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Population growth in a high amenity area: migration and socio-economic change in Cornwall

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**POPULATION GROWTH IN A HIGH AMENITY AREA: MIGRATION AND
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE IN CORNWALL**

By

Katarzyna Kowalczyk

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth in partial fulfilment of the
degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Applied Psychosocial Sciences
Faculty of Health

in collaboration with Cornwall County Council

March 2010

Katarzyna Kowalczuk

Population growth in a high amenity area: migration and socio-economic change in Cornwall

Abstract

The thesis provides a deeper understanding of migration flows to high amenity areas using the example of migration to and from Cornwall. Cornwall is a remote, non-metropolitan county which has been experiencing very strong population growth since the 1970s almost solely due to in-migration. There are several aspects of the project that should contribute to an understanding of internal migration in England and Wales.

First, a cohort analysis of migrants brings insights into the migration strategies of in-migrants and out-migrants throughout the period. Using the case of Cornwall allows the examination of migration patterns in a peripheral location where commuting opportunities are limited, and allows comparison with a more accessible rural area, Wiltshire.

Secondly, through the creation of a new area type classification the project helps to explore the environmental dimension of migration. The typology is used to investigate the residential patterns of migrants and non-migrants and to test the hypothesis that environmental preferences are significant in the choice by in-migrants of where to live.

Finally, The research investigates some pressing issues in Cornwall, issues which are relevant also for other non-metropolitan areas, such as the shortage of affordable housing, the detrimental impact of tourism and poor economic development, and their links with migration. The research focuses especially on labour market problems and housing need, due to their policy relevance. Comparisons between the migrant and non-migrant populations provide the basis for estimating the impacts of migration on the restructuring of labour and housing markets in Cornwall.

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Author's Declaration

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This study was financed with a studentship from the Economic & Social Research Council and carried out in collaboration with Cornwall County Council.

A programme of advanced study was undertaken including longitudinal analysis courses and other training in data analysis.

Relevant scientific seminars and conferences were attended at which work was presented.

Presentations and conferences attended:

BSPS conference in September 2006 - attendance

Reviewing the assumption of random attrition in longitudinal census dataset on the example of migration project using ONS LS / Attrition in longitudinal census dataset – presentation at Plymouth Postgraduate Symposium in May 2008

Housing careers of in-migrants to rural areas with the example of Cornwall in the period 1971-2001 – presentation at Popfest conference at University of Manchester in June 2008

ESRC Methods Festival in June 2008 - attendance

Housing careers of in-migrants to rural areas with the example of Cornwall in the period 1971-2001 – poster presentation at British Society for Population Studies (BSPS) conference at University of Manchester in September 2008

Coastal and inland villages vs. coastal and inland towns - transformations of local communities in Cornwall as a result of internal migration – presentation at European Society for Rural Sociology Congress at University of Vaasa (Finland) in August 2009

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Signed *K. Kowaluk*
Date..... *28/03/2011*

Introduction

The thesis examines population change in Cornwall in the period of unprecedented population growth in the county associated with the period of counterurbanisation¹ in developed countries. It focuses on the phenomenon of internal migration as migration became the most important component of population change in many rural areas². In Cornwall in the period 1971-2001 this was almost exclusively the reason for population growth.

Cornwall is used as a case study illustrating the transformation of population structure in a rural county as a result of migration. On the one hand, analysis of migration flows to and from Cornwall can be used as an example of the processes in growing rural counties generally, making it possible to explore determinants of migration and its implication for the changes in rural communities. On the other hand an in-depth analysis of population change and migrants' characteristics in comparison to those in another mostly rural county – Wiltshire – shows that greater attention to different types of rurality is required, especially in the analysis of national datasets. The various aspects of migration relevant to Cornwall also have implications for specific types of rural areas characterised by their remoteness (limited commuting opportunities) and environmental attributes.

The project can be placed within the wider body of research on rural population turnaround which has attracted considerable attention from the academic world in developed countries. Since the 1970s, researchers observed the growth of population in rural areas and decline in urban areas in the United States, Australia and many countries of Western Europe (Fielding, 1982; Champion and Vendermotten, 1997). The 'hegemonic framework' explaining this process was counterurbanisation (Buller et al, 2003). Although the patterns of counterurbanisation were not constant in all countries which recorded counter-urban flows in the 1970s, the research confirmed that

¹ Counterurbanisation is a term used extensively in demographic analysis but its interpretation varies between studies (detailed discussion of that issue is in section 1.1.3.1 beginning on page 19). In this thesis a broad definition is followed which includes various approaches to the study of migration leading to population deconcentration.

² Rural counties are defined according to DEFRA's classification of local authorities as those local authorities where the proportion of the population living in rural settlements and larger market towns exceeds England average.

counterurbanisation has been a common pattern in many developed countries and in the UK the trend has been the most clear and persistent (Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003, Champion and Vanderhoff, 1997, Champion, 2005b)

Migration into rural areas and rural population change became the focus of many research projects and theoretical discussions. These included a resurrection of interest in rural social class analysis (Murdoch, 1995, Hoggart, 1997; Fielding, 1998, Phillips, 2007), the impact of migration on economic restructuring of the countryside (Findlay et al, 2000, Stockdale et al, 2000, Buller et al, 2003, Bosworth, 2006) and relations between migrant and non-migrant populations (Cloke et al, 1998a, Schmied, 2005b). The research on rural turnaround raised concerns over demographic balance (Buller et al, 2003, Taylor, 2008) and risks for equality and social cohesion resulting from concentration of deprivation in particular neighbourhoods (Dorling et al, 2008). The long term impact of these changes depends on numerous factors. As argued by Schmied (2005a) they resulted in a variety of experiences 'Because of the persisting rural diversity there have been winning and losing villages, winning and losing social groups, winning and losing households and individuals' (Schmied, 2005a: 5)

In the United States, in addition to the use of a counterurbanisation framework, there has been an interest in migration into high amenity areas defined on the basis of 'natural resource – based amenities and related attributes that contribute to regional quality of life' (Deller et al, 2001: 352). Areas with desirable natural amenities are distinguished as experiencing specific changes in the process of internal migration. Cushing (1987) and Knapp & Graves (1989) showed that location specific amenities in migration models remain significant even when these models contain economic and demographic variables. They concluded that natural amenities appeared to be at least as important as economic factors in destination choice. Knapp and Graves (1989) argued that, as a result of these specific aspects of migration flows, location specific amenities are important factors in determining regional futures. Migration in the context of local amenities has not been studied specifically in the British context. Although the lifestyle migration thesis has been tested (Jones et al, 1984, Halliday and Coombes, 1995) and research supports its significance in some areas, it was not tested in migration models alongside other socio-economic factors.

Both approaches - counterurbanisation and migration into high amenity areas - are relevant for this thesis, which is not just a counterurbanisation study. Although most moves to Cornwall are urban to rural, the focus is not restricted to this type of migrants. The study considers mainly permanent movers to and from Cornwall and is concerned primarily with the long-term effects of migration. Cornwall is undoubtedly an environmentally highly attractive area, which is reflected in the dominance of the tourism industry originating long before the era of mass tourism (Payton, 2004). As such, Cornwall can be treated as an example of a high amenity area, which according to research on migration to such areas, may experience specific processes related to migration.

The thesis aims to better understand migration into rural areas by exploring differences in the socio-economic characteristics of migrants to such counties. As advocated by Halfacree (2008), the theory of such movements should be 'capable of embracing a broader range of people and experiences than is typically the case' (pp. 479). In order to investigate the variability of rural migrants, two levels of geographical comparisons are used. On one level Cornwall is compared to Wiltshire to differentiate the profiles of migrants to rural counties. These counties can be used as examples of economically disadvantaged and prosperous areas. Moreover area type classification allows various types of communities within Cornwall to be distinguished. This approach will contribute to an understanding of the 'diversity in the social characteristics of people moving to the [British] countryside' (Halfacree, 2008: 482) and at a more local level within Cornwall.

Cornwall in the national context is often perceived as a homogenous, rural, remote area (ONS (a)). It also continues to be perceived as an area of predominantly retirement migration (Dennet and Stillwell, 2009) despite the research showing that the majority of migrants are of working age (Williams, 2000; Burley, 2007). The earlier study of migrants to Cornwall suggested a greater heterogeneity within the county. Burley (2007) distinguished between the areas receiving the most economically dynamic migrants and the least economically dynamic migrants respectively, indicating important differences in the types of migrants dependent on some location specific characteristics. However, national analyses often overlook the spatial variability of local communities. It is argued that looking at migration in a more context dependent framework gives the potential to explore the relationships between economic and environmental factors, the development

of tourism and population growth, and variations in the impact of migration on different types of rural localities, contributing to the understanding of this process which is highly influential on the distribution and structure of rural population

Research questions in this project relate to two major areas of concern the determinants and consequences of migration. The first research question considers the role of migration in economic development in rural counties experiencing population growth

- 1) *Are changes in population structure linked to economic performance in the counties experiencing population growth due to migration?*

To answer this question economic performance in Cornwall is compared to the performance of Wiltshire (Chapter 4). The socio-economic characteristics of consecutive cohorts of migrants to both counties are compared and the possibility of economic growth being a result of migration is discussed

Another two research questions arise from the continuous debate on the factors influencing migration into and out of rural areas. Migration is often discussed in the context of the labour market, however literature on rural turnaround frequently cites the lifestyle motivation of in-migrants. These are sometimes presented as complementary (Findlay et al, 2000), however in Cornwall the two explanations are difficult to combine in the light of the poor economic conditions in the county. The competition between labour market and environmental explanation of migration into such areas led to the creation of these two research questions

- 2) *How do economic activity patterns and other socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants to Cornwall and out-migrants from the county explain the role of the labour market in internal migration?*
- 3) *How do residential patterns explain the role of environmental preferences of in-migrants to Cornwall?*

The second research question is discussed in Chapter 5. This part of the thesis investigates the role of the labour market in both the process of in-migration to rural

counties and also out-migration. It is explored through the cohort tables presenting the labour market position of various groups of migrants. It illustrates the changes in labour market participation related to migration as well as substantial differences in the role it plays in the process of in-migration and out-migration in Cornwall.

The analyses focus not only on the change in economic activity rates of migrants in the decade of their migration but also investigate the sources of inactivity and distinguish unemployment and short term illness from disability and early retirement. It allows exploration of the issue of the impact of the local economy on the labour market behaviour of migrants. As stated by Williams and Champion (1998) 'Cornwall's weak economy does seem to place limits upon the in-migrants' opportunities, but on the other hand it may be that the in-migrants themselves are less dynamic' (pp 124). Cohort analysis provided new evidence contributing to answer this important question, which is also relevant to the debate on the sort of stimuli needed to revive lagging economic areas, such as Cornwall.

The third research question is considered in Chapter 6 which presents the residential patterns of migrants and the local population in the context of the area type classification. The classification was developed to relate to the purpose of this project. It distinguishes not only between urban and rural areas within Cornwall but also coastal and inland settlements. It helped to capture natural amenities by distinguishing coastal areas on the basis of their tourist attractiveness. Comparing profiles of migrants to various area types tests the hypothesis of the diversity of socio-economic characteristics of migrants to Cornwall. That in turn allows the effects of migration to be considered in a local context.

The remaining research questions focus on the effects of migration and differentiation of the effects depending on various types of communities. The questions consider the demographic and housing consequences of migration in Cornwall and in different types of local communities.

4) *How has migration changed the population structure in Cornwall?*

Consideration of this question is not restricted to one chapter but it is addressed in Chapters 4, 6 and 9. Particularly in Chapter 4, section 4.4 compares the impact of migration on economic activity rates and social class structure in Cornwall and Wiltshire. In Chapter 6, section 6.3 presents the changes to the profiles of residents in various types of local communities in Cornwall. The discussion about the implications of migration for changes in population structure in Cornwall is summarised in the final Chapter (9).

5) *Do migrants have better access to owner occupation than non-migrant population?*

The final research question is discussed in Chapter 7 where the housing tenure of the migrant and non-migrant population is explored and the chances of becoming owner occupiers depending on migration status are compared.

Altogether this thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of the diversity of migration flows to non-metropolitan areas³. The comparison of the composition of migration flows between rural counties, as well as between different types of locations in rural counties, is used in order to illustrate the complexity of migration into rural areas and non-metropolitan towns. The thesis explores the relationship between economic condition, residential preferences and lifestyle aspirations in order to contribute to understanding the complexity of mobilities within the rural turnaround framework.

Chapter summary

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 1 presents the theoretical background of the research project, including a description of the phenomenon of population growth in rural areas and its explanations. It discusses the theoretical and practical limitations and potential of a counterurbanisation framework as well as other approaches to studying rural turnaround existing in the literature. The chapter also presents research findings on the impact of migration on rural areas which is an important feature of this project.

³ Non-metropolitan areas refer to areas which are outside TTWA of major urban centres.

Chapter 2 discusses the Cornish context including demographic, economic, social and environmental aspects unique to Cornwall. It presents the findings of earlier research on migration and considers how this research can contribute to a better understanding of the changes in Cornwall and more widely in rural areas.

Chapter 3 presents the methods, including a description of the data used for the analysis in the following chapters and explains the main definitions, e.g. the different groups of migrants and the area type classification designed for this project. Further sections discuss analytical issues regarding linking censuses through time and missing data. The last section presents the research questions, as set out above, and introduces in more detail the research methods employed to answer them.

The analytical part begins with a comparison of in-migration patterns to Cornwall and Wiltshire (Chapter 4) which are both mainly rural counties with high population growth predominantly due to migration since the 1970s. The comparison demonstrates structural differences in the socio-economic patterns of migration to both counties which could each be referred to as counterurbanisation receiving areas. It investigates the issue of population growth and economic development using a comparable case strategy.

The chapter illustrates the differences in labour market strategies and, by comparing the economic activity of migrants with the local population, supports the thesis about the importance of the lifestyle dimension for migrants to Cornwall. On that basis it is argued that the counterurbanisation model is too wide a framework to understand the change in rural counties and that more in-depth analysis, including environmental factors, is needed to understand population change and its effects in areas such as Cornwall. It advocates the differentiation of the counter-urban migration flows, the counterurbanisation process and the effects of counterurbanisation. Further chapters focus on various aspects of migration in Cornwall in response to that suggestion.

Chapter 5 analyses migration flows to and from Cornwall in the whole period of population growth i.e. 1971-2001. It presents the complexity of migration flows in Cornwall during the three decades of population growth in order to better explain the

population change in the county. Characteristics of in-migrants and out-migrants in Cornwall as well as return and repeat migrants are analysed in order to illustrate migration patterns and their effect on socio-economic changes of the profiles of residents.

Characteristics of in-migrants and out-migrants to Cornwall differ greatly and in combination they intensify particular trends in population changes. The chapter focuses particularly on trends in economic activity and social class, indicating the quantity and quality of employment, and its accessibility for the migrant and non-migrant population respectively. It uses cohort analysis to explore the labour market strategies of migrants and demonstrates that a high proportion of inactivity among in-migrants is characteristic only for the first decade after migration. Although inactive migrants are more likely to return to the labour market in the following decade than to stay inactive, they are even more likely to reach the retirement age. It suggests a significant role for retirement transition in explaining rates of economic activity of migrants to Cornwall.

Chapter 6 illustrates residential patterns of the migrant and non-migrant population in the light of the area type classification in order to explore the lifestyle dimension of migration and to consider variations of the impact of migration on different types of communities in Cornwall. The typology provides a unique opportunity to consider residential patterns and preferences in the context of rurality and environmental attractiveness. It is linked to LS data (longitudinal census data) used in this project and provides information on the socio-economic characteristics of migrant and non-migrant residents in various types of *Cornish communities*. *Profiles of migrants to different local communities are analysed in order to contribute to the understanding of the role of environmental preferences in migration to Cornwall and the effect of these preferences on the changes of the residential profiles of local communities.*

The chapter demonstrates the different residential patterns of the migrant and non-migrant population, which is hypothesised to reflect environmental preferences of in-migrants who are less constrained in their choice of location than the non-migrant population. The LS data provides evidence of migrants' preferences towards rural locations and particular pressure from migration on coastal rural communities.

Chapter 7 focuses on the key social issue related to migration, that of housing. It explores the relationship between housing and in-migration in Cornwall, focusing on various aspects of housing issues in different types of communities in Cornwall and comparing the position of the migrant and non-migrant population on the housing market. It estimates the chances of 'stepping up the property ladder' for local and migrant population groups respectively and further explores the significance of residential factors in migration.

The chapter demonstrates that some communities in Cornwall face particular housing issues and it provides evidence that coastal villages are the localities in which new local households would find it the most difficult to secure accommodation. Moreover the analyses show that accessibility to home ownership for the migrant and non-migrant population groups differs substantially, with migrants in the 1970s and 1980s having a higher proportion of home owners than the non-migrant population. Analysis of the housing careers presenting the chances of moving to owner occupation for individuals living in rented accommodation also shows that migrants had a better position on the housing market than locals.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings in respect of each of the research questions and suggests areas for further research development. It also includes a discussion of the results in the light of other migration research. It presents the areas in which the thesis contributes to the understanding of the phenomenon of migration in rural counties in England and Wales.

Chapter 1: Migration research – patterns, explanations and impact

Migration studies have become an important part of social research (Champion and Fielding, 1992, Massey et al, 1998) as a result of the increasing importance of migration as a component of population change and the development of new patterns and trends in international and internal migration. It is emphasised that to understand a contemporary society and culture it is necessary to understand mobility (Cairncross, 2001, Sheller and Urry, 2006)

The first chapter places the project in the context of wider migration studies and focuses in particular on the theories explaining the phenomenon of internal migration and research assessing the impact of migration on receiving communities. It presents the theories which informed the approach taken in the project and which this study aimed to address and contribute to.

The first section presents empirical studies describing the patterns of internal migration in developed countries and the extent of counterurbanisation trends which place the phenomenon presented in the project in a global context. It is followed by a section presenting the approaches explaining migration, especially migration flows into rural areas and some wider discussion in the field of migration studies regarding the debates about unification of various theoretical approaches. The last section discusses the studies researching the impact of migration.

1.1 Internal migration- empirical and theoretical issues

In the first section of this chapter there are presented the findings of the research on the internal migration patterns of the last few decades in the developed world. Rees and Kupiszewski (1999) emphasised that 'the most important driver of spatial population change in developed European countries after the demographic transition has been internal migration' (pp 18). In focus is in particular the phenomenon of counterurbanisation which has been a significant population redistribution pattern since the 1970s and has been found a prevalent migration pattern in Britain even earlier (Champion and Vandermotten, 1997, Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003). It was primarily used

in explanation of high net migration rates in Cornwall (Perry et al, 1986; Williams, 1997; Burley, 2007).

