?

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	A	B	C
46			

51

	A	B
52		

55

56			

61

62					

7

1					
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Section B (continued)

5. Were there any other areas in Britain, or abroad, that you/your household considered moving to?

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6. Can you tell me (maximum of 3) the main reasons why you/your household decided to move to North Devon?

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Does any one of the above mentioned reasons stand out as being particularly important?

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7. Can you tell me (maximum of 3) the main reasons why you/your household decided to move to the South Molton area?

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Does any one of the above mentioned reasons stand out as particularly important?

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8. Did any member of the household have a definite job to come to?

(A) Code MOH

(B) Code 1 = Yes  
Code 2 = No

(C) If YES: Did you/they consider it a better job?  
If YES: In what ways was it a better job?

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(D) If YES: Was the job better paid?  
1 = Yes 2 = No

9. In retrospect do you feel the move to North Devon was the right decision for you/your household? Please explain:

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6


11

12


2

28


4

44

A	B	C	D

53

54


59

SECTION C - EMPLOYMENT

NEWCOMERS ONLY

1. I would now like to ask some questions on employment:

- (A) Code MOH being referred to

(B) Were you/they in a paid job before leaving.....

If YES, was it:

1 = Full-time job (30hrs+/week)

2 = Part-time job (-30hrs/week)

3 = Occasional + Seasonal

If NO, are you/they:

4 = Seeking work

5 = Waiting to start a job

6 = Employed seasonally

7 = Look after the home full-time

8 = Full time student/school

10 = MSC scheme

11 = Permanent Sickness/Disabled

12 = Temporary Sickness

13 = Wholly Retired

14 = Partially Retired

(C) Please describe your/their job before leaving.....
- (D) Were you/they employed or self-employed before leaving?

1 = employed

2 = self-employed

(E) On arrival to North Devon did any member of the household have a paid job? (Code as B above).

(F) Please describe the job you/they had on arrival to North Devon:

(G) Were you/they employed or self-employed on arrival?

1 = employed

2 = self-employed

(H) Did you/they have more than one paid job?

If YES: Return to (A) and work through.

1.5

A

B

C

D

6

1

2

1

2

1

2

15

E

F

G

77

6

1

2

29

# NEWCOMERS AND STAYERS

2. I would now like to ask some questions on employment at the present time:

(A) Code MOH

(B) At present are you/they in a paid job?

If YES, is it a:

- 1 = Full time job (30hrs+/week)
- 2 = Part time job (-30hrs/week)
- 3 = Occasional + Seasonal

If NO: are you/they:

- 4 = Seeking work
- 5 = Waiting to start a job
- 6 = Employed seasonally
- 7 = Look after the home full-time
- 8 = Full time student/school
- 10 = MSC scheme
- 11 = Permanent Sickness/Disabled
- 12 = Temporary Sickness
- 13 = Wholly Retired
- 14 = Partially Retired

(C) Please describe your/their job:

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(D) Are you/they employed or self-employed?

- 1 = employed
- 2 = self-employed

(E) What is the name, address and employers function?

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(F) If employed by a firm, is it:

- 1 = Independent Company
- 2 = Branch Plant-Local/Regional Level
- 3 = Branch Plant-National/International Level

(G) Do you/they have more than one job?

If YES: Return to A and work through

1 

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 5

		A	B	C	D	E	F
6	1						
	2						
	3						
	1						
	2						
	3						
							65
							5

6	1						
	2						
	3						
	1						
	2						
	3						
							65

3. If Self-Employed:

(A) Code MOH

(B) Do you/they run your/their own business?  
1 = Yes                      2 = No

(C) When did you/they start the business in North Devon?

- 1 = Since 1980
- 2 = 1975-1979
- 3 = 1970-1974
- 4 = 1965-1969
- 5 = 1955-1964
- 6 = 1945-1954
- 7 = Before 1945

(D) How many people, if any, were employed when the business began?

- 1 = 0
- 2 = 1-5
- 3 = 6-10
- 4 = 11-20
- 5 = 21-30
- 6 = 31 plus

(E) How many people, if any, do you/they employ now? (Coding as for D)

(F) Since becoming self-employed have you received any financial assistance or advice?  
1 = Financial Assistance  
2 = Advice  
3 = Both  
4 = Neither

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4. Unions:

(A) Code MOH

(B) Is there a union at your/their place of work?  
1 = Yes                      2 = No

(C) Are you/they a member of it?