1.1.1 Internal migration patterns in the developed world

Interest in the patterns of internal migration has increased since the 1970s with a reversal in migration trends emerging in developed countries (Greenwood, 1985; Fielding, 1989; Champion, 1998; Mitchell, 2004). From the period of industrialisation the common migration pattern was population concentration in major industrial centres (Whyte, 2000). It led to the development of the paradigm of concentration in industrial societies which assumed that the location of industry and population is determined by ever-increasing concentration (Vining and Kontuly, 1978). In the 1970s the United States experienced a reverse of a common pattern of population concentration (Beale, 1976). It was observed that non-metropolitan areas which in the past were losing population as a result of migration (out-migration rates were higher than in-migration) experienced instead the phenomenon of gaining population through migration. The trend was quickly confirmed in other countries (Vining and Kontuly, 1978). It was termed counterurbanisation as it challenged the geographical idea of population concentration in urban/ core areas (Vartiainen, 1989).

Some key studies, are presented below, showing international comparisons of spatial population change and migration patterns indicating how significant this transition was in all of the 'global North' (Halfacree, 2008), and which illustrates well why it should not be considered in isolation from the wider global changes.

The first international comparison was made in the 1970s by Vining and Kontuly (1978) who analysed the migration flows in 18 mainly European countries. The study included also 3 Eastern European countries (Hungary, Poland and East Germany) as well as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and New Zealand. Not surprisingly the strongest similarities were found in Western European countries and Japan showing a reversal of direction of net population flow. They showed that in the 1970s in eleven of these countries (all of Western Europe excluding only Spain, Finland and controversially Great Britain) the earlier pattern of migration from peripheral to core regions had been reversed or drastically reduced.

Fielding (1982) investigated population redistribution patterns in 14 'major' European countries since the 1950s and found that 'every country in Western Europe has experienced major changes in their migration patterns during the 1950-1980 period' (pp 9) and that they can be characterised by a change away from urbanisation towards counterurbanisation. In the 1950s population changes in all of them could be described as urbanisation but in the 1970s just a few experienced urbanisation (Ireland, Spain and Portugal). In most of them urbanisation stopped and in all but two was replaced by counterurbanisation. Fielding confirmed the lack of a common population redistribution trend, demonstrating variations in internal migration patterns. He also pointed out the complexity of the regional and local situations (e.g. the relationship between internal and international migration flows) which led to often weak relationships between net migration rates and population density. Although he emphasised that within these countries one form of that relationship in one region could coincide with a different form of that relationship in another region and that some processes were region specific, the regularities of the changes in population redistribution confirmed a general change of urbanisation pattern towards counterurbanisation.

Regional differences and confirmation of the general counterurbanisation patterns were also presented by Perry et al (1986) who studied counterurbanisation in an international context but focused on the local dimension. In their study *Counterurbanisation* they compared patterns of demographic change in the 1970s and 1980s in more regional British and French contexts and pointed out two processes characteristic of population redistribution in that period: 'Firstly there is deconcentration, the movement of households and firms from metropolitan cores to rural regions, and secondly there is dispersion within the regions' (pp 211). Their regional analysis confirmed the counterurbanisation pattern, however they stated that migration made varying contributions to population increase in the study areas and emphasised differences in the relationship between in-migration and out-migration in various locations.

Champion and Vandermotten (1997), analysing the net migration changes in European Economic Area countries (mainly Western and Northern Europe) in the period 1960-1989, showed that in general the 1960s was still a decade of population concentration in Europe and that many peripheral and rural regions were losing population whereas areas around major metropolitan centres were growing. However in the 1970s the

migratory loss in these peripheral, rural parts lessened very significantly and the levels of migratory gains in core regions declined or even in some cases switched to a net loss. They showed that, although counterurbanisation was very significant in the 1970s, the nature of population changes in Europe varied substantially. For example, the growth of the Paris region coincided with the growth of rural departments in south west France which had lost population in the previous decade. In the 1980s they showed a further shift away from losses in southern Europe but also a picture of much lower net migration exchanges.

Although, as all the above texts presented, the 1970s were characterised by a regular pattern of population decentralisation, from the 1980s the researchers recorded even greater variation in population redistribution (Fielding, 1989; Cheshire, 1995). Cheshire's (1995) study of Functional Urban Areas in Europe demonstrated that in the 1980s urban areas in several European countries including Germany, the Benelux countries and even to some extent the UK experienced a recentralisation trend. However, he pointed out that the data showed the variety of urban experience and that, at the same time, some of the smallest, most rural places might have been also growing. Another study presenting the deviations from counterurbanisation trends was published by Domina (2006) who demonstrated the changes in net migration rates between American metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas in the period 1989-2004. He showed that there was no persistent trend in population redistribution in the US in that period and that the pattern of concentration and deconcentration was changeable. He argued that it undermined the clean break theory which indicates a reverse of urbanisation as a permanent phenomenon characteristic of post-industrial society.

Analysis of the migration patterns in the 1990s in Western Europe confirmed that there was no single tendency of population development in Europe. Panebianco and Kiehl (2003) in their analysis of 15 EU countries summarised the patterns of the 1990s (1991-1999). They presented examples of countries where re-urbanisation (Finland, Sweden, Denmark) was a leading trend, those which experienced strong sub-urbanisation tendencies (France, Italy, Western Germany, Netherlands), and countries where there was evidence of counterurbanisation trends (Belgium, UK, Germany).

1.1.2 Internal migration patterns in the UK

As the above research revealed, there are substantial variations between countries in their migration patterns and the relationship between net migration rates and settlement patterns. This section presents more detailed data about internal migration in the United Kingdom.

Two spatial phenomena dominated population redistribution in Britain: migration between the North and South and urban-rural migration (Champion, 2005b). Southward net migration, which started back in the 1930s, fluctuated in each decade and has reduced since the 1980s. The urban-rural shift, however, remains a major element of internal migration with the highest net migration rates experienced by the districts on the coastal strip. However, although Britain is often presented as a country with special significance for rural turnaround (Panebianco and Khel, 2003, Champion, 2005a), this is not the only characteristic of population trends. London still attracted a large number of migrants from the places lower down in the settlement hierarchy (Champion, 2005a).

Regardless of these variations, in the British context internal migration patterns in the last few decades have been characterised by the dominance of the counterurbanisation pattern which was repeatedly illustrated by Fielding and Champion (Fielding 1982; 1989, Champion, 1994, 1998, 2005a, 2005b, Champion and Atkins, 2000). In Britain population deconcentration occurred in each decade from 1961 until 2001. Although some international research suggested that population redistribution may lead to 'dispersed concentration' (Vining and Kontuly, 1978) or disurbanisation leading to reurbanisation as a phase of a town's development (Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003) rather than counterurbanisation, the research into migration trends in Britain confirmed the counterurbanisation model by testing the hypothesis of the counterurbanisation cascade (Champion, 2005a). Testing all migration flows concerning moves up or down the settlement hierarchy, which distinguished 13 types of settlements, it was found that the vast majority of the net migration flows in the period 1990-91 and 1998-2001 recorded a shift of people down the settlement hierarchy (Champion, 2005a). It illustrated that migration in Britain was dominated by the movements down the urban hierarchy and the pattern resembled a diffused cascade including a combination of movements just one level down the urban hierarchy and 'bigger jumps down the system'. Turning to the non-metropolitan district types, there is again evidence of decentralisation, albeit on a wider

geographical scale than the essentially 'suburbanisation' (pp 92). The significant deviation from the cascade model was the attractiveness of London for migrants from various other types of settlements. Its attractiveness was conceptualised by Fielding (1992a) in his concept of an 'escalator region'.

Another way of presenting the patterns of migration, which is very different from analysis of net migration rates, was suggested by Dennett and Stillwell (2009). They used 2001 Census data to construct a national classification of migration flows in order to 'develop our understanding of migration within the UK' by simplifying the complexity of the process of internal migration.

'The processes of internal migration in Britain are complex, our spatial understanding can be enhanced through identification of the particular characteristics that migrants and migrant flows can contribute to defining different types of areas. Districts of Britain can be usefully classified by the types of migrant and the particular flows that they exhibit such that each classified area will have distinct profiles.' (pp. 2)

The classification related to a geodemographic classifications and took into account not only net migration rates but also a number of characteristics of migrants. It was based on the premise that 'certain places would exhibit distinctive profiles formed by the migrants moving in, out and within, and that these profiles may be similar for some groups of places' (pp 101).

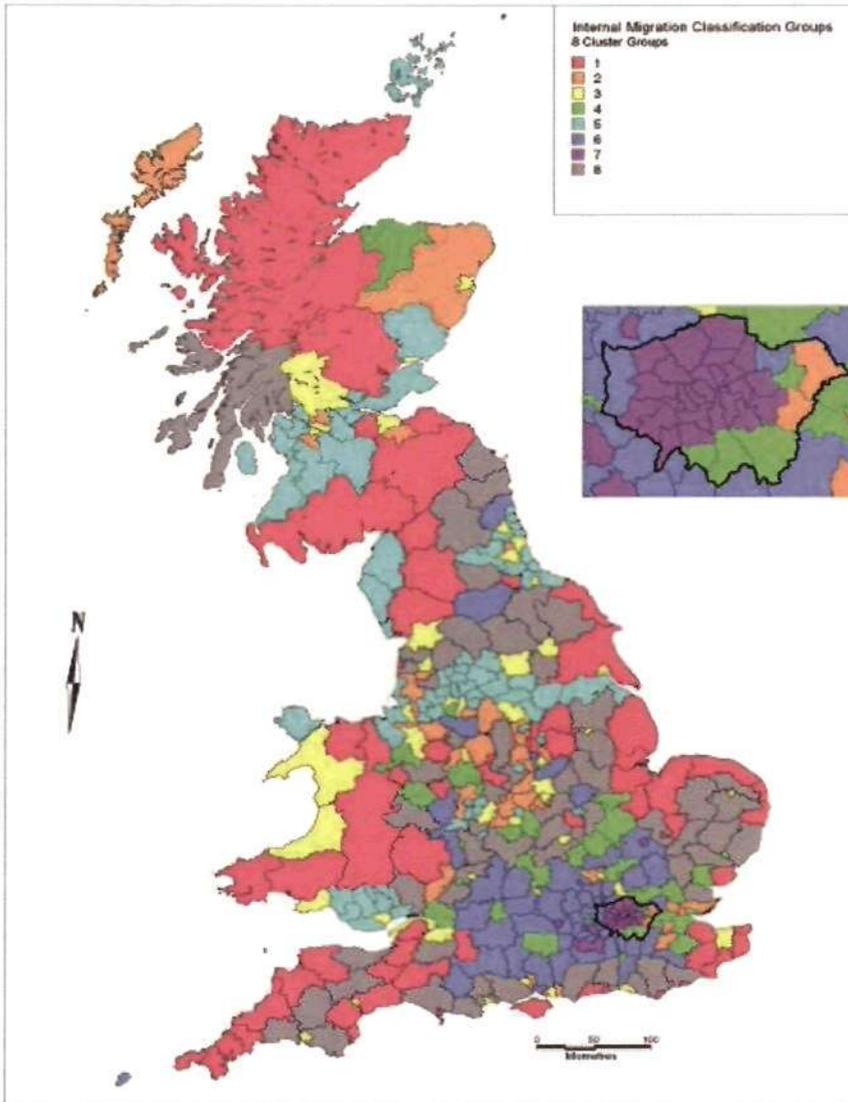
Using cluster analysis eight types of areas were distinguished in Britain in terms of the migration processes they experienced. The labels reflect the characteristics of migration in various types of communities in the UK and were as follows:

- Cluster 1: Coastal and Rural Retirement Migrants on the periphery of Britain which attracted older migrants seeking physical and social characteristics associated with the areas;
- Cluster 2: Sedentary Middle-Class Britain which had lower levels of migration;
- Cluster 3: Student Towns which had high levels of young in-migrants moving to privately rented accommodation;

- Cluster 4: Intermediate, Single Migrants, the cluster also characterised the areas of low levels of migration, but, if it was occurring, they were usually single migrants in intermediate occupations,
- Cluster 5: Constrained, Working Class Britain consisted of ex-industrial areas characterised by rather short distance moves,
- Cluster 6: Footless, Middle-Class, Commuter Britain was characterised by high levels of in- and out-migration of individuals in higher socio-economic groups;
- Cluster 7: Dynamic London was also characterised by high levels of in- and out-migration,
- Cluster 8: Successful Family In-migrants, as the name suggested, were the most common destination of family migrants

The classification presented a completely new picture of migration patterns which also took into account the processes of migration. Figure 11 presents a spatial representation of that classification.

Figure 1.1 Dennett and Stillwell's migration classification



Source: Dennett and Stillwell (2009), Figure 2.24

1.1.3 Counterurbanisation

The above sections presented the overall patterns of internal migration in the developed world and in Britain. They have introduced the concept of counterurbanisation and the extent to which it has described the patterns of migration since the 1970s. The following section describes some theoretical aspects of the counterurbanisation framework, which was presented in one of DEFRA's reports (Buller et al, 2003) as a 'hegemonic trend'

explaining migration into rural areas. It examines the potential of the framework but also theoretical and methodological problems that were acknowledged in the literature.

Although counter-urban moves are not a new trend and Pooley and Turnbull (1996) demonstrated their significance in the 19th century migration system in which they were 'almost matching rural to urban moves in its demographic significance' (pp 514), only in *the second half of the 20th century did this become a dominant migration pattern* influencing net migration rates in most of the developed countries.

Counterurbanisation was first observed and coined as a term in the USA in the 1970s (Berry, 1976) and since then has been confirmed as a dominant population redistribution trend in Western Europe and Australia (Vining and Kontuly, 1978; Fielding, 1989; Walmsley et al, 1998; Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003). However studies of population movements in Britain suggested that it was occurring in the country much earlier than in the United States (Fielding, 1989; Champion, 1994). Champion (1994) showed that in Britain already in the 1950s freestanding Local Labour Market Areas had the same level of growth as metropolitan areas, and in the period 1961-71 the growth of metropolitan areas decreased whereas some freestanding LLMA's grew switching from depopulation to population growth.

The predominance of counterurbanisation as a distribution pattern in most of the 'global North' (Halfacree, 2008) was accepted as proven by researchers concerned with migration and population studies, however, much more controversial remained the issue of the significance of the change of the pattern and its continuation (Fielding, 1989; Cheshire, 1995). Various countries which experienced a predominantly counterurbanisation pattern in migration movements in the 1970s deviated in the 1980s and 1990s from that trend (Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003; Domina, 2006).

Some differences occurred also regarding the characteristics of that migration trend. In general 'studies which have examined counterurbanisation tendencies in a number of countries pointed towards a high degree of similarity in terms of the nature of the process, its explanations and the composition of migration flows' (Stockdale et al. 2000: 245), however, there are some significant differences. It seems that residential and lifestyle preferences played a more important role in counter-urban moves in Australia

than in Britain (Walmsley et al, 1998). Migrants in the USA were younger than those in Britain (Barcus, 2004) and in France urban to rural migration had a significantly larger proportion of manual workers than in the UK (Stockdale et al, 2000). This suggests that, regardless of the similarities in rural turnaround, the studies should remain sensitive to national and regional contexts and Anglo-American understanding of this term should not be automatically applied to changes in other European countries (Halfacree, 2008; Grimsrud, 2009).

Although the significance of counterurbanisation theory for the rural turnaround in Britain should not be underestimated (Champion, 1998), even in the UK sensitivity to the local context is extremely important. The general pattern of population redistribution in Britain is consistent, however it does not mean that there are no regional differences. Important differences has been occurring between North and South England (Champion, 2005b) and in some other localities, e.g. Powys in the 1970s experienced a strong counterurbanisation but at the same time a third of its parishes lost population (Weekly, 1988).

1.1.3.1 Critique of 'counterurbanisation'

Counterurbanisation, although widely supported, remains a problematic theoretical framework (Phillips, 2009). Some of the major arguments criticising counterurbanisation theory are combined below into three aspects of the debates around counterurbanisation: definitional disagreements, contradictory research and stereotypical representation of population movements.

The controversy around the definition of counterurbanisation remains after 30 years of research focused on the phenomenon (Mitchell, 2004; Halfacree, 2008). The term was defined by Berry (1976) as a process of population deconcentration and was at first operationalised as a pattern describing a negative relationship between net migration rates and settlement size (Fielding, 1982; Fielding, 1989; Champion and Vandermotten, 1997). This definition has been criticised for being too empirical and lacking theoretical content (Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003) but it is the most commonly used definition (Buller et al, 2003; Mitchell, 2004). Some studies broadened the definition to include aspects of motivation. Mitchell (2004) classified various definitions as following: migratory movements from the areas adjacent to a metropolis to non-adjacent areas

(decentralisation); down the settlement hierarchy (deconcentration), to remote and peripheral locations, and migration to less urbanised areas due to preferences rather than economic constraints. As a result it became a broad and vague term (Vartrinen, 1989, Mitchell, 2004). Mitchell (2004) argued that the term counterurbanisation is too broad and that 'a single word is insufficient to capture the complexity of population deconcentration' (pp 21).

Some researchers advocated distinguishing different components of the definition to clarify the way the term is used. Champion advocated a distinction between the process and the pattern (Champion, 1998) which involves differentiation between the description of the patterns and its explanation. Mitchell (2004) proposed distinguishing three concepts which would capture various aspects of the term counterurbanisation and promote a 'more consistent usage' of it. He advocated using the term 'counterurban' to describe a pattern of population distribution that is deconcentrated, 'counterurbanising process' to describe the process of transformation of a settlement system from concentrated to deconcentrated, and 'counterurbanisation' as a downward migration rather than a process or pattern. Developing his conceptualisation of counterurbanisation he proposed also a distinction between ex-urbanisation (commuters who keep their connection with the cities but live in the countryside), displaced urbanisation (moving out of the cities in search of employment or lower costs of living) and anti-urbanisation (residential preferences and lifestyle choices in favour of rural areas) in order to recognise the heterogeneity of counterurbanisation movements. However, as admitted by Halfacree (2008), it did not lead to the agreement on the *definition of counterurbanisation*.

Some disagreement regarding the influence of counterurbanisation resulted from apparently contradictory findings. In most cases the differences were related to the units of analysis used in research. For example, although Fielding (1989) and Champion (1994) showed that counterurbanisation could be observed in Britain since the 1960s, Vining and Kontuly (1978) found no evidence of counterurbanisation in Britain in the 1970s which they explained as an exception resulting from its long industrial past, and Boyle (1995) using the Webber and Craig classification of local authorities, which distinguishes 13 categories from large urban centres to most remote rural districts, argued that in 1980-81 there was little evidence of 'a major redistribution of population

from the largest urban centres to the rural periphery'. The differences, however, are likely to be the result of the fact that Vining and Konuly in their analysis used different geographical entities (core and periphery categories) and explored the changes to the North-South shift rather than urban-rural movements, and Boyle used a particular classification of the district data, while Champion (1994) argued persistence of a counterurbanisation trend in Britain used Local Labour Market Areas. This debate supports Mitchell's argument (2004) that 'lack of consistency in definition [of counterurbanisation] hinders comparability' (pp15).

The third area of this critique concerns stereotypes of counterurbanisation. Halfacree (2008) demonstrated how the focus on the 'mainstream counterurbanisation' led to stagnation of the understanding behind the phenomenon and how 'consequently [it was] too easily recaptured by strong popular culture stereotypes' (pp 479). From the perspective of rural analysis also Buller et al (2003) call counterurbanisation a process which oversimplifies migration processes affecting rural areas.

'By creating a series of well endorsed stereotypes, notably that of the middle class family moving into rural villages bringing renewed demographic dynamism to otherwise declining rural communities and infrastructure counterurbanisation has largely failed to account for 'opposing' or non counter-urbanising trends, such as rural out-migration, intra-rural migration and population replacement' (Buller et al, 2003: 3)

As a result Buller et al (2003) concluded that counterurbanisation can bring only partial understanding of demographic transformations in rural areas.

The critique of the counterurbanisation framework led some researchers to such far reaching conclusions as that it was a limited term based on a 'shallow comprehension of geographical reality' (Vartiainen, 1989), stagnant and turned into culture stereotypes or 'exhausted and saturated' in its research potential (Halfacree, 2008). However, as pointed out by Perry et al (1986) 'counterurbanisation [...] is valuable as a focus for discussion of a mixture of demographic, social and economic trends rather than as a concept capable of precise definition' (pp 199). Used in that way counterurbanisation, by no means, became an outdated explanation of changing population distribution patterns and, as argued by Halfacree (2008), 'there is more to say' about counterurbanisation.

1.1.3.2 Potential of counterurbanisation theory

Halfacree (2008) acknowledged that 'debates about the merits of deconcentration versus decentralisation, spillover versus clean break, and so on, are still replayed, but the lack of any conclusive resolution leave us with the clear, plausible, but not that precise type of definition' (p 480) and suggested that the way forward is not focusing on defining counterurbanisation but bypassing this problem and focusing on people migrating into rural areas.

'There is much to be gained by refusing the predominant framing of the definitional debate as it has progressed thus far and seeing counterurbanisation as a flexible category' (p 481)

He called for extending the understanding of counterurbanisation from the definition of mainstream counterurbanitees to exploration of more marginal experiences by a critical scrutiny of 'what is included and what is left out' He argued that this area of research needed a refocused and renewed interest from academics by pointing out the potential of counterurbanisation studies in influencing public policy associated with resource allocation

Champion (1998) also asserted that 'it is important to situate the results of studying migration into rural areas within the broader context of the counterurbanisation debate, in order to achieve balanced and robust understanding of the evolving patterns of population distribution' (p 33)

1.1.4 Migration into rural and non-metropolitan areas

Many analyses of migration into non-metropolitan or rural areas implicitly include a counterurbanisation framework Although counterurbanisation is the major framework explaining the phenomenon of deconcentration, it should not be confused with migration into rural or non-metropolitan areas (Champion, 1998) Counterurbanisation is not the only approach taken by researchers in studying rural population change Rural migration studies have also included research focusing on other elements of migration such as out-migration, migration within rural areas or repeated migration (Williams, 2000, Buller

et al, 2003; Stockdale, 2002; 2004). All these flows significantly influence the population structure in rural communities.

Analysis of these other migration flows in rural areas brought a deeper understanding of the processes behind migration and population change in rural communities. Stockdale (2002) argued, for example, that the process of out-migration should not be simplified to youth out-migration. She emphasised that 'focusing almost entirely on the mobility decision making of rural youths presents a grossly incomplete picture of rural out-migration trends and processes' (p. 361) and proposes a typology of out-migration including within a broad employment motivated migrant category: educated motivated career aspirers, temporary migrants, single migrants and family migrants, and distinguishing that group from migrants moving mainly due to personal motives and including: escapees through education, home community escapees and other quality of life seekers. She recognised that the majority of migrants are school leavers but called for greater visibility of other groups of movers.

Another approach to analysing migration patterns in rural areas, which goes beyond the counterurbanisation framework, is found in studies distinguishing various types of rural areas, and focusing on differences between rural areas and their migration experiences rather than on urban-rural redistribution patterns.

In Britain migration was analysed in the context of the most rural and the least rural areas. Champion and Shepherd (2006) analysed rural population change using a 3 fold classification of rural areas (based on the definition of rural settlements with below 10,000 population) and which distinguish: significant rural (with above England's average of the proportion of population of local authorities living in rural settlement, i.e. above 26%), rural 50 (with over 50% of the population living in rural settlements), and rural 80 (with over 80% of the population living in rural settlements). The classification is not without its problems but it reveals interesting differences in the migration experiences of different types of rural communities in England. Not only did rural areas grow faster than urban areas in England in the period 1993-2003, 'the pace of these changes is generally greatest in the most rural locations' (Champion and Shepherd, 2006: 13). Their projections for the period 2003-2028 suggest the highest growth rates will be in the most

rural districts (rural 80) 'It is the most rural type that is expected to see the largest absolute increase in population numbers' (Champion and Shepherd, 2006: 18).

Champion and Shepherd (2006) illustrated also the differences in the changes of age profiles in various types of rural areas. Presenting the patterns of aging for the local authority classification of rural areas and a finer grain classification of wards, which made it possible to distinguish rural towns from villages, they demonstrated that, although the local authority classification suggested that the most rural districts (rural 80) experienced the fastest increase in the oldest residents (age 75 and over), the ward level classification revealed that rural towns rather than villages experienced the largest growth in that oldest category. Their findings demonstrate the potential of differentiating rural areas in revealing the variety of counterurbanisation experiences and its potential to be more sensitive to local context.

American researchers focused on other aspects of rurality that were hypothesised to be related to migration to rural areas which in the United States are very often operationalised as non-metropolitan areas. Their contribution to understanding migration into rural areas going beyond the urbanisation-counterurbanisation debate is in developing further classification of rural counties according to natural amenities (Marcouiller and Deller, 1996, Henderson and McDaniel, 1998, McGranahan, 1999, Hunter et al, 2005)

'Rural county population change – as well as the development of rural recreation and retirement-destination – are all highly related to natural amenities, much more so than to other locational measures such as the rural-urban continuum code' (McGranahan, 1999: 20)

There is no common approach to operationalisation of natural amenities, however, various studies with different approaches show interesting results in analysing rural population change. McGranahan (1999) designed a natural amenities index and demonstrated that natural amenities were 'highly related to rural county population change over the past 25 years' in the US (McGranahan, 1999: 1). He showed that in the period 1970-1996 counties low on the index experienced 1% population change and counties high on the index experienced a change of 120%.

Henderson and McDaniel (1998) using another definition of natural amenities studied their impact on population growth and economic performance. They distinguished extensively and moderately scenic counties (measured by tourists' amenities) and argued that scenic amenities influenced economic growth. 'Rural counties with extensive scenic amenities had faster employment and income growth than other rural counties' (Henderson and McDaniel, 1998: 15). However Hunter et al (2005) using the scale developed by McGranahan (1999) and adding an additional variable, on the basis of which they identified recreational counties within the US, presented another picture of the relationship between natural amenities, population growth and its impact on economic growth. They distinguished growing and non-growing rural areas characterised by natural amenities and, analysing income and costs of living, demonstrated that the advantages of higher incomes in growing counties were insignificant because of the cost of living also being higher in these areas.

The above examples of research show that the rural turnaround phenomenon was not encapsulated in the counterurbanisation discourse and, although it has important implications to understanding rural population change (Champion, 1998), it needs to go beyond oversimplifying stereotypes of urbanisation-counterurbanisation and remain sensitive to the complexity of processes in rural areas (Buller et al, 2003). The research and academic debate presented here aim to place the thesis not only as part of the counterurbanisation discourse but also as a project about migration in a mostly rural county presenting the migration process in the local context.

1.2 Explanations of migration

The earlier section focused mainly on describing the patterns of internal migration flows in developed countries and in particular in Britain and the approaches taken to study them. This section presents the discussion on the determinants of migration and how the new migration patterns challenged the classical migration theories and their explanations of geographical mobility and led to development of new theoretical frameworks explaining the migration process.

1.2.1 'Homo Economicus'- migration as one of the economic mechanisms

The earliest research on migration is associated with the works published by Ravenstein in the second half of the 19th century. His 'laws of migration' stressed economic causes

of human mobility and are associated with the classical migration theory (Boyle et al, 1998b) Jackson (1986) argued that 'the Ravenstain model, in modified form, has remained the most significant theoretical contribution based on the assumption of factors of push and pull' (p 15)

Migration in that perspective is an effect of economic rationality. It is based on the assumption of a rational individual acting to maximise advantages and minimise discomfort and was illustrated as a push and pull or cost-benefit model in which migration is an outcome of the rational evaluation of the cost and benefits of the move (Massey, 1990)

This approach has been developed in the light of neoclassical economics which focused on paid workers responding to economic situations and primarily to wage differentials. However migration patterns did not always conform to wage differentials. This led to further development of the model with inclusion of such factors as the probability of finding employment. Nevertheless even sophisticated wage-based models have limited power in explaining migration (Boyle et al, 1998b). Although some of the studies using aggregated data stated a positive correlation between wages and migration (Jackson, 1986, Thomas, 1993) and many studies support the classic thesis about the negative effect of high unemployment rates and high house prices on in-migration (Robson, 2003), some of the authors present the evidence of the perverse situation where low wages and high unemployment rates seem to encourage migration flows (Millington, 2000) or unemployment reduces the propensity to migrate rather than increasing it (Champion et al, 1998)

These deviations and the emergence of new trends in population distribution, i.e. counterurbanisation, undermined some of the assumptions of classical and neoclassical theories of migration. The neo-classical approach took a holistic and, some authors argue, an over-deterministic (Boyle et al, 1998b) view on migration. Zelinsky cited in Jones et al (1984) claims that 'our attempts to understand the turnaround phenomenon have been straining our factual and theoretical resources to their limits' (p 437) and Grundy (1992) adds that 'past attempts of distilling universal 'laws' of migration have not proved particularly fruitful' (p 165)

The contributions of Ravenstein and economic theory are recognised and often further developed (Boyle et al, 1998b) as for example the distinction between long-distance and short-distance migration in which long-distance moves are identified with economic factors and short- distance moves with residential preferences. The distinction was described by Ravenstein and confirmed by further research, however it was also found that the relationship between them is much more complex. Although, for example, the Survey of English Housing (Bates et al., 2002) indicated that long- distance movers (movers between regions) were more likely to move due to their work (42% compared to 5% who move within the region due to work) and short- distance movers (within the region) were much more likely to move due to accommodation (25% compared to 6% of long- distance movers), this leaves a large amount of moves unexplained and indicates that there are further sub-groups within long-distance movers. Clark and Huang (2004), analysing links between migration (long-distance) and mobility (short-distance), found that a large number of long-distance movers are motivated by non-employment reasons (nearly half in the British Household Panel Study). There is also evidence from Scotland (Stockdale et al., 2000; Stockdale, 2006) and Cornwall (Perry et al., 1986; Miller, 2006) that migrants to these peripheral areas, who mostly originated in South East and can be classified as long- distance movers, were largely driven by non-economic factors.

The push and pull model of migration and the inclusion of distance in migration theory continue to be studied and discussed. There is a wealth of additional research regarding these issues which can be found for example in Massey et al (1998) or Boyle et al (1998b).

1.2.2 Life course approach

The earliest migration studies did not give much attention to a factor which has been found as one of the crucial explanatory characteristics explaining migration - age (Warnes, 1992). Its significance is not in any biological aspects of age but in the fact that it is one of the best indicators of the life circumstances used in the literature as a concept of the life course which relates to the combination of family, work and other activity careers (Champion et al, 1998).

There is comprehensive evidence demonstrating that migration depends on age (Pooley and Turnball, 1996; Champion et al, 1998; Millington, 2000). Pooley and Turnbull (1996)

presented the evidence that also historically life course and age explained many aspects of migration. Analysing the history of moves in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Britain they discovered that most of them moved up and down the urban hierarchy in different parts of their lives. People were most likely to move up the urban hierarchy at an early stage of their migration life cycle but to move from larger to smaller settlements later in their life. In their approach they argued that to understand migration it is necessary to look at the whole life history of individuals which was also advocated by Halfacree and Boyle (1998) in the biographical approach to 'demonstrate complexity of the act of migration'

Migration in the life course approach is usually seen as a result of household transition. Household structure is an important context for individuals' decisions of such importance as migration. Wames (1992) suggested a typology of life course transitions significant for residential mobility which also attempts to estimate a likely distance associated with each transition. In his typology the long distance moves were associated with leaving parents' homes, career, cohabitation and second marriage and retirement. Unfortunately Wames' typology does not take into account late career residential movements which seem to play important role as presented historically by Pooley and Turnbull (1996) and in the concept of 'stepping off the escalator' by Fielding (1992a)

It has been demonstrated that analysing the migration behaviour of households allows better understanding of the migration process. Green (2004) as well as Smits et al. (2003) provided evidence of how household structure influenced migration. They researched various types of households and demonstrated that dual-earner families had a lower propensity to migration and that another factor lowering migration propensity was the presence of children in a family. Green (2004) showed how the partners' (usually wife's) work-family orientation affected migration. Jarvis (1997), on the example of the 'polarization debate', also demonstrated how important household structure is for accurate description of the labour market and housing dynamics. She demonstrated the ambiguity of multi-earner, no-earner families and part time employment while taken out of the context of single-households, nuclear family households and lone parent households.

It is important in studying migration to emphasise that it is the household and not the individual that is an appropriate unit of investigation of migration and the labour market (Green, 2004; Jarvis, 1997). That approach, however, is by no means straightforward. Not only does the household structure influence migration but also mobility influences household structure. As stated by Warnes (1992), the social changes and growth of peripatetic residence 'provoke the suggestion that the coincidence between a 'minimal household unit', nuclear family group or other co-resident group and a single dwelling unit is breaking down' (pp 183).

Many researchers have presented life course as the most important aspect of individual circumstances affecting their propensity for migration and other elements of migration decision (e.g. choice of location (Warnes, 1992; Schmied, 2005b). Schmied (2005b) argued that 'the preferences where a person or household wants to live clearly vary over time, and the choice of residence mirror both changes in the household and its social relations' (pp 149). She also emphasised that certain migrations are typical for certain stages in life. Champion et al. (1998), in their review of the existing evidence on determinants of migration, suggest that the 'life-course concept should be used to disaggregate any migration model into sub-models that apply to people in the same life course stage' (pp viii). Millington (2000) argued that 'analysis of migration flows can only be conducted meaningfully with age-disaggregated data' (pp 530). Clark and Huang (2004), using multinomial logistic regression in the British Household Panel Study, found that 'life-cycle and socio-economic factors such as age, marital status and household income are the most important factors [...] in the migration/mobility process' (pp. 627).

The contribution of the life-course approach to explaining migration patterns is widely acknowledged. It is a very important, holistic framework of human mobility but it does not explain the shift in migration rates. The perspectives which were particularly the response to the surprising change towards the growth of non-metropolitan and rural areas and decline of major metropolitan areas were: post-industrial society theory, lifestyle migration and counterurbanisation.

1.2.3 Structuralist approach- post-industrial society theory

Clark and Huang (2004) claimed that 'residential mobility and migration are embedded in the functioning of post-industrial society' (pp 618) The concept of post-industrial society is not synonymous with the structuralist approach to migration, however, post-industrial society theory is embedded in the structuralist approach which treats every social phenomenon as historically specific and views migration as one of the social phenomena which is also historically specific

The concept of post industrial society is a very wide framework including economics as well as social values, lifestyles and individual preferences It refers to employment structure as well as cultural changes. It has been defined on the basis of a shift in the economy Allen (1988), analysing the premises for a post-industrial economy, defined them as being based on decline in manufacturing and 'elevation of services to the position of the major source of employment' (pp 92) These trends are taken as indications of the emergence of a new type of economy, the post-industrial economy in which services and not manufacturing are dominant The shift in the structure of the economy from manufacturing to services is apparent in employment terms The importance of blue collar, manual workers declines and technical and professional work predominate As a result there was observed the growth of non-manual middle class workers Wynne (1998) argued that development of service employment caused significant shift in class structure

Fielding T (1989) related the changes in population redistribution to emergence of the post-Fordist economy, however, he placed a greater role in the change to the regime of production The change in this geography, which was a response to economic transformation of Western European countries as a result for example of the international competition, led to 'spatially dispersed pattern of branch plant and back office developments' He presented population redistribution as being mainly determined by the geography of production Counterurbanisation is then explained by the changing geography of production (Fielding, 1982) or new spatial division of labour (Fielding T, 1989) Fielding presented relocations of firms, which was a product of deindustrialisation of the largest cities and industrial regions, and growth of manufacturing in small and medium size towns in rural and peripheral areas as the major agents of change in the

distribution of population and 'the prime generators of counterurbanisation' (Fielding, 1982: 32).

That explanation of migration into rural areas found many supporters including Moseley (1984) who argued that 'in British context at least, there is no need to have recourse to massive shifts in popular values and preferences- a 'flee-the-cities' or 'back-to-nature' ethic- in order to explain the rural renaissance' (p 454). He claimed that 'dramatic shift in employment location is the major explanatory factor which with retirement and pre-retirement migration explains the 1960s and 1970s rural turnaround'. Also Panebianco and Kiehl (2003), who investigated redistribution of population and employment in 15EU members in the period 1991-2000, found that although in some countries the spatial distribution of changes in the number of jobs and residents did not concur, on the whole there were many parallels between the distribution of employment and population.

There are more structural elements influencing the shift in migration pattern. Champion (1998) summarised existing literature explaining counterurbanisation and presented a list of 17 explanatory factors:

- 1) The expansion of commuting fields round employment centres
- 2) The emergence of scale diseconomies and social problems in large cities
- 3) The concentration of rural population into local urban centres
- 4) The reduction in the stock of potential out-migrants living in rural areas
- 5) The availability of government subsidies for rural areas
- 6) The growth of employment in particular industries such as defence and tourism
- 7) The restructuring of manufacturing industry and growth of branch plants
- 8) Improvements in transport and communications technology
- 9) The improvement of infrastructure in rural areas (e.g. health and education)
- 10) The growth of employment in the public sector and personal services
- 11) The spatial government policies
- 12) The growth of state welfare payments, private pensions and other benefits
- 13) Retirement migration
- 14) The change in residential preferences of working age people and entrepreneurs
- 15) Changes in age structure and household size and composition
- 16) The effect of economic recession on rural-urban and return migration

17) The new cyclic pattern of capital investment in property and business

Some of these explanations had been challenged previously, for example by Fielding (1982) who discussed the argument about reduction in rural depopulation (4) and undermined the interpretation of economic recession and return migration (16). However, Champion's list is often referred to as a comprehensive summary (Findlay et al, 2000, Schmied, 2005a).

An important aspect of the post-industrial society concept is the issue of changes to the social class structure and the emergence of a new middle class. Fielding (1989) explains what implications this had for migration. He stated that 'the new spatial division of labour' led to reduction in mobility of manual workers and increase in the mobility of service class workers which are characteristics of counterurbanisation. He emphasised an important element of counterurbanisation – a social class dimension. Fielding T (1998) emphasised that awareness of social class relationships is essential for understanding of the impact of counterurbanisation.