IF YES: In what ways, if any, is your/their union active? \_\_\_\_\_

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IF YES: In what ways, if any, are you/they an active member? \_\_\_\_\_

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1							5
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
6							

29

	A	B	C	D
30				

53



5. If Unemployed:

(A) Code MOH

(B) Within the last year have you/they actively sought employment?

1 = Yes

2 = No

(C) If YES was it for:

1 = Full time job (30hrs+/week)

2 = Part time job (-30hrs/week)

3 = Seasonal job

4 = Occasional job

5 = Mixture of the above

6 = Other

If OTHER, please state: \_\_\_\_\_

(D) If YES: What type of work was it?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(E) If NO: Is this due to any particular reason?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. Employment Opportunities:

(A) How do you think employment opportunities for women in North Devon have changed since you moved here/or over the last 15 years?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(B) How do you think employment opportunities for men in North Devon have changed since you moved here/or over the last 15 years?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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	A	B	C	D	E
6					

33

34 

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 36

37 

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SECTION D - HOUSING

1. How old is the present dwelling?

1 = 1970-1985

2 = 1940-1969

3 = 1918-1939

4 = 1850-1917

5 = Pre-1850

☐

40

2. Is you home:

1 = Private owner-occupied property

2 = Council Property

3 = Former Council Property, now owner-occupied

4 = An employer provided property

5 = Private rented property

☐

41

3. Do you or your household members:

1 = Pay Rent

2 = Pay a mortgage

3 = Live in the accommodation free

4 = Own it outright

5 = Other

☐

42

If OTHER, please state: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Do you/your household live here all year round?

☐

43

If NO, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

5. During the tourist season is this dwelling used for any of the following:

1 = Seasonal lets

2 = B & B

3 = Other

☐

44

If OTHER, please state: \_\_\_\_\_

SECTION E - LIFESTYLE

In households where there is no full-time farmer,  
ask questions 1, 2 & 3.

1. Do you/your household grow fruit and/or vegetables?

1 = Yes

2 = No

45 ☐ 46

If YES: To what extent do you grow your own  
fruit, and/or vegetables?

1 = on 1/2 an acre or more

2 = on allotments

3 = in the garden

4 = greenhouse

5 = other

If OTHER, please state: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Do you/your household own one or more of the  
following?

1 = Yes

2 = No

47 ☐ 48

If YES: Please state those which are appropriate.

1 = Chickens

2 = Cows

3 = Goats

4 = Pigs

5 = Sheep

6 = Other

If OTHER, please state: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Within the last year have you/your household ever  
sold any of your own produce or livestock?

1 = Yes

2 = No

49 ☐ ☐ ☐ 51

If YES: Where and how often? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

To all households:

4. Could you explain what "alternative lifestyles"  
means to you? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ 52

5. To what extent, if at all, do you/your household participate in "alternative lifestyles"?

☐ 54

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6. Could you say to what extent you agree with the following statements:

- (A) Conservation is better than economic development

☐ 55

		Neither		
Strongly		Agree nor		Strongly
Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

- (B) The world ecological crisis has been blown up out of all proportion

☐ 56

		Neither		
Strongly		Agree nor		Strongly
Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

- (C) Technology creates more problems than it solves

☐ 57

		Neither		
Strongly		Agree nor		Strongly
Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

- (D) Urban life is a rat race

☐ 58

		Neither		
Strongly		Agree nor		Strongly
Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

- (E) Organic farming just isn't practical

☐ 59

		Neither		
Strongly		Agree nor		Strongly
Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

SECTION F - COMMUNITY LIFE

1. Do any other members of your household's family live in North Devon?

If YES: Could you please state their relation to you, where they live, and how often you see them.

RELATION TO YOU	WHERE THEY LIVE	HOW OFTEN YOU MEET

2. Do any members of your household participate in any activities, or belong to any clubs/societies in North Devon?

(A) Village/Hamlet \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(B) South Molton \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(C) Barnstaple \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If any posts of responsibility are held, mark with an \*

3. In what ways, if any, does the South Molton area act as a community?

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4. To what extent do you feel part of the local community?

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5. Over the past 15 years/Since you moved can you think of any events which have either brought the community together or divided it?

(A) UNITED: 

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(B) DIVIDED: 

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6. Over the last 15 years/Since you moved how has the South Molton area changed?

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7. Overall what are the advantages and disadvantages of living in North Devon?

(A) Advantages: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(B) Disadvantages: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. Finally, do you see any adult member of the household moving away from the South Molton area within the next 5 years?

1 = Yes                      2 = No

Could you please explain your answer:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If YES: Where do you/they foresee moving to?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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