Another element of the transformation towards the post-industrial society is discussed by Wynne (1998) who argues that it can be characterised by the fact that relationships of groups are not related to the means of production but rather to the means of consumption (Wynne, 1998). The post-industrial society thesis claims declining importance of work. It is increasingly consumption rather than production that is seen as the primary factor in contemporary identity. This resulted in perceiving migration as being production or consumption led (Green, 2004).

The 'post-industrial society' thesis (Touraine, 1974) argues also for a changed relationship between work and leisure. The growth of leisure (lifestyle migration) (Roberts, 1978, Borocz, 1996), through tourism and its links with migration (Bell and Ward, 2000), has implications for migration patterns.

The links between tourism and migration presented in the literature are two-fold. One is familiarity with a place through personal experience. This has been confirmed in various studies (Jones et al, 1984, Perry et al, 1986, Burley, 2007). However, Jones et al (1984) suggested that the impact of tourism and previous holidays were much greater on

environmentally motivated migrants than on the economically motivated. Another link is through creation of images of a place, often by the tourism industry. Places become commodified (Urry, 1995). Links with the perception of the quality of life were emphasised by Boyle et al (1998b). This relates to the issue of lifestyle and residential trends, which is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.5.

Another layer of post-industrial society includes the cultural context. For studies of migration, post-industrial society theory emphasises selectivity of migration (middle class migration) and the role of the countryside in middle class culture (Cloke et al, 1998b; Gorton et al, 1998; Buller et al, 2003). The 'rural idyll' provides 'the cognitive framework within which many people are, consciously or subconsciously, making their decisions to join the urban exodus' (Champion et al, 1998: 96).

'The countryside and heritage traditions provide images which can produce cultural cohesion in a time of rapid economic and social change [...] Manicured countryside and/or heritage is strengthened as more and more members of the service class move into them... census and other figures show that, especially around London, it is the service class which is leading the urban-rural push' (Thrift in Wynne, 1998: 32)

Post-industrial society can be followed by the concept of post-productivist countryside (Fielding, 1989; Halfacree and Boyle, 1998; Butler et al, 2003) associated with declining agricultural employment and diversification of rural economies. Goodwin et al (1995) were careful to use a 'post' prefix, however they admitted that the countryside is in transition and they linked it to departure from the Fordist regime of production which, although restricted in rural areas, appeared through increased mechanisation and standardisation of agricultural production. Halfacree and Boyle (1998) argue that migration into rural areas is the central dynamic in the creation of a post-productivist countryside, and that it is connected as much with the diversification of their economies as with the construction of the image of post-productivist rural areas. Goodwin et al (1995) also emphasised the process of increasing commodification of rural areas which act as spaces of 'heritage and consumption'. Consumption rather than production will influence the future of the majority of rural areas and migration is one of the mechanisms influencing that change. The countryside is becoming the place where the wealth

obtained by migrants in metropolitan areas and especially in 'escalator regions' (Fielding, 1992a) is consumed

1.2.4 Counterurbanisation

Fielding (1982) presents the 'counterurbanisation model' as one of the three major explanations of the counterurbanisation pattern. He identifies it with the change in individual preferences which stress the importance of human motivation in explaining behaviour. The counterurbanisation model, as explained first by Berry, indicates change in migration patterns as an effect of individual preferences. It stresses the importance of human motivation in explaining behaviour.

'The countryside has become for an increasing proportion of the population, a chosen place to live - the result of lifestyle choice driven by house price differentials, residential amenity, environmental quality and housing size rather than the traditional urban location necessities of proximity to work, shops, schools and services' (Buller et al, 2003)

Other authors have also argued that understanding of the process of migration cannot be full without knowledge about motivation. Williams (2000) suggested that 'motives for migration might ultimately be the most important explanatory factor' (p 38). Bolton and Chalkley (1990) pointed to a lack of understanding of the causes of rural turnaround because of the small amount of empirical research into motivation.

Importance of motivation in the study of migration is noted not only by qualitative researchers but also by those quantitatively orientated. Quantitative studies (Thomas, 1993) have found that motivation is an important variable which allows a disaggregation of the data in the way that gives better understanding of the process. Thomas (1993) found that disaggregation of migration data according to job related and non-job related moves allows understanding of the patterns and constraints in the process of migration.

However the study of motivation has its problems. Halliday and Coombes (1995) pointed out two main problems in identification of motives: variations of meanings which people give to what they describe as motives, and the existence of different motives at different stages of a move. Motivation might be unstable over time and needs interpretative

techniques of analysis. Despite these methodological limitations, motivation is crucial for understanding of the process of migration and has the power to validate theoretical frameworks explaining migration patterns. However, it should be interpreted with caution and an understanding of these limitations.

Halliday and Coombes (1995) investigated the importance of motivation for the concept of counterurbanisation. They specified the definition as not only including the movement from a more urban to a less urban place but also including a reason for this movement associated with the choice of a rural location. They argued the importance of motivation to move to rural areas for better understanding of counterurbanisation.

The research on motivation to move to the countryside has shown how complex were these decisions. Most of the studies defined two main groups of motivation to move to rural areas: economic and socio- environmental motives (Perry et al, 1986; Williams and Jobes, 1990; Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Mitchell, 1993). Williams and Jobes (1990), doing their research in an American context, investigated the relationship between economic and socio- environmental factors. Their study distinguished migrants who were primarily motivated by economic reasons from those who were motivated mainly by quality-of-life (operationalised as any non-economic motivation) to test the hypothesis whether most migration was economically motivated. Their findings presented evidence that quality-of life can be the primary and exclusive motive as they showed that jobs were facilitators of migration but were rarely the primary reason for migration to rural areas. 'A new ethic based upon life quality, although certainly entangled with job availability and income, appears now to be a significant factor in the decision to migrate' (p 193).

Among non-economic motivations the most important elements found in the research were a physically attractive environment and lifestyle (Champion et al, 1998). In Halliday and Coombes' study (1995) of in-migrants to Devon 'scenery' and 'way of life' were only chosen by 17% as the primary factors, but they were stated by 82% to be one of their reasons to move.

However research has shown that both of these motives can be interrelated. Halliday and Coombes (1995) tried to specify which motives related to 'push' factors (in relation

to the origin) or 'pull' factors (which helped to select the destination) were primary in the decision to migrate. They emphasised that many respondents were unable to give one main motive and suggested that pull and push factors should be analysed separately. i.e. factors encouraging movement from one area should be differentiated from those encouraging movement to another particular area.

Bolton and Chalkley (1990) also demonstrated that decisions to move to rural areas and decisions about moving into particular areas may be based on very different motivation factors and asking individuals 'why they migrated?' and 'why they migrated to e.g. Cornwall?' can provide largely different answers. Their case study of North Devon showed that the migrants to this region tended to leave their former areas for lifestyle and socio-environmental reasons, however, their choice of Devon was primarily motivated by job and housing-related reasons. This indicates that decision about migration should be analysed in their complexity and this approach has the potential to bring a deeper understanding of migration strategies.

1.2.5 Lifestyle migration

Lifestyle migration explanation of urban-rural shifts emphasise not only the importance of residential preferences but stress particularly the major role of lifestyle. The concept has been used to describe migration to Cornwall and in the context of development of 'lifestyle Cornwall'. This section presents some research and data related to the concept.

The concept of lifestyle migration has been mainly used and developed in an Australian context (Walmsley et al, 1998, Walmsley, 2003; Costello, 2007). It is based on the premises that there are new emerging values in a society in which lifestyle, facilitated by rising affluence, plays an increasingly important role. The basis of this argument can be traced to the post-industrial society concept. In their study of migration to Scotland Jones et al (1984) also emphasised 'growing concerns for quality of life considerations in mature capitalist societies'.

Walmsley (2003) argues that lifestyle-led, consumption orientated behavioural patterns are crucial to understanding society as a whole and such phenomena as migration. In his earlier work he argued that internal migration in Australia is increasingly influenced by lifestyle considerations (Walmsley et al, 1998). Jones et al (1984) also included

lifestyle and residential preferences as one of the two major factors explaining counterurbanisation in Scotland, however they considered factors generated by modern technological and economic forces as well. Nevertheless they concluded that 'while the economic structural context of mature capitalist societies help explain the material conditions that have enabled long-distance migration to the periphery, it does not account for the generating mechanism which must be sought within the dynamics of lifestyle reappraisal' (Jones et al, 1984: 441).

In the British context the lifestyle migration concept has been used mainly to describe migration abroad (O'Reilly, 2000; 'Wanted down under'). O'Reilly (2000) researched British people moving to Spain. Respondents emphasised the importance of the natural resources of Spain such as climate and landscape as well as resources of the settled British community and the local Spanish community. 'Wanted down under' was a TV programme which captured the decision making process of the families considering a move to Australia. It followed them during one week in the country focused on their consideration of migration. Important motives identified by many families were the work and life balance which they felt they could not achieve in their origin location. The trade off between economic position and lifestyle was clearly articulated by some families.

However in the majority of these studies the concept of lifestyle is not thoroughly discussed which undermines the links with other social constructs and its explanatory power. Walmsley (2003), who most explicitly discussed the theoretical aspects of the concept, emphasised the ambiguity of the term. It can be just assumed that lifestyle is seen as an expression of agency when Walmsley (2003) argues that 'it is likely that lifestyle rather than social status will become one of the key determinants of the shape of society. Already there is recognition of the importance of lifestyle and identity in the geography of contemporary society' (p 66).

That very individualistic approach has been challenged. Fielding (1982) argued that:

'Migrants are subject to powerful social and economic forces; they exercise their decision to move [...] within the tightening constraints of the law at the international level and within the limits set by wealth, income-earning capacity, qualifications and social status. These together determine how much 'freedom' they have in the

national job and housing markets. In short, the explanation of migration trends must be located in the social relations and social processes of the wider society and not in the motivations and aspirations of the individual migrant' (Fielding, 1982: 20).

Vartiainen, (1989) also emphasised that 'any interpretation of this [population turnaround] implies certain more fundamental socio-cultural associations which, if left unanalysed, would leave us with some pre-scientific presuppositions about the connection between social process and spatial form' (p 218)

The section presented more general and specific explanations of migration and counterurbanisation. These could be classified according to Vartiainen's (1989) distinction into two broad groups: objective (based on push and pull factors as external, economic driven) and subjective (emphasising changing preferences)

1.3 Migration studies

The discovery of the new patterns, including counterurbanisation, led to a crisis of the classical migration theory of push and pull factors (or the neoclassical cost and benefit model) which were always exclusively economic. The contradictory findings of the effect of wage differentials (Millington, 2000) undermined this universal law of determinants of migration.

'Migrants clearly do not respond mechanically to wage and employment differentials, if they ever did, they are not homogenous with respect to tastes and motivations, and the context within which they make their decisions are not the same. Recognition of these problems has led to a renewed interest in the nature of migrant decision-making, a reconceptualisation of the basic motivations that underlie geographic mobility, greater attention to the context within which the decisions are made, and more informed efforts to identify the specific social and economic dimensions that define the context' (Massey et al 1998: 15)

Massey et al (1998) as well as Grundy (1992) emphasise the limitations of universal explanations of human migration. The former argued that these theories were associated and reflected the industrial era and that a new understanding was needed for post-industrial processes. The critique of classical migration theories came also from the studies exploring non-economic factors influencing migration (Greenwood, 1985;

Williams and Jobes, 1990; Grundy, 1992). The recognition of life cycle, quality of life considerations and local natural amenities led to many new, fruitful research approaches.

Critiques of classical migration theory have led to greater recognition of the complexity of human migration. Cushing and Poot (2004) suggested that 'the notion of migration as a process of permanent population redistribution needs to be replaced by a new paradigm' (p 318). They pointed out that:

'Globalisation is leading to an intensifying exchange of professionals – the spatial relocation of whom is often better classified as temporary circulation rather than permanent migration. In addition, the growth of working holiday schemes, other temporary work schemes, the booming international market for educational services, and retirement migration all contribute to the growing complexity of population movement' (Cushing and Poot, 2004: 318).

The role of distance was re-examined in the light of the thesis announcing its 'death' (Cairncross, 2001) and the complexity of the temporal dimension was taken into account. Green A (2004) distinguishes migration which includes relocation of residence from circulation which includes all mobility apart from permanent change of residence (i.e. commuting, long-distance (weekly) commuting, short term assignments). Clark and Huang (2004) explored a classic distinction between short-distance migration and long distance migration and the relationship between them.

However that critique and focus on particular aspects of mobility outside a 'total' explanatory frameworks led also to fragmentation of migration research and it was in turn criticised. The need for a more holistic approach encompassing various forms of mobility was advocated by others (Shields and Shields, 1989; Massey, 1990; Cushing and Poot, 2004; Sheller and Urry, 2006).

In the search for a new and unified framework to understand human mobility most authors analysed the relationships between various theoretical approaches. Massey (1990) suggested construction of a theory that would incorporate multiple levels of analysis and bring together the various dimensions on which researchers disagree. He diagnosed the four dimensions of conflict and identified the first as disagreement

concerning time. This juxtaposes perspectives describing the patterns and processes of migration identified with specific time and place and those searching for more general models of mobility. The second dimension of conflict was described as concerning the locus of migratory action in which structural understanding opposes individual one. The third centred on the level of analysis in which explanations of migratory behaviour of individuals competed with explanations regarding households. And finally he distinguished the concerns emphasising causes and effects in which researchers disagree about whether migration is a cause or an effect of the transformation of receiving areas. Massey (1990) calls for the exploration of relationships between variables which affect one another across time and between levels of analysis by constructing multilevel models of migration.

Cushing and Poot (2004) call for 'spatial features of migration systems' to be explored to find a unified framework explaining internal as well as external migration. They again advocate building stronger foundations of migration research by combining various perspectives and better communication of research findings. They confirm the need for meta-analysis and the desire to build foundations out of that variable field.

An interesting approach making it possible to explore relationships between various forms of mobility such as migration and tourism was presented by Bell and Ward (2000). They applied a production-consumption framework in the analysis of human mobility revealing important relationships between temporary and permanent migration. Bell and Ward (2000) suggested a new approach to looking at mobility as a network of behaviour patterns where *'individuals combine different forms of mobility to optimize access to their network of activities in various life domains: work, leisure, health, education, family etc. Any disequilibrium, triggered endogenously by altered circumstances or aspirations, or by exogenous contextual forces, may lead to a shift in spatial behaviour'* (pp 104). It is one of the contributions to 'mobility turn' in social sciences (Sheller and Urry, 2006).

The significance of the debate on mobility has been emphasised by Milbourne (2007) who encouraged researchers of rural population change to engage in discourse about the new, wider mobility frameworks. In his article referring to 'migrations, movements and mobilities' he warned against marginalisation of various types of movements into, out of and within rural areas. However the idea of unifying and working towards such a

comprehensive framework is not appealing for everybody. In the context of rural studies Cloke (2006) postulates development of 'minor theory' and 'theoretical hybridization' which would be 'sufficiently relaxed to be able to recognise theory where it arises in unexpected forms and unanticipated locations' (p 26).

On the one hand there is a need for a more unified framework to research migration. 'What is needed now is for migration researchers in all fields to read more of one another's work and to spend more time thinking about how to integrate their theories and findings' (Massey, 1990: 19). On the other hand this needs to be done with greater account taken of the complexity of migration flows in a more contextual explanation of migration.

1.4 Impact of migration

The last section of this chapter refers to consideration in research of the impact of migration which is a key focus of this thesis in the context of Cornwall. The earlier sections presented the theoretical frameworks which considered the general phenomenon of migration as well as the particular concept of counterurbanisation as used in explanation of rural turnaround. This section focuses entirely on the implications of the process of migration into rural areas and its effect on rural areas. Although greater attention is given to the implications of in-migration, it is impossible to discuss its consequences without also taking into account the process of out-migration.

Greenwood (1985) emphasised that migration studies focus mostly on determinants as opposed to consequences. However within rural studies research on the effects of population change was included as one of the four principal research agenda in the migration literature review for DEFRA (Buller et al, 2003). As Champion (2005b) emphasised 'internal migration is a 'zero-sum game': any net migration gain in one area can take place only through a net loss somewhere else, with consequences for labour supply and the need for housing, schools, shops and other services' (p 92).

1.4.1 Demographic impact

One of the concerns most often raised is the consequences of migration for the age structure of rural communities. A report by the Commission of the European Communities (2008) focused on ageing as one of the biggest challenges for the EU. It

also recognised that this is a particular problem in rural areas as they experience out-migration of young people. However, not only out-migration affects the ageing of rural communities. As demonstrated by Champion and Shepherd (2006) the underlying causes of the older age structure of rural population result from general migration patterns. 'Once it was almost entirely due to rural exodus - especially of young adults who then raised families in urban areas. In more recent years, the effects of this exodus have been compounded by the 'counter-urbanisation' of retirees and the middle-aged' (p 2). Basing their projection of population change on the most recent trends (1993-2003) and under the assumption that age specific migration to rural areas will continue, they projected that by 2028 almost half of residents in the most rural districts will be aged 50 or over, and that other rural areas will experience a similar situation. This will represent a substantially higher proportion than in urban areas.

There is a 'tendency for non-metropolitan areas to be associated with family formation rather as a mirror-image to the metropolitan areas which are, of course, associated with career formation' (Fielding, 1998: 52). Champion and Shepherd (2006) also showed for the period 1993-2003 a growth in the proportion of children under 14 in rural areas when urban areas experienced a decline. However, they also claim that many of the children grow up to leave rural areas while their parents 'age in place'. Schmied (2005b) also points out that in-migration is not necessarily improving the demographic situation of rural areas, especially if it consists mainly of middle and old age migrants. She called the process in some areas 'geriatrification'.

The Commission of the European Communities (2008) expressed concerns about the economic growth potential of ageing communities and the likelihood of growing regional disparities. Schmied (2005b) and Buller et al (2003) emphasised the consequences for the demand for certain services. The problem of ageing associated in some areas with migration patterns brings another dimension to considerations about the impact of migration above the issue of growing population numbers.

1.4.2 Economic development

Population growth is considered to be associated with economic growth. Champion and Vanderhoff (1997) using the case study of Britain showed that there was a 'relatively strong' relationship between migration and economic growth, however, they were not

able to say 'whether this arises because of migration following job growth or the other way round'. Fielding (1990) showed that it was actually decentralisation and counterurbanisation that influenced the growth of employment in rural areas. There is more evidence showing that in-migration is a factor influencing job creation in the countryside (Keeble and Tyler, 1995; Snepenger et al, 1995; Buller et al, 2003; Bosworth, 2006), however, its extent and overall impact is much more disputed.

Research suggested that migration may influence the labour market in two ways: through demand for products and services from new residents and in a more direct way through the creation of new workplaces in the businesses started by in-migrants. Buller et al (2003) emphasised the job generating potential of self-employed migrants. They contended that every self-employed migrant to rural England generated 1.7 additional, full-time jobs. A similar estimate was found by Bosworth (2006) in his study in Northumberland. This revealed also that in-migrants were more likely to express the desire to develop their businesses than their local counterparts. However, it also showed that the majority of in-migrant firms did not employ anybody while this was much less common among local entrepreneurs. In the Scottish study by Findlay et al (2000) the job multiplier was lower at 0.77, however, it excluded jobs created and taken by the self-employed themselves which again demonstrated that in-migrants brought jobs to rural areas.

Different results were obtained in Scotland by Stockdale (2006) who found that very few in-migrants researched by her were self-employed. She argued that 'while in-migration does appear to be bringing in the required level of human capital in terms of highly qualified persons, there is little supporting evidence that as a group in-migrants are utilising their resources to establish local businesses' (p 364).

The research showed also that the employment growth potential of in-migration does not need to be associated with the economic motivation of migrants. Findlay et al (2000) showed that quality of life factors can also encourage self-employed in-migration. Their research in Scotland indicated that quality of life and economic growth can be complementary. This was demonstrated also by Snepenger et al (1995) who analysed business formation in the Greater Yellowstone area and found that 40% of businesses were owned by migrants and that they consisted of the variety of businesses diversifying

the local economy. They also found that for migrant entrepreneurs quality of life values were more important than traditional business values.

The relationship between creation of new employment and economic growth is, however, more complex. Fielding (1990) shows that, although decentralisation of industry since the 1960s has increased the work opportunities in rural areas, the type of employment created differed depending on location. Headquarters remained in metropolitan areas and employment requiring a higher skilled labour force was relocated to mainly accessible rural areas. The type of employment created in the more peripheral rural areas was associated mainly with routine activities. This naturally was reflected in the wages and therefore perpetuated the wage and income differences between urban areas, accessible rural areas and peripheral rural areas.

Also the job creation through demand for goods and services might not prove to be as beneficial for rural labour markets as the local population would wish. Findlay et al (2000) noted that most of the types of jobs resulting from consumer needs were low-skilled and part-time which again influenced the wages. They suggested that the job generation potential of self-employed migrants was greater than that associated with consumers' choices. Schmied (2005b) suggested the opposite, stating that locals benefited more from the increased demand of incomers for domestic help and other services than finding employment in firms created by in-migrants. Regardless the fact that she also mentioned that these jobs tended to be lower paid than jobs held by many incomers (Buller et al, 2003, Schmied, 2005b) Buller et al (2003) also pointed out low-paid, part-time employment resulted from the demand for services from new residents and disputed the beneficial aspects of demand for goods which depended on the shopping patterns and did not always benefit rural services. As a result 'benefits for the rural economy resulting from the new incomes associated with in-migration were less than might have been hoped' (Buller et al, 2003). Moreover the job generation potential of self-employed migrants was often limited as their businesses were often small, literally family businesses (Schmied, 2005b) and the Stockdale (2006) study in Scotland showed that self-employed in migrants represented 'one-person businesses'.

'Local area may have experience an overall economic 'up-lifting' but the local population needs not have profited fully from the employment opportunities created by in-migration' (Schmied, 2005b: 155).

The economic effects of migration are, however, not limited to the employment generated. Stockdale (2006) pointed out that economic diversification was influenced positively by in-migration. This point may be supported by Buller et al (2003) who stated that migration seems to strengthen existing labour market trends from employment in primary sectors into services.

On the other hand, as discussed in the section presenting demographic consequences, economic development may depend also on the demographic characteristics of migrants. The Commission of the European Communities (2008) suggested that the proportion of working age migrants among in-migrants might be an important aspect influencing economic development.

1.4.3 Housing

The most frequent cited consequences of net migration to rural areas relate to the housing market (Findley et al, 2000). Buller et al (2003) suggested that affordable housing is the most salient social issue arising from the migration into rural areas. There is a wealth of literature discussing the problem of access to rural housing (Shucksmith, 1981; DEFRA, 2006a; Monk et al, 2006; Commission for Rural Communities, 2008). The affordability of housing is associated with the house prices which paradoxically are higher in rural areas than in urban areas and have risen faster in rural areas (Commission for Rural Communities, 2008) while incomes are higher in metropolitan areas. The affordability of housing is measured by comparing average prices with average incomes. This reveals substantial regional differences (Wilcox, 2005) as well as differences between urban and rural housing markets (Commission for Rural Communities, 2008). In rural areas affordability was found to be of particular concern.

The phenomenon of rising house prices in rural areas and differences in affordability of housing between the cities and in the countryside are related to positive net migration rates in rural areas which resulted in a higher demand for rural housing (DEFRA, 2006a). The extent of in-migration is often presented as a primary factor which is responsible for

the rising housing prices in areas very often associated with low wages (Shucksmith, 1981, Schmied, 2005b) The rise in house prices and the decline in affordability in rural areas are also the effect of insufficient supply and planning restrictions However, the potential solutions for the problem based on the supply side (Barker, 2004, Schmied, 2005b) have been challenged by, for example, the SW RDA (2005) or Monk et al (2006) 'Using housing supply to address the affordability crisis [.] is less likely to prove effective' (SW RDA, 2005 17)

The Commission of Rural Communities (2008) relates house prices and the affordability of housing in rural areas also to two other factors characteristic of these housing markets. second homes and cash purchases As stated in the report both phenomena are more common in rural than urban areas The first one contributes to limiting the housing stock availability and the second influences house prices and disadvantages particularly young people Both processes again are related to migration into rural areas Taylor (2008) in his governmental review emphasises the problem of second homes in some communities and even suggests governmental control over further conversion of full time houses into holiday homes

The concern about the effect of migration on housing in rural areas often concentrates on the local population (Shucksmith, 1981, Buller et al, 2003, DEFRA, 2006a), especially young people at the household formation stage On the one hand declining affordability of housing disadvantaged particularly this group On the other hand it related to the differences in the purchase power between locals and the in-migrant population Many rural in-migrants were better off (Buller et al, 2003, Schmied, 2005b, DEFRA, 2006a) Moreover their advantages were associated not only with income but also with the fact that they were more often in the older age cohorts and less likely to be first time buyers (Burley, 2007) who experience a particularly difficult situation in rural housing markets (Commission for Rural Communities, 2008) The competition between local and migrant resident was also analysed by Champion et al (1998) who pointed out that 'newcomers to an area are not likely to fill exactly the housing spaces that are being vacated by those leaving that area but can be expected to interact with the effects of residential movements internal to that area' (p 33) They emphasised that the effects of migration is likely to be felt even in the areas of relative balance between in-migration and out-

migration, and that in the areas of the positive migration rates, such as Cornwall, they will be even greater. These issues are discussed in the context of Cornwall in chapter 2.

1.4.4 Social consequences

In the literature the discussion about social impact of in-migration into rural areas (and I would argue also out-migration) is almost exclusively around the changes to the social class composition of rural residents as a result of highly selective in-migration patterns. This phenomenon is researched as gentrification which is associated with the process of displacement of working class people by members of the middle classes (Phillips, 1993; 2009). In rural areas this process is directly linked to counterurbanisation. Fielding T (1998), analysing the changes in the South West of England, concluded that 'migration was a major contributor to the sharp shift in the South West region's class structure towards middle class' (p 53). Buller et al (2003) also pointed out the significance of the decline in unskilled manual workers in rural areas and linked it with the unavailability of affordable housing. This demonstrated the role of out-migration and not only in-migration in the process of changing the social structure of the countryside. However, as it was presented above, the problem of affordability of rural housing is linked to in-migration.

This rapid change in the social class composition of rural areas brings the risk of marginalisation of a large proportion of their residents. It may result in two major social consequences: deprivation and diverging rural ideologies.

The relationship between social class and deprivation was discussed by Payne et al (1996) who, although they disregarded the idea of 'deprivation as just an adjunct or by-product of class', acknowledged its primacy in explaining deprivation by indicating income differences and different propensities of becoming unemployed. Payne et al (1996) pointed out that in rural areas and small towns the unskilled labour force is associated with deprivation. The influx of higher social class individuals can contribute to the problem of deprivation becoming increasingly invisible (Burley, 2007).

Another social consequence of migration into rural areas is related to rural ideologies. The literature gives multiple examples of the differences in the perception of rural life between local and newcomer elements of the population researched especially in the British context (Phillips, 1993; Cloke et al, 1998a; Murdoch and Day, 1998; Buller et al,

2003, Schmied, 2005b) They are often represented as 'diverging ideas of what local development should look like' (Schmied, 2005b: 159)

'Equally important as a driver of marginalisation and exclusion, has been the construction and reinforcement of notions, images and ideologies of rural idyll and rural way of life which, by their very dominance and ubiquity, serve to exclude those for whom they are inaccessible' (Buller et al, 2003: 36)

1.4.5 Services

The size and characteristics of the population have a significant impact on public services. As migration influences very substantially the changes of both of these elements in rural areas, it can be considered to have a crucial effect on the changes in demand for various public services. In Britain heated public debates occur regarding proposals to close post-offices, rural shops, pubs and schools. As summarised by Schmied (2005b) in-migration in some cases prevented a further decline of services often connected with privatisation and deregulation measures, however correlation is not straightforward and 'increase in the number of rural residents does not necessarily mean an increase in the number of clients' (p 158). Buller et al (2003) cited an example of rural shops which do not necessarily benefit from increasing number of residents because of 'the strength of urban-based weekly shopping patterns'. They also stated that bus services were found to be underused by migrant households. Alongside these consequences migration can also affect many other aspects of everyday life such as voting, socialising, travelling etc.

The decline of services irrespective of the rising number of new residents might be particularly difficult for local people, especially those on low incomes who might be less mobile and elderly who may rely on close-by rural services such as shops or post-offices (Schmied, 2005b).

The changes to the profile of residents also altered the demand for services, particularly health and education services. Faster aging of rural communities (Champion and Shepherd, 2006) and the higher proportion of older cohorts moving to the countryside (Buller et al, 2003) have implications for closure of rural schools, which in turn make

villages even less attractive to young families, and increase the demand for healthcare services from new, older residents.

1.5 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the patterns, explanations and impact of internal migration flows in the developed countries and particularly in Britain where demographic change in the last few decades has been dominated by increased in-migration into non-metropolitan and rural areas. In that context the phenomenon of substantial and persistent population growth through in-migration in Cornwall is not unusual, however, it does not mean that there are no specific aspects related to that process. There is a need for better understanding of migration to various types of non-metropolitan areas including Cornwall. The analysis will take into account what is known about counterurbanisation and in general migration flows to non-metropolitan areas but at the same time more attention will be given to county specific characteristics.

Chapter 2: Cornish context- demographic and socio-economic changes in Cornwall

Cornwall, the subject of this study, is an example of a non-metropolitan county with an expanding population, and a suitable example to investigate migration which is the most significant element of its population growth. The advantage of this choice for the study of migration in non-metropolitan areas is the fact that population growth in the county was exceptional in the rate of expansion and preservation of the counterurbanisation pattern. Perry et al (1986) emphasised that 'from 1961 to 1981 population [in Cornwall] grew by a quarter and the rate of increase in the 1970s was double that of Devon and the South West region as a whole' (p 24). Mitchell (1993) presented the persistence of the population growth pattern between 1961 and 1991 and Burley (2007) showed its continuation in the decade 1991-2001. In addition, the distinctive character of the place which is a relatively self-contained, with a strong territorial identity makes it a very interesting area to study.

The use of counties as study areas is not without problems. In internal migration studies analysis has to adopt boundaries which are to some extent arbitrary. It is preferable that they reflect functional sub-regions as much as possible but this can mean that they are artificial in other respects. For example a significant number of people from south east Cornwall commute for work to the large city of Plymouth in Devon which results in some short term migration moves rather different in character from those to and from the rest of Cornwall. The use of the county boundaries did not allow studying these particular movements. Nevertheless in this project there were considerable advantages in using county boundaries.

This chapter describes the socio-economic characteristics of Cornwall in order to explain the context of how the study of population change in this county can contribute to understanding of population change in non-metropolitan areas more generally. It presents geographical, demographic, economic, social and environmental characteristics which are common to non-metropolitan areas in the UK and also those which are unique for Cornwall.

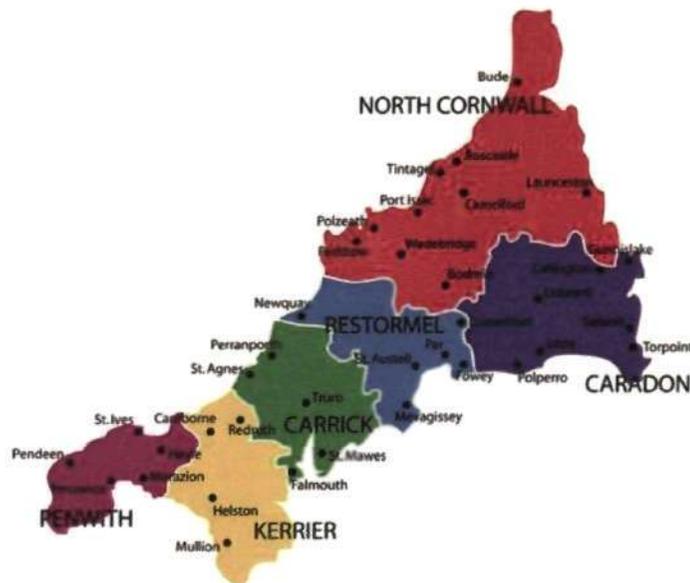
Researchers of rural population change point out the importance of context for the study of this process (Vartiainen, 1989; Stockdale et al., 2000). Spencer (1995) argued that although 'counterurbanisation has captured the imagination of geographers [...who ...] paint a broadbrush picture of the spatial outcome of urban-rural population transfers [...], the uneven development of rural localities is still rather sketchily portrayed and explained' (p 153). This chapter aims to capture the context which is necessary to depict the process of population change accurately. Although the study concentrates on the socio-economic aspects of migration to Cornwall in the last three decades, it is necessary to locate the picture of population change within the broader historical Cornish context. The wider historical perspective makes it possible to compare, mark the changes and illustrate the complexity of the reality. As a result it deepens understanding of the process of migration as an essentially historical system.

The Cornish context is defined in terms of those geographical, demographic, economic, social and environmental aspects which were selected as the most valuable to assist the understanding of migration issues. The first part describes the location of the county and discusses the issue of rurality. It also considers settlement structure. The geographical context shows the limitations of using too broad categories such as a region or rural area in the analysis and shows how greater attention to detail can deepen our understanding of the processes. This is followed by discussion of the demographic context which illustrates trends in population numbers and presents findings of earlier research on migration which informed the research design of this project. It allows demonstration of how this project can increase knowledge about migration in Cornwall. The next section describes the economic context which is a factor most frequently used in seeking to explain migration and population trends. It focuses particularly on the roles of manufacturing and tourism. Development of tourist industry and decline of manufacturing in recent decades were used in the literature to explain migration trends in Cornwall. The development and decline of these industries was also argued to influence other aspects of the local economy which are hypothesised to influence migration, such as employment structure and income levels. The next section describes the social context and discusses the issue of territorial identity and the impact of migration on social life and particularly housing. The last section presents some data about the environmental attractiveness of Cornwall and discusses the importance of this aspect in consideration of migration.

2.1 Geographical context

The area of interest, Cornwall, is defined not on the basis of artificially drawn borders but as a distinct historic and cultural community. As identified by Coombes (2000) a locality, which is the subject of a research should be 'an area [...] within which particular socio-economic processes have created a distinct set of circumstances and pattern of interaction which, at that time, constitute a separably identifiable part of the country' (p 1500). Cornwall is such a well defined locality.

Figure 2.1. Map of Cornish districts. Historical local authorities (before April 2009)⁴



Source: http://www.rightcareindex.com/images/map_images/cornwall/large_map.gif

Because it is at the extremity of a peninsula, it is a self-contained, non-metropolitan area. Links with metropolitan areas throughout the country were analysed by SQW and Cambridge Economics (2006) and presented in their City Region Classification of local authorities. This identified only 1 out of 6 Cornish districts⁵ as being part of a city region i.e. Caradon. The district is on the border with Devon and it is adjacent to the city of

⁴ On 1st April 2009 a unitary council for Cornwall took effect and district councils were abolished. Most analysis based on the 2001 Census refers to district data, however in the thesis area type classification is used instead of district boundaries and for that reason data for districts are not reported.

⁵ The analyses were performed before 2009 and in Cornwall they refer to districts.

Plymouth. More detailed analysis revealed that 23.7% of its working residents commute to Plymouth and about 4% further away from Cornwall (Exeter and London). Analysis of commuting data of another district on the border of Cornwall – North Cornwall – showed that here only about 1.7% of workers commuted to the nearest city which is Plymouth. Very few residents of North Cornwall commute out of Cornwall and this district was not included in any city region. However, Plymouth is an important focus for employment and education for a catchment area which includes south east Cornwall. This results in a pattern of short distance migration within the catchment area, including moves in and out of the former Caradon district, which are substantially different in character from the larger number of long distance moves experienced throughout Cornwall. Although the significance of these moves is substantial at district level, at county level its statistical importance diminishes considerably. Therefore they should not distort seriously conclusions drawn from analysis of migration to and from the five types of area defined for the purpose of this project.

In addition to its self-containment, the peripherality of Cornwall is also very important. It is over 6 hours by car or 3,5 hours by train from London to its Eastern border. It is also more than 128 miles from any principal cities in Great Britain. This was presented by Ball (1996) as a set of objective measures of peripherality. Although, as he emphasised, the concept itself has 'uncertain definition and imprecise conception', Cornwall is presented in his article as an objectively peripheral area. Peripherality can be interpreted not only in a geographical sense (in the context of distance from metropolitan areas and markets) but also in its economic position. Havinden et al (1991), who compared Brittany, Cornwall and Devon, argued that 'periphery [is] not being fixed status, but evolutionary concept, presenting phases of increasing or lessening degrees of marginalisation of the relevant region' (pp 37). On that basis they classified all three areas as peripheral.

2.1.1 Cornwall as part of the South West Region

In the context of statistical representation the most significant aspect of Cornwall's location is the fact that it is part of the South West region. This fact and the idea of the West Country has been challenged in some more peripheral counties of the region. Meethan (1998) supported the argument about the lack of unity within the South West on identity grounds. 'Whatever and wherever West Country is, it is not a coherent and discrete entity to which residents feel a sense of attachment' (pp 586). Havinden et al

(1991) commenting on Cornwall and Devon called their inclusion in the South West a form of colonialism, 'statistical oppression' in the context of the relative prosperity of the rest of the South West. This thesis refers to that economic disparity within the region, which however is not matched by differences in migration patterns, and compares Cornwall with Wiltshire (described in more detail in chapter 4). It demonstrates the substantially different economic position of the counties in the South West. The situation of Cornwall is even less accurately presented when discussion moves to comparison of the North and South of England and Cornwall is included in the much more economically prosperous South.

In addition, it should be emphasised that combining Cornwall and Devon in one structure has also often been opposed in Cornwall (Deacon, 1993). Creation of the so called 'Devonwall' was said to economically disadvantage Cornwall and ignore its separate territorial identity. The discussion reappeared when the European Union decided to treat Cornwall and Devon as two distinct NUTS regions for the purpose of assessing where regional assistance should be given. This meant that Cornwall but not Devon became an Objective One region, receiving assistance at the highest level. This rationale for considering county level application had its supporters and opponents. Gripaios and McVittie (2003) criticised splitting Cornwall and Devon and claimed that politics rather than economics determined the drawing of these boundaries. They argued that extensive net commuting from Cornwall to Plymouth meant that the whole area should be considered as one sub-region, although this could be challenged as shown in the previous section. They disregarded also the issue of a separate territorial identity in two areas. Treating Cornwall as a separate area was, however, strongly supported by Cornwall County Council.

2.1.2 Cornwall as a rural county

Population change in Cornwall is considered in the context of rural turnaround. This has several rationale. Cornwall includes some non-metropolitan urban centres, however most earlier research used district level data and all 6 Cornish districts are classified by ONS as rural (Champion and Shepherd, 2006).

Defining rural areas is not straightforward. The ONS classification of local authorities (LA) identifies LAs as rural on the basis of the proportion of their population living in rural

areas (Champion and Shepherd, 2006). The classification distinguishes three types of rurality. Significant rural areas must meet a minimum criterion that the proportion of the population living in rural settlements is higher than national average. Rural 50 local authorities are characterised by the fact that more than 50% of their population live in rural settlements and in Rural 80 local authorities at least 80% live in such areas. According to this classification, 5 out of 6 Cornish districts (Penwith, Carrick, Restormel, Caradon and North Cornwall) are classified as the most rural (Rural 80). One district (Kerrier) was classified as Rural 50 (Champion and Shepherd, 2006). This demonstrates that Cornwall is very rural, in addition to having a peripheral location.

A different approach to classifying rural areas was advocated by Lowe and Ward (2007). Their classification of districts departed from the settlement principle and it was based on 'the concept of the 'differentiated countryside''. It aimed to classify rural social change and devise a typology of rural areas which would represent it. They considered changes in the agriculture sector, rural economies, social values, leisure consumption and demographic change. This resulted in a sevenfold typology:

- dynamic commuter areas,
- settled commuter areas
- dynamic rural areas,
- deep rural areas,
- retirement retreats,
- peripheral amenity areas,
- transient rural areas.

According to this classification, the majority of Cornish districts are 'retirement retreat' areas (Caradon, Kerrier, Penwith and Restormel) which are characterised by economic structures 'driven by retirement related services such as health, social care and leisure responding to the high proportion of retirees' (pp 20). Only one district was classified as 'deep rural' (North Cornwall) characterised by dominance of farming together with tourism. As stated by Lowe and Ward (2007) '[deep rural] resonate most closely with popular perception of the 'traditional' countryside [...in which...] the statistics might indicate that social and economic conditions were maintaining a steady equilibrium' (p 19). One district was classified as 'settled commuter' (Carrick) which is described as being 'on the edges of provincial conurbations' and as being 'affluent, mobile and

culturally diverse'. The fact that the authors used local authority level data has shortcomings which are discussed in section 3.3.1 which introduces ward level classification suggested in this project. The fact that Carrick was classified as a settled commuter area is a result of the 'Truro effect' (Burley, 2007), the fact that it includes Truro, the administrative centre of Cornwall. It is also likely that classification of Restormel as a retirement retreat area was influenced by the presence of Newquay which is one of the major tourist resorts of Great Britain. The classification is further discussed in chapter 8 in the context of the classification developed for this project.

Lowe and Ward's typology, although it is only at a local authority geographical level uses demographic, economic and social criteria including migration as a very important component. It shows 'a map of the socio-economic geography of rural England' (Lowe and Ward, 2007: 15).

2.1.3 Rural and urban areas in Cornwall

Cornwall is 'officially' a rural county, however, the settlement pattern within the county is much more varied. Perry et al (1986) described it as 'distinctive semi-urban settlement pattern' (p 42). 'What gave the territory its distinctive character was its configuration of independent minded, self-contained 'city states' of roughly equal size' (Perry, 1993: 28). This has prevented the development of a single urban growth centre in the county.

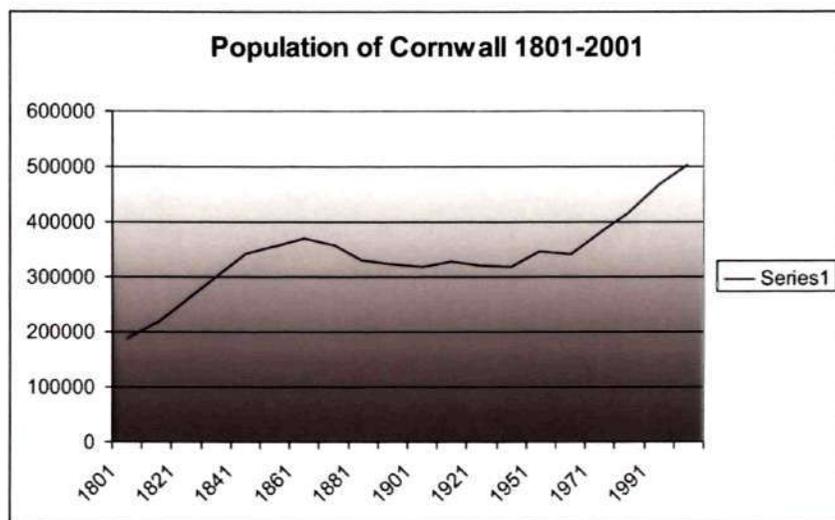
Perry et al. (1986) distinguished two important factors which determined the settlement structure in Cornwall. The first was the earlier economic development (described in section 2.3.1) which led to greater urbanisation of the western part of the county. This resulted in the fact that 2/3 of the population of Cornwall live west of Truro. The second was the environment which led to people-led seaboard growth.

2.2 Demographic context

The demographic context is the most directly connected with migration. Migration is one of the population change components (alongside birth and death rates) affecting not only the number but also the composition of the population. In Cornwall in the last 200 years the demographic picture presents considerable variability in population trends and shows that population trends in Cornwall were very different from those in England. The first precise data on population numbers are from 1801, when the first National Census

was carried out. The population curve for 19th and 20th century in England reflects continuous and steady growth while in Cornwall, as presented in figure 2.1, this curve was much more dramatic and variable (ONS, 2001).

Figure 2.2 Population of Cornwall 1801-2001



Source: based on data presented in ONS (2001)

Mitchell (1993) distinguished 3 demographically significant periods in Cornwall before World War II. The first period - 1801-41 - was a time of industrial development and mining prosperity which also experienced high natural population growth. In the whole of Britain the first half of the 19th century was characterised by population growth which was largely the result of improvements in medical care and reduced mortality rates. The second period -1841-61 - was characterised by balance between births and deaths but the total population of Cornwall started to decrease as an effect of out-migration fuelled by development of the global economy (overseas discovery of rich and easily accessible copper ores) which started to have a marginalisation effect on Cornwall's economy and mining (Payton, 2004). The third period in Mitchell's classification (1861-1939) was characterised by a significant population decline caused by large scale out-migration which outweighed natural growth.

Data published by ONS (2001) presenting census figures (as in the graph above) confirms that the second half of 19th century was a time of depopulation in Cornwall. The financial crisis of 1866 had finally caused a crash in the mining industry which

resulted in closure of many Cornish mines at the same time as severe winters affected agriculture and fishing. These were the most important factors leading to emigration on an incredible scale (Payton, 2004). The scale of out-migration left its marks not only on the demographic and economic situation of the county but also on cultural aspects and ethnic identity. James-Korany (1993) claimed that 'the concept of emigration as somehow naturally accepted and on-going phenomenon formed an integral part of the *Cornish psyche. Emigration left complex social, cultural and economic traces on the Cornish homeland*' (p 31).

At the same time in the middle of the 19th century in Cornwall there appeared a new development with the potential to influence positively future demographic change, namely the construction of Brunel's Rail Bridge in 1859 which connected Cornwall with the rest of England, and made Cornwall less inaccessible and less remote. As a result at the end of the 19th century the first tourists and artists arrived in Cornwall. Perry et al (1986) argued that their numbers were few at that time but often they were influential visitors. This complicates a general picture of decline. Between 1891 and 1911 32 parishes showed increases in their population (CCC, 1952). They were not random but rather indicative of particular changes which affected some parts of Cornwall. One third of them could be classified as coastal resorts, the other thirds were connected with the development of the china-clay region and urbanisation. Although there were areas in Cornwall which showed signs of population increase, they were very limited and the general picture of the demographic situation at the beginning of the 20th century showed the trends of decline and depopulation.

The rapid decline stopped at the beginning of the 20th century, and the population then remained fairly static until the Second World War which marked another period of change. The Second World War brought to Cornwall a large number of evacuees and armed forces some of whom stayed after the war (Mitchell, 1993). The next Census in 1951 showed that the population of Cornwall had grown in the post war period, however, the areas which had experienced population growth were limited mostly to coastal areas. The same pattern continued in the 1950s when the picture of relative balance between births and deaths was complemented by significant in-migration to coastal areas. The population of coastal parishes increased by 55% in the first half of the 20th century

(Perry, 1993). However, overall population numbers in Cornwall remained static in the first half of the 20th century.

The changes which Cornwall has experienced from the 1960s are striking in the context of previous population trends. They have reversed the trends in the previous century. Cornwall's population increased from 340,000 in 1961 to 501,000 (around 32%) by 2001 solely as a result of in-migration (Williams, 2003). This change is even more significant when it is taken into account that net increase conceals two sizeable flows of people: into and out of the county. The emigration of the Cornish did not stop and the gain did not result from a fall in the number of people leaving, but from a rise in the numbers of people coming in. Census data for the periods 1971-81 and 1981-91 show sizeable outflows from Cornwall accounting for 11% of the net population each time (Williams, 2003). The phenomenon surprised even Cornwall County Council planners. In 1979 projections of migration on the 1961-66 rate as well as projections based on 1966-71 migration rate (which was much higher) underestimated population growth in Cornwall in the 1970s and 1980s (Calder, 1979). Moreover population growth due to in-migration continues. Between 2001 and 2004 alone it rose by 2.7% and projections assume continued growth of population (Miller, 2006).

2.2.1 Migration to Cornwall – previous studies

This section focuses on the findings of previous research about this last demographic period i.e. population growth and particularly migration. Migration in Cornwall brought a lot of academic attention (Perry et al, 1986; Williams, 2000; Burley, 2007). The studies analysing population growth in Cornwall concentrated on in-migration and the main findings are presented below. The section demonstrates what is already known about migration and migrants in the county. Williams (2000), analysing longitudinal data for 1971-91, demonstrated that the characteristics associated with in-migrants did not vary much over the 20 years period.

2.2.1.1 In-migrants to Cornwall preferred environmentally attractive areas

Perry's research (1993) from the 1980s suggested that migration to Cornwall shows unique spatial characteristics. His survey showed that in-migrants were not evenly distributed within Cornwall. 2/3 moved to environmentally attractive areas. The thesis about the lifestyle motivation of migrants to Cornwall appeared earlier in Perry et al

(1986) Their survey including questions about the motivation to migrate confirmed environmental attractiveness as an important motive (42% respondents choose that answer) The Peoples' Panel conducted by Cornwall County Council in 2005 repeated that question and showed that over a half (54.8%) of working age migrants to Cornwall choose preferred environment as one of their motives (as presented in table 2.1)⁶

Table 2.1 Motivation of migrants to Cornwall in 1984 and 2005

Percentage of respondents choosing that motivation as one of the important reasons for moving (%)	West Cornwall Study	Peoples Panel
	1984	2005
Preferred environment	42	55
Rejoin relatives/ friends	40	26
Escape urban rat race	39	27
Enjoyed previous holidays	38	27
Better job prospects (this option was not included in 2005)	34	-
Return to homeland	30	18
Preferred climate	23	31
Better for children	21	27
Cheaper housing	12	10
Posted/ transferred to Cornwall	11	25
Better for retirement	10	19
Better for health	8	29
Better wages	3	0
Better housing	3	3

Source. Perry et al (1986), Table 18; Burley (2007), Figure 4.5

However the lifestyle migration thesis as an explanation of migration of working age population was challenged (Fielding, 1982, Moseley, 1984) It is partly the effect of more critical approach to studying motivation which has its methodological problems as discussed in section 1.2.4⁷ Moreover the hypothesis is difficult to test due to complexity and ambiguity of the term lifestyle (discussed in section 1.2.5) Environmental attractiveness is not the only dimension of this concept Even the motivation question discussed here included few other aspects strongly related to lifestyle The role of

⁶ Options to choose from were given to respondents as presented in Table 2.1

⁷ It is worth noting that motivation cannot be used as an ultimate explanation of migration

environment is stressed due to its significance in long distance migration and its particular importance in Cornwall.

2.2.1.2 In-migrants favoured Eastern parts of Cornwall closer to metropolitan areas

Spatial variations appeared also in terms of districts on the East to West continuum. The eastern districts adjoining Devon experienced higher levels of in-migration in the period 1971-91 (Williams et al, 1995). This suggests that accessibility influenced the levels of in-migration, at least in the early part of the period studied in this thesis. However more recent analyses (Miller, 2006; Burley, 2007) suggest that district level differences do not depend any more on the distance from Devon and the rest of England.

2.2.1.3 Migrants were of working age

The hypothesis that high levels of in-migration to economically disadvantaged but environmentally attractive Cornwall were the effect of retirement migration has been rejected (Perry et al, 1986; Williams et al, 1995; Williams and Champion 1998). Although the number of retirees was higher among in-migrants compared to indigenous population, the vast majority of migrants were of working age. 'The general picture was thus one of a large influx of parents with their teenage children and somewhat smaller influx of retirees' (Perry et al, 1986). Perry et al (1986) also pointed to evidence of the phenomenon of pre-retirement migration to Cornwall.

2.2.1.4 Migrants occupied higher socio-economic position

It has been well documented that the socio-economic position of in-migrants to rural areas differed from that of long-term residents (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Williams and Jobes, 1990; Chaney and Sherwood, 2000). Bolton and Chalkley's (1990) called it 'middle-class bias'. Perry et al. (1986) described the in-migrants as: "middle-class, middle-aged, middle-browed city dwellers". Not only British studies demonstrated significant differences between migrants and local people. Williams and Jobes (1990) referred to such findings in the United States.

Many studies also provided evidence of the higher socio-economic status of migrants to Cornwall compared to local residents (Perry et al, 1986; Mitchell, 1993; Williams, 2000). In-migrants were characterised by higher education and top socio-economic occupations while non-migrants were bottom in all these respects. Return migrants occupied the

middle ground (Perry et al, 1986) Socio-economic position was often used as an explanatory variable alongside owner-occupation (in which respect migrants were also more favoured) to show the more disadvantaged situation of the local population Their socio-economic position was related to age structure which meant that migrants had a higher proportion in older working age groups than locals, they were individuals who had moved up the career ladder Although 70% of incomers were still economically active, only 10% were under 30 (Perry et al, 1986)

2.2.1.5 Migrants were less likely to be economically active

Most in-migrants were of working age but they showed lower levels of economic activity than in England and Wales and even lower than the non-migrant population in Cornwall (Williams and Champion, 1998, Williams, 2003) Williams et al (1995)⁸ reported that in 1971, before coming to Cornwall, only 1.6% of migrants were unemployed, but when enumerated in Cornwall in 1981 7.2% were unemployed as compared to 4.7% of the long term population Their study revealed also that although migrants were more likely to be in households without earners, they were less likely to have a job-seeker in the household

Low rates of economic activity among migrants in Cornwall puzzled the researchers (Williams and Champion, 1998, Burley, 2007) who considered whether it was an effect of voluntary decisions or the condition of the local economy The question has not been fully answered and remains an interesting aspect to investigate

2.2.1.6 Out-migrants were economically disadvantaged or students

Out-migrants differed from in-migrants and non-migrants in two important respects They were more likely to originate from economically disadvantaged households (households with no earners and with job-seekers), and they were more likely to be students (Williams, 2000) The out-migrants were mainly young people, 15-29 years old (Williams et al, 1995). This suggested that lack of appropriate educational provision and economic prospects were determinants for leaving Cornwall However the large scale of out-migration has been hidden in net population growth The process of out-migration of young people aged 15-30 has significantly slowed down since 2002 (Miller, 2006) which

⁸ Williams et al's (1995) study was based on the ONS LS data which is also the main data source of this project

can be correlated with the Combined Universities in Cornwall initiative which has provided major, higher and further educational opportunities in the county:

2.2.2 Explanation of migration to Cornwall- previous studies

2.2.2.1 Spatial division of labour

Although classic economic theory does not give a full explanation of the high levels of in-migration to Cornwall, there is evidence that part of this flow was economically motivated. Perry et al (1986) argued that between 1960 and 1975 flows of migration into Cornwall were strongly influenced by the economic revival that was taking place in the county (regional aid programmes, expanding mining and tourism).

Cornwall was granted development area status in the early 1960s. The county attracted manufacturing companies and manufacturing employment rose by nearly 60% up to the mid-70s (Perry, 1993). New companies required skilled workers which the local labour market lacked and they brought in around 10% of their labour requirements, mainly managers and specialist operatives from outside (Williams, 2003). Regional aid programmes were complemented by the government's population-led growth policy which was most crucially adopted by Cornwall County Council. It assumed that encouraging an inflow of new consumers would prove an engine to economic growth. However Perry (1993) argued that population-led growth brought both buoyancy of employment and a rise in unemployment. Between 1961-91 employment opportunities rose much more than in the UK as a whole, however, the inflow of migrant workers to Cornwall outstripped the rise in the number of jobs available. Some new jobs had been generated, especially in the tourist industry but many represented lower-paid and lower skilled, part-time, seasonal and casual work. That is why population-led growth was accused of creating unemployment and depressing earnings. Mitchell (1993) argued that 'the cure might be worse than the disease' (p 144).

The period of branch factory growth in Cornwall was very brief (section 2.3.1) but population growth remained a permanent feature in Cornwall. On the whole the employment structure in the county remained disadvantageous and earnings much below the England and Wales average (section 2.3.3). It leaves the increase in migration to Cornwall contrary to economic theories. The local labour market offered much worse opportunities than in the areas they moved from. This contradicts the proposition that

economic motivation, commonly associated with better wages or work prospects, is the primary factor encouraging moves. However, this does not exclude possibility that some migrants came to Cornwall for other economic reasons, such as to invest in housing, land or businesses.

2.2.2.2 House prices

The house price differential is mentioned by many authors as an additional motivation to migrate (Perry et al, 1986, Halliday and Coombes, 1995, Williams et al, 1995, Williams, 2003, Buller et al, 2003). Champion et al (1998) stated that South East house price changes are one of the vital drivers of migration within England. Especially for a few years in the late 1980s the migration to South West England had been fuelled by house price differentials. Mitchell (1993) reported that, at the start of this process (when the difference was the largest), 'owner occupiers in the South East found that their houses, which in the past had typically been worth 25% or so more than those in Cornwall, were now worth 70% more' (p 143). This created an immediate additional motive for migration and the years 1987/88 saw exceptionally high levels of in-migration (8000 migrants) (Mitchell, 1993). This short term differential had almost closed by 1998 (Williams, 2003).

2.2.2.3 Counterurbanisation

Perry et al (1986) argued that the counterurbanisation model fitted very well with the pattern of population change in Cornwall, pointing out that rapid population growth happened after a century of continuous decline and that change was largely due to in-migration and *not an imbalance between births and deaths*. What is more the principal cause of turnaround was the movement of an economically active part of the population to Cornwall.

The counterurbanisation model explains migration as a result of people's preference for living in smaller size settlements. In terms of studies investigating the motivation of migrants to Cornwall Mitchell (1993) referred to 4 studies carried out in the 1970s and 1980s. Most of them emphasised prominence of socio-environmental factors, however, it should be noted that one study from the mid 1980s presented contradictory findings with job-related reasons emerging as the most significant. Cornwall County Council often refers to the importance of environmental factors (Barrington, 1976). 'There is evidence

that Cornwall attracts people who set a high value on non-economic factors such as environment or family ties: two-thirds of inward migrants were influenced more by these factors than by economic ones such as better wages or cheaper housing, while only a sixth were influenced to move to Cornwall predominately by economic considerations' (Barrington, 1976, p 4). Perry et al (1986) in their counterurbanisation survey reported that 'push' as well as 'pull' factors had been strongly influenced by lifestyle considerations. Although job prospects were also significant, they were of secondary importance.

2.2.2.4 Tourism

There is a lot of evidence that tourism was an important factor in the growth of immigration to Cornwall from the 1960s (Williams, 2003). Theoretical links between tourism and increased in-migration can be found in Wolpert's 'action space' (Boyle et al, 1998b). He argues that possible destinations of migrants are restricted by their knowledge of particular places. Migrants tend to relocate to familiar places. Ties with places such as knowledge about areas gained during holidays influences decisions about destination. Tourism is not the only source of knowledge for migrants but it is important to note that it is one of them. Perry et al.'s (1986) survey proved that many of the in-migrants experienced holidays in Cornwall prior to their decision to migrate. Another confirmation of this process is Ireland's (1987) holiday home cycle. He describes it as moving from renting holiday homes to buying them and finally retiring there. However not all in-migrants influenced in their decision by holiday experience start their move with buying a holiday home in the area.

Tourism can also contribute to population growth by building the image of a place offering a high quality of life. These 'imagined spaces of tourism' can contrast with 'lived spaces of inhabitants'. That is why Meethan (1998) suggests that Cornwall is seen as offering high quality of life which may contribute to continuous population growth irrespective of its poor economic situation.

2.3 Economic Context

Migration is presented as a process stimulated by the economy in a wide plethora of theories. Therefore this section presents selected aspects of economic conditions in Cornwall. Some themes appear persistently throughout the last two centuries: mining/

manufacturing and tourism, low-wages and unemployment Cornwall possesses unique characteristics of remote rural areas, coastal tourist areas and old industrial sites. To understand Cornwall's economic context a number of factors have to be considered. In the first two sub-sections of this part of the thesis the discussion focuses on the historical development and impact of the three industrial sectors which have been the most significant in shaping the Cornish economy: mining, manufacturing and tourism. The last section describes the economic context for the period 1971-2001 which is the focus of this research project.

2.3.1. Industrialisation and deindustrialisation- mining and manufacturing in the history of Cornwall

Payton (2004) and Perry (1987), analysing economic processes, distinguished a set of periods of Cornish economic fortunes. The first period was marked by industrial prowess before the crisis in mining. The economic history of nineteenth and early twentieth century Cornwall was dominated by progress and decline of mining enterprises. From the 18th century mining (mostly tin and copper) was the most significant industry in the Cornish economy and played a very important role in Cornish history and defining the identity of the Cornish people. Cornwall was very rich in minerals and it had an ancient tradition of extracting tin and copper. The deep mining revolution 'brought this peripheral region on the edge of Europe' (Deacon and Payton, 1993: 64) and made Cornwall one of the first regions in the world to experience industrialisation (Payton, 2004). By 1750 25% of the population depended on copper and tin mining (Deacon and Payton, 1993). Extraction of china clay started much later but it had become an established industry by the 1820s, and it continues to play a major role in the Cornish economy today (Payton, 2004). Mining is still mentioned as one of the basic Cornish industries (CIDA, 1976) next to agriculture and tourism. It proves the importance of mining for Cornwall even though its real importance has diminished greatly.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the decline in mining caused a crisis in the Cornish economy. This had a huge impact on social life leading to large scale unemployment, poverty and migration. The Cornish economy was too dependent on mining (Payton, 2004) and the closure of the mines caused large scale out-migration of Cornish miners to other mining areas throughout the world (Payton, 2005), which marked the beginning of the period of depopulation in Cornwall. Cornwall did not recover

from this economic paralysis until the Second World War. Although the First World War brought a demand for tin, it was a very short term demand. 'Government's policy was to exploit Cornish mines rather than develop them. [...] The price of tin had been pegged at an artificially low level' (Payton, 2004: 239). It caused closure of further mines after the war and worsened the economic situation in the inter-war period which was a time of extreme hardship in Cornwall. Unemployment in 1930-33 rose in Cornwall to 21.6% while it was 18.8% for England. It affected worst old mining localities like Redruth where unemployment hit 32.9% (Payton, 2004).

The Second World War marked a period of change in Cornwall. The economy received a boost from evacuees, workers in key occupations and increases in manufacturing including shipbuilding and engineering (Payton, 2004). However the post-war period brought restrictions on regional production and return of evacuated firms to their original location. High levels of unemployment returned to Cornwall. The economic boom in Britain between 1952 and 1960 missed many parts of the UK including Cornwall where industrial employment dropped from over 25,000 to 20,000 with diminishing importance of ship repairing and engineering (Perry, 1987). 'In the 1950s Cornwall retained a kind of ossified semi-rural, semi-industrial culture based on farming, fishing, mining and Methodism' (Perry, 1987: 36).

From the 1960s until the mid 1970s the Cornish economy showed signs of recovery. In response to large territorial inequalities the government introduced regional development policy. Areas identified mainly on the basis of high unemployment had been granted Special Development Area status (introduced in 1967 to deal with localities and included Falmouth- Camborne district for most of the 60s, 70s and 80s) (Payton, 2004). Regional development policy included financial incentives for companies which moved to Development Areas. So called branch plants initially appeared to be very successful in Cornwall. In the 1960s and up to mid-1970s manufacturing employment rose by nearly 60% (Perry, 1993). In the 1960s it rose by over 6% p.a. which was nearly four times faster than in any other Development Area (CIDA, 1976). This was accompanied by sudden growth in population numbers due to in-migration, which on the one hand was seen as an effect and stimulant of economic growth, but on the other hand prevented a reduction of unemployment by increasing the number of working age people in the labour market (Perry, 1993).

The period of economic growth came to a halt in the mid 1970s as a result of the oil crisis following the Yom Kippur war. Economic as well as political changes (change of government) brought large scale regional aid to an end. Most of the branch plants closed and many manufacturing jobs were lost. As a result unemployment rates in Cornwall exceeded 20% by the middle of the 1980s. The long term effectiveness of branch factories had been undermined first of all by a general decline in the British economy but also the withdrawal of government support (CIDA, 1976, Perry, 1987; Gripaos, 1984, Payton, 1993a). Peripheral areas were exceptionally vulnerable and uneven geographical development remained a characteristic of the British economy. 'Core localities have gained proportionately more non-routine and technologically advanced production units, while relocated plants in peripheral regions have tended to be far more involved in routine production activities' (Gorton et al., 1998: 220). This way they continued to have a negative effect on levels of wages (CIDA, 1976). As reported by Perry (1987) only 52% of branch factories survived till 1985. The process was also examined by Gripaos (1984) who explained the decline as an effect of weak links with the local economy. Perry (1987) concluded that the effect of branch plants was overall negative from the point of view of the local economy and local people. 'At the beginning of the 1960s Cornish unemployment was roughly double the national average (Cornwall 4%, UK 2%). At the end of the period of expansion in the mid 1970s it again reached double the British rate' (Perry, 1987: 38), but this time it was 12% in Cornwall compared with 6% in the UK. Cornwall faced high unemployment rates and low GVA per head throughout the 1980s and 1990s (tables 4.3 and 4.4 in chapter 4). This did not, however, lead to a reversal of migration trends.

2.3.2. Holiday industry - economic, demographic and social effects

The increase of employment in the services sector and the decline of manufacturing were experienced in the whole national economy (Allen, 1988). However in Cornwall the services sector was largely identified with expansion of the tourist industry. The development of tourism and the impact of tourist industry constitute one of the most important aspects of the Cornish economy. Cornwall was called by Meethan (1998) a product of tourism.

'Unlike other forms of production and consumption, tourism is spatially fixed, the specificity and uniqueness of localities, while being material, also provides the basis for symbolic representations which, once commodified, comprise the tourism product' (p 583).

Cornwall had been advertised as a surrogate Mediterranean resort from the early nineteenth century which provided Cornwall with a strong remote, romantic and exotic image (Payton, 2004). The links between imagined spaces of tourism and population growth were discussed in section 2.2.2.4.

Tourism in Cornwall can be dated to Victorian times. In 1905 the Great Western Railway introduced the Paddington (London) to Penzance service which had a crucial impact on development of tourism in Cornwall. Its importance for the local economy became crucial with the development of mass tourism. Although Payton (2004) suggested that the beginning of mass tourism in Cornwall can be dated sometime between 1918 and 1939 due to the advertising effort of Great Western, which created the basis for mass tourism in Cornwall, it was initially tourism for an elite with cultural rather than economic importance. Generally, the phenomenon of mass tourism is associated with the post-war years and development of the entitlement to paid holidays, growth in leisure time and most of all growth in real income (Williams and Shaw, 1993). Mass tourism to Cornwall started in the 1950s and at first it was confined to resorts connected with tourism since the 19th century such as Newquay, St. Ives and Looe. Working class prosperity in the 1960s and cheaper train travel brought about a massive expansion. 'The fortunes of tourism industry in Cornwall have been marked by two distinct periods. From the early 1960s till the late 1970s there was almost unbroken growth' (Griffin, 1993). It led to development of well established tourist resorts. In the buoyant 1960s economy the traditional form of seaside resorts was developed. The second period was marked by the oil crisis which led to a drop in numbers of tourists (Perry, 1993) followed by another increase in the early 1980s. Tourism numbers have remained relatively static in the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s (Williams and Shaw, 1993).

In the 1990s post-Fordist forms of production appeared also in tourist industry. Tourism changed from the production side (product differentiation and brand segmentation, targeting specific market niches) but also the consumption side (more individualistic,

demonstrating social tastes and lifestyle choices) (Ioannides and Debbage, 2004) Tourist experience in post-Fordist regime is even more dependent on place commodification Cornwall capitalises on its strong images of place and attractiveness for the middle classes who are drawn to 'cleaned-up version of the 'heritage' or 'countryside' tradition' (Savage et al, 1992 116)

Tourism remains one of the pillars of Cornish economy In 2006 the tourist industry accounted for 25% of its output (Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Economic Forum, 2006) It is not only a large proportion of the Cornish economy but also an industry which performs very well also in comparison with other counties (South West Tourism, 2006) Comparing the money spent by tourists in the South West counties Cornwall is at the very top, as presented in table 2.2

Table 2.2 Money spent by tourists in 2006 in the South West

2006	Money spent by tourists in South West
Cornwall	£ 1,155,500
Devon	£ 1,069,530
Dorset	£ 658,498
Former Avon	£ 623,532
Somerset	£ 383,102
Gloucestershire	£ 324,845
Wiltshire	£ 251,135

Source South West Tourism

Tourism is important but also a controversial issue in debates about economic development in Cornwall Large areas of Cornwall are dominated by tourism, however, there are conflicting views about the costs and benefits of the tourist industry to the overall economy The gain of jobs in the service economy including leisure, recreation, hotels and catering is seen as positive (Allen, 1988) However the holiday industry has been heavily criticised for providing seasonal, low-paid employment, road congestion, high property prices and increased in-migration (CIDA, 1976, Ireland, 1987, Perry, 1993, Williams and Shaw, 1993, Payton, 1993b, Williams, 2003) Persistent seasonal unemployment problems in popular tourist destinations were identified by Perry (1987), Agarwal (1999), Grafton and Bolton (in Payton, 2004), Beatty and Fothergill (2004) On the other hand Shaw, Williams and Greenwood, (1987) examined the structure of jobs in

tourism dependent areas of Cornwall as a response to frequent criticism of tourism that it produces mainly female and part-time jobs. Their survey of businesses in the late 1980s comparing heavily tourism related areas (such as Newquay and Padstow) with some rural areas (St Columb and Callington) and urban inland areas (Truro and Bodmin) showed that predominately female and part-time labour forces in Cornwall were present irrespective of town's dependence upon tourism. In their sample the town most heavily dependant on female and part-time labour was Truro (inland and economically diversified). They questioned links between dependency on tourism, rates of pay and the presence of part-time employment.

Some authors have pointed out that the effects of tourism may vary depending on other factors. Hall (2005) warned against 'over-inflated expectations for rural tourism development' and emphasised that development of tourism is not beneficial for rural areas in a weak economy because it will create 'income and employment inequalities'. He suggested that opportunities related to development of tourism can be fully felt if it is complement to an existing diverse rural economy. Andrew (1997), analysing development of tourism in Cornwall, emphasised the effect of the structure of tourist expenditure. He argued that in Cornwall tourism is accommodation-centred and, although it may have a positive effect on some economic indicators, the overall effect on indigenous industries may be negative. Both authors pointed out the risks related to excessive dependence on tourism.

2.3.3. 1971-2001 – the economic situation during three decades of population growth

Traditionally the Cornish economy was based on farming, fishing and extractive industries. It experienced, like most mainly rural areas in Europe, a decline of agriculture and fishing. Many authors referred to the idea of diversification of rural economies (Boyle and Halfacree, 1998; Lowe and Ward, 2007) as a process complementing the falling importance of the primary sector (agriculture, forestry and fishing). In Cornwall some authors pointed out the failure to diversify the local economy enough as the main problem. Payton (2004) argued that this was one of the major causes of the nineteenth century crisis and it was also found to be one of the major problems in the 1980s (Johns and Leat, 1986). 'The Cornish economy is much less diverse than the national UK economy. The six largest industries in Cornwall are public administration and other

services, distribution, agriculture, hotels and catering, construction, china clay and building materials. In 1979 they accounted for 64% of total output and 73% of employment (including self-employed) in Cornwall' (Johns and Leat, 1986, p. iv). In the UK the top six industries in 1979 accounted for only 48% of total UK output and 55% of employment.

Table 2.3 shows the change in employment in various sectors in England and Wales and in Cornwall in the period 1971-2001. The table indicates the contribution of each sector to the local economy and makes it possible to follow the changes experienced in the period of population growth. It confirms some of the trends relating to mining, manufacturing and tourism discussed in the above sub-sections and illustrates the degree of decline in agriculture in Cornwall.

Table 2.3 Industry of employment 1971-2001

	1971		1981		1991		2001	
	E&W	Corn	E&W	Corn	E&W	Corn	E&W	Corn
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	3.0%	12.8%	2.1%	7.8%	1.9%	6.1%	1.5%	4.6%
Energy and Water*	--	--	3.1%	1.6%	1.8%	1.2%	0.7%	0.5%
Manufacturing and Mining	35.3%	19.5%	27.4%	17.3%	20.8%	13.3%	15.2%	12.4%
Construction	7.4%	9.7%	6.9%	8.2%	7.3%	9.4%	6.8%	8.1%
Distribution & Catering**	39.9%	42.8%	19.3%	24.3%	20.6%	25.4%	21.6%	26.9%
Transport	8.0%	7.4%	6.5%	5.1%	6.4%	5.1%	7.0%	5.2%
Other services**	6.4%	7.7%	34.0%	34.7%	40.3%	38.1%	47.2%	42.3%

Note: Corn stands for Cornwall and E&W stands for England and Wales.

* In 1971 Energy and Water was combined with Transport.

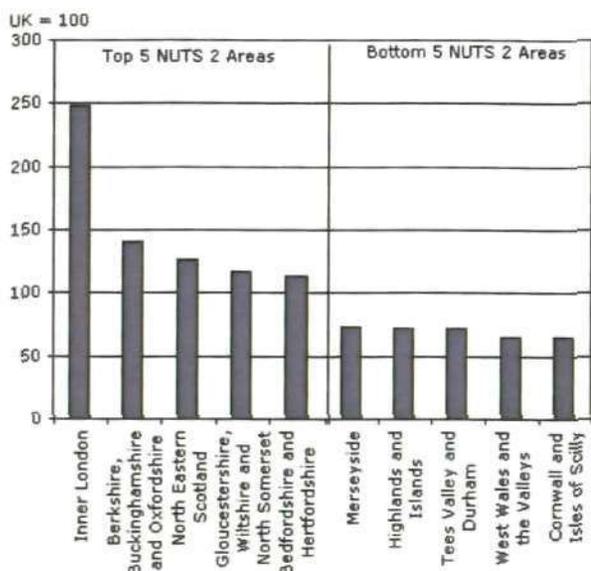
** Data for Distribution & Catering and Other Services are not comparable over time.

Source: ONS Census, Industry of Employment tables.

The table confirms the weakness of manufacturing and the dominance of the service sector in Cornwall which influence wages to a high degree. It shows that manufacturing industry provided a substantially lower proportion of employment in Cornwall than in England and Wales (in 1971 35.3% in E&W and 19.5% in Cornwall, and in 2001 15.2% in E&W and 12.4% in Cornwall). Distribution and catering, which includes most of the tourist industry, employed a higher proportion of residents in Cornwall than in England and Wales in all three decades. Agriculture, forestry and fishing lost dramatically its significance as an employer however it remained much bigger in Cornwall than in England and Wales which reflects the rural character of the county. Nevertheless employment in that sector in Cornwall more than halved between 1971 and 2001. It fell from 12.8% in 1971 to 4.6% in 2001. The table illustrates also the higher proportion of employment in Cornwall in distribution and catering which accounts for the majority of the tourist industry.

The weakness of the Cornish economy was also reflected in measures of GDP and GVA which throughout the period 1971-2001 were much below the UK average. In 2001 Cornwall and Isles of Scilly still had the lowest GVA per head of any NUTS2 area in the whole of the UK as presented in figure 2.3 (Vincent, 2004). The analysis of ward level data (LINC, 2006) confirmed that deprivation in Penwith and Kerrier (the most Western parts of Cornwall) is one of the worst in the country (they are in the bottom quartile).

Figure 2.3 Top 5 and Bottom 5 NUTS2⁹ areas in the UK GVA per head of population



Top 5 and Bottom 5 GVA per head of population, indexed to UK=100, 2003

Source: ONS, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=582&Pos=1&ColRank=1&Rank=176>

However, there are signs of recent improvement. Since 2000 the Cornish economy has expanded at a much faster rate than nationally (LINC, 2005; Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Economic Forum, 2006). Between 1999 and 2004 employment growth stood at a record level and unemployment in 2006 fell below the British average. The recovery of the economy happened after achieving 'Objective One' funds from European Union. The funds have been set up to help reduce differences in social and economic conditions within the EU and target areas where GVA per head is 75% or less of the EU average (The Objective One Partnership for Cornwall and Isles of Scilly, 2006). Cornwall qualified for this fund in 2000 and for Convergence funds in 2007 because the Cornish level of GVA per head indicated that it was a disadvantaged area. The effectiveness of the Objective One programme in job creation was evaluated by Martin and Tyler (2006) who stated that 'there was a relative turnaround in the pattern of employment change in line with the relative strengthening of the Structural Funds' (pp 209). In Cornwall there is also some evidence that it brought positive effects in employment trends.

⁹ NUTS2 – Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics are regulated by EU subdivisions of countries for statistical purposes. The second level (NUTS2) refers usually to counties (sometimes grouped) or groups of unitary authorities.

Nevertheless Cornwall remained a low-wage economy. The problem of low wages is suggested to be the most persistent problem of the Cornish economy (Perry, 1974; CIDA, 1976; Griffin, 1993; Wills, 1998). In 1961 male earnings were 11% below the UK average. In 1971 they fell to 17% below and in 1991 Cornwall was 23% behind the Great Britain average (Griffin, 1993, Wills, 1998). In 2001 wages in Cornwall remained behind those in England (Regional Trends, 2002). Female wages in Cornwall account for 77% of female wages in England and male wages in Cornwall account for 73% of male wages in England.

Wages are the most significant factor related to income, however, not the only one. The Cornwall Industrial Development Association (CIDA) (1976), referring to research by Gordon and Whittaker, distinguished three factors having an impact on income: female activity rates, low percentage of professional and managerial workers and a high percentage of young working age people. Only the latter two are connected with wages by pointing to wage differentials between professional and non-professional workers, and between younger and later career employees. Lower number of professional and managerial occupations in Cornwall affected the wage structure. Moreover much lower than national average female activity rates (in 1971 31% in Cornwall while 44% in England and Wales, (CIDA, 1976)) placed Cornish people in more disadvantaged position in terms of income.

Perry (1974) emphasised another factor having an impact on low wages in Cornwall. He described the problem as underemployment which means 'underutilisation of people's capacity in terms of technical skills or academic qualifications, experience and ability' (pp. 8). He estimated that half of the disparity between income levels in Cornwall in the 1970s and the national average could be accounted by the underemployment factor.

Wage inequalities were also related to the structure of the local economy. Johns and Leat (1986) attributed low wages in Cornwall to labour intensive industries which dominate the local economy. In 1984 although services contributed to 28% of Cornish economic output, they provided 41% of household incomes, and manufacturing (which tends to have higher wages) accounted for only 10% of household incomes.

Wages in Cornwall were still significantly below the England and Wales average in 2001 (Regional Trends, 2002) and there is no evidence of any sustained relative improvement. The factors cited in explaining this phenomenon in earlier research remain valid. Burley (2007) emphasised the role of the proportion of Cornish residents employed in the tourist industry, which is labour intensive, low-wage sector, and the proportion of migrants who became part-time workers.

The fact that wages in Cornwall are much lower than in England and Wales has a huge impact on social context, housing issues and migration.

2.4. Social Context

The social and cultural context is crucial for migration studies. 'Any understanding of migration in Britain would be incomplete if this cultural dimension were to be ignored' (Fielding, 1992b: 202). The dynamics of rural population change is 'rooted in, as well as being conditioned by, cultural and social factors, attitudes and preferences' (Buller et al, 2003).

2.4.1. Territorial Identity

Cohen (in Fielding, 1992b) offered one of the frameworks which allow the cultural dimension to be captured. He distinguished practical cultures exposed to 'standardising effects of mass produced consumer goods' from 'symbolic cultures (such as national and regional identities) which seems to be holding out against [] these globalising tendencies' (pp 208). According to this framework Cornwall falls into a 'symbolic culture' category because it is identified with strong ethnic/ national identity (Payton, 2004, Aldous and Williams, 2001, Payton, 1993b, Deacon, 1993, Deacon and Payton, 1993). The Cornish territorial entity throughout history and its distinctive language were strong premises for the argument for its distinctiveness. This was expressed during the unsuccessful campaign by Cornwall County Council to seek to secure a European Parliamentary Constituency.

'Cornwall is almost an island with natural boundaries fixed by the coastline. It is largely isolated from the rest of the country. It has a strong separate identity with its own history, traditions, customs, language and (to some degree) law and

institutions. Many of these attributes are firmly rooted in its Celtic past' (Cornwall County Council in Payton, 2004: 293).

The elements constituting Cornish identity include Celtic culture, language and history, a unique mining and industrial experience, Methodism and the experience of large scale emigration and diaspora (see for example Deacon, 1993; James-Korany, 1993; Payton, 2004; Deacon, 2007). These four elements are also important for the debate on the impact of population growth on identity issues.

Cornish identity is often related to its Celtic roots. Havinden et al (1991) and Perry et al (1986) distinguished Celtic lands as being characterised by unique circumstances. Both authors pointed out not only cultural and social links but also economic experiences of these areas. However they also emphasised that this dimension is difficult to capture.

'The precise importance of "Celticness" in relation to wider structural realities is impossible to define. Local housing and employment markets and transport systems formed a deep-rooted and palpable part of a supra-individual reality and although they were not immutable [...] they imposed, for a period of time, considerable restrictions upon the type of people who lived in those areas and the type of development that took place' (Perry et al, 1986: 216)

Cornwall and Cornishness are often also identified with mining and the great emigration which was an effect of decline of that industry in Cornwall. As pointed out by Payton (1993b) 'no Cornish parish was left untouched by the mining boom at its zenith [nineteenth century]. The new pride in Cornish technological prowess expressed in part in identification with the territory of Cornwall. Mining was Cornwall and Cornwall was mining' (Payton, 1993b: 226). As a result the bankruptcy of most of the Cornish mines in the 19th century was not only an economic disaster. It shook the lives of local communities and as a consequence fuelled out-migration of Cornish miners to Australia, North America, South Africa and many other destinations which became one more symbol of Cornishness. Payton (2004) describes emigration of the 19th century as a Cornish alternative to much needed reforms.

'Emigration [was seen] as means of constructing better life abroad, based on the principles of religious freedom, social and economic mobility, and civil liberty.

Emigration was in that sense a Cornish institution, an integral part of popular culture but also an expression of the reformist aims of Cornish society' (Payton, 2004 212)

Recent trends in migration since the late 1960s may have a significant influence on the issue of identity. Although in-migration changed the fortune of many peripheral British areas including Cornwall and Scotland by reversing the trends of decline of population, it also brought a change to these communities which is often seen 'as a threat to a cherished, and largely mythical, rural way of life, to the landscapes and the communities of the countryside' (Buller et al, 2003). It also has an ethnic dimension which has been illustrated in migration studies in Wales (Cloke et al, 1998a, Cloke, et al, 1998b). They show that migration from the South East to areas with a distinct ethnic identity (such as Scotland and Wales) is often viewed locally as colonisation. This was supported by Fielding S (1998) presenting how a strong cultural and ethnic identity serves local communities in challenging socio-economic disadvantages connected with migration. There are parallels with the Cornish situation. However what it means to be Cornish today is not well defined. As Aldous and Williams (2001) showed 35% of young Cornish people believed that nobody could be truly Cornish unless they were born in Cornwall, excluding by this definition all in-migrants. On the other hand, 35% agreed that anybody who feels Cornish is Cornish including all those who identify with Cornwall. There is a tendency for those describing themselves as Cornish to adopt more often closed attitude (excluding) and those who did not define themselves as Cornish to show an open attitude (including). This debate showed that not only did strong ethnicity have an impact on views on migration but probably migration itself influenced the formation of ethnic identities (Deacon, 2007).

2.4.2. Migration and its effects on social structure

Migration is also connected with other social changes (Jackson, 1986). Fielding T (1998) gave evidence of changes in social class structure in the South West (which includes Cornwall) in the period 1971-81. 'Migration was a major contributor to the sharp shift in the South West region's class structure towards the middle classes' (p 53). He reported that total population in the service class (new middle class in service non-manual occupations (Wynne, 1998)) rose by 22.1% and the petite bourgeoisie (in which he included the important and rising group of self-employed) rose by 14.4%. By

comparison the number of blue collar workers rose by 4.8%. Phillips (1993) suggested that this trend indicated gentrification of the countryside. Although the term gentrification is most commonly used in the context of urban studies, Phillips recommended its extension 'within both urban and rural studies [...] to signify a change in social composition of an area with members of a middle-class group replacing working-class residents' (Phillips, 1993: 124). This approach allowed analysis of the wider social and environmental impact of this process (Phillips, 2005). Hoggart (1997) argued that this concept should be limited to the South East, however, the data provided by Fielding T (1998) support Phillips' approach.

A middle-class bias was also confirmed in Cornwall in the survey conducted by Perry et al (1986) which showed that half of all migrants to Cornwall (excluding return migrants) were in the top socio-economic groups whereas less than a quarter of the local population attained the same occupational status. They argued that it 'has potential importance when such issues as acceptance, socialisation or assimilation into the local community are considered' (p 91). Analysis of the occupational position of migrants who moved to Cornwall between 1991 and 2001 confirmed a higher proportion than the long term population being in the top socio-economic groups (Burley, 2007).

Migration into Cornwall also has an important effect upon socio-economic structure because of the resulting growth in self-employment which is associated with a definition of petite bourgeoisie. The rate of self-employment in Cornwall has always been above the England and Wales average but research shows that it has been increased further by in-migration (Burley, 2007). Perry et al (1986) found that about 13% of in-migrants heads of households were already self-employed before moving to Cornwall but this proportion increased after their move to 30%. The importance of the transition to self-employment among migrants to Cornwall was confirmed by Burley (2007) who showed that in 1990s about 17% of later migrants to Cornwall were self-employed but in 2001 when enumerated in Cornwall this had increased to 28%.

Migration also had an effect on age structure. On the one hand in-migration was seen as a cure for an ageing and declining rural population because migrant groups were younger than the overall non-migrant population. On the other hand at the same time Cornwall like other peripheral parts of the UK experienced high levels of out-migration of

young people (Buck et al , 1993, Williams, 2000, Stockdale, 2006) An important aspect of migration is the fact that migrants to Cornwall age in the county and tend to remain for the latter stages of their life The overall effect of migration on rural communities' age structure is controversial Although the in-migration of working age people including a significant number of families with children has eased the consequences of continued out- migration in the same age groups, there are reasons to believe that middle class in-migration might fuel some out- migration of young people by increasing the competition for local, skilled jobs (Payton, 1993a, Stockdale, 2006)

2.4.3. Housing market

Competition in the labour market was not the only conflicting issue One of the most significant topics discussed in the existing literature is change in the housing market and conflict between 'local' people' and 'incomers'¹⁰ over available housing stock (Chaney and Sherwood, 2000; Cloke et al, 1998a, Fielding S, 1998, Simmons, 1997, Buck et al, 1993, Williams, 1993, Monk et al, 2006)

Lack of affordable housing is a national issue but its severity in rural areas is particularly important (Commission for Rural Communities, 2008) Its specific dimension in rural areas has been recognised and investigated by DEFRA (Monk et al, 2006) Affordable housing in the DEFRA report (Monk et al, 2006) is defined as 'house prices between three times and four times household income' (p 16) In 2004 the house price to income ratio in Great Britain was 4.13 However in the South West it was 4.75 (only London had a higher ratio) (Wilcox, 2005) and Cornwall was an area where the ratio was over 6. Press releases based on a report by the Halifax Building Society (BBC, 2007) claimed that Carrick in Cornwall became the least affordable district in England, and that the house price ratio to local income there reached more than 10 The data presenting the ratio of median house prices to median earnings in Cornwall, South West and England for the period 1997-2007 are presented in Table 7.3 (p 234)

Lack of affordable housing in Cornwall is not a new problem Almost two decades ago a Plymouth University research report about housing need, in Cornwall (Buck et al , 1993)

¹⁰ The definition of incomers varies between the studies The operational definition of local people usually refers to the rest of the residents who did not move to particular area in the period used to distinguish in-migrants

states that 'there is a consensus among writers and policy makers that a crisis exists in Cornish housing... characterised by a lack of affordable housing for a large proportion of the population' (p 1). They suggested that the degree of homelessness among Cornish people was concealed by much higher rates of residents of Cornwall living in complex household structures.

2.4.3.1 The causes of housing crises in Cornwall

Housing crises is usually defined as a problem of high house prices. Cornwall has one of the highest levels of house prices in the UK as the result of a rapid increase from 1996. 'In 1996 Cornwall had the 53rd highest average house price of 102 local authorities across England, Scotland and Wales...In 2006 Cornwall had the 13th highest average house price across the same 102 areas' (Miller, 2006: 28).

The raise of house prices in Cornwall has been linked to in-migration and increased demand for housing from new residents (Buck et al, 1993; Williams, 1993; Miller, 2006; CoSERG, 2007; The Campaign for Affordable Homes Cornwall, 2008). The Campaign for Affordable Homes Cornwall (2008) and CoSERG (2007) pointed out also to other factors contributing to the housing problem in Cornwall i.e. tourism, rising second home ownership and decline of the rented sector.

The issue of second homes is particularly difficult in Areas of Natural Outstanding Beauty and coastal and estuarial areas (Countryside Agency, 2002; Monk et al, 2006) where they can 'create micro-crises in the local housing market'. The trend which shows that a significant proportion of the housing stock in Cornwall is used as second homes has prevailed for many decades. In 1979 it was estimated that 6.4% of households in Cornwall were holiday homes (Williams, 1993). The rising trend of second home ownership in Cornwall in 1990s was confirmed by Thornton (1996) who stated that in 24 communities in Cornwall more than 10% of the housing stock could be accounted for by second homes. He emphasised the fact that all the high concentration of second homes were associated with proximity to the coast. DEFRA's report (2006a) also indicated that house prices in Cornwall differ depending on the popularity of location among retirees and second home owners and the Countryside Agency (2002) showed that the proportion of second homes in Cornwall was above the English average.

2.4.3 2 The effects of housing crises in Cornwall

Lack of affordable housing is not equally difficult problem for all Cornish residents. In-migrants are usually in better position due to their higher social class status and older age which helps them to outcompete younger people. The differences of the position in the housing market between recent in-migrants and long term population was researched by Williams (1997) who argued that in Cornwall 'a two-tier housing system' exists. She distinguished those moving to Cornwall who are affluent and able to buy a house from those living in Cornwall for number of years, earning local wages who experience real barriers in obtaining a house because of the mortgage gap. Williams' research confirmed that in-migrants lived in better conditions and bigger houses. For that reason the effects of housing crises are related mainly to the long term population.

Williams (1997) pointed out that lack of affordable housing in Cornwall amend the household structure of its residents. She confirmed the findings of Buck et al (1993) that housing need in Cornwall was partially concealed by household structure of its long term residents and decisions by younger people to postpone starting a new household. The problem of starting an independent household may in turn lead to out-migration which is considered the major risk in many rural areas.

The out-migration of young people as an effect of a lack of affordable housing was pointed out by many researchers (Williams, 1993, Monk et al, 2006). This causes concerns over the sustainability of rural communities. 'The economic and social vitality of rural communities requires a mix of people with different skills and of different ages' (Monk et al, 2006: 8).

2.4.4. Social cohesion

Other social effects of large scale in-migration on rural communities also have attracted academic attention. Such issues as destruction of solidarity, distinctive localism, dialect and work traditions, rural services and acceptance of incomers by local community have been widely researched (Jones et al, 1984, Simmons, 1997, Boyle and Halfacree, 1998, Newby in Fielding T, 1998). Although in Cornwall the potential exists for cultural clashes between the local population and in-migrants, with a few exceptions this does not extend beyond inequalities in the housing market. Perry (1987) maintained that hostility between in-migrants and local people in Cornwall should not be overstated. 'Cornwall

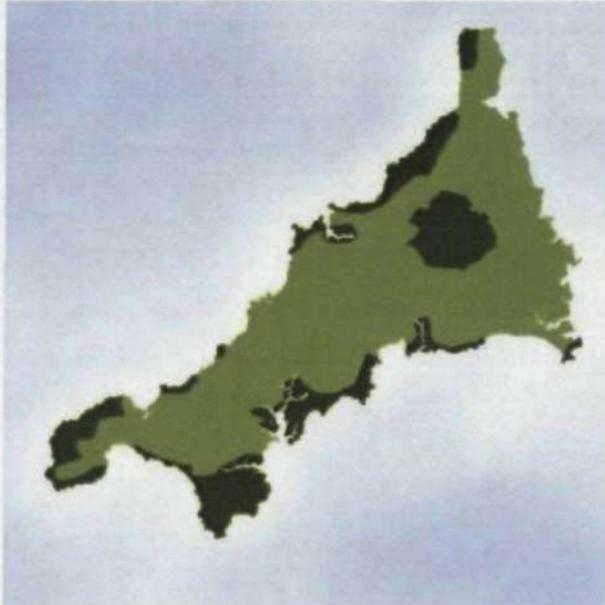
did not split into warring camps. The countryside was not polarised, as in some other regions, into enclaves of rural proletarians surrounded by rich farmers and middle class settlers' (p 45). Although there is no reason to believe that it was not true in the 1980s, after several decades of high levels of in-migration the attitudes of the migrant and non-migrant population towards local developments lead from time to time to conflicts as in the case of the proposal to build a new jetty in the estuarial village of Helford Passage which was supported by local fishermen and strongly opposed by up market home owners who were also incomers (Daily Telegraph, 9th March 2003). Different attitudes towards non-residential developments, but also locations for building new council houses makes the planning process increasingly the field of clashes between 'local' and 'migrant' residents.

Payton (2004), however, suggested that there is an evidence of a high level of assimilation of in-migrants. He based his opinion on data suggesting that many post-war incomers acquired the socio-economic characteristics of local people and many born in Cornwall from in-migrant parents were proud of their birth place. 'The incomers of today will become (or produce) the Cornish of tomorrow' (McArthur M in Payton, 2004: 272).

2.5. Environmental context

'The landscape and the nature conservation, architectural and historic heritages have always been and will continue to be dynamic influences on the lives of the people of Cornwall' (Griffin, 1993). The environment of Cornwall has exceptional qualities. 26% of the County is classified as Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) which are designated and protected on national and international criteria. A further 23% has been designated locally as Special Areas of Great Landscape Value and Areas of Great Landscape Value. It means that about 50% of Cornwall is designated as of special landscape importance (Griffin, 1993). A vast majority of the Cornish coastline and Bodmin Moor area is protected this way. Figure 2.3 shows the location of Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty in Cornwall.

Figure 2.4 Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty in Cornwall



Source: The National Association for AONB

The most important feature of the County is its extensive coastline which is over 570 km in length, 233 km of which is classified as Heritage Coast (Griffin, 1993). Most of the County is within 5-8 miles of the coast or a tidal estuary (CCC, 1952).

Physical features have been taken into account in preparation of the Cornwall County Council Structure Plans (CCC, 1952) and related economic strategies (LINC, 2005). They emphasised that the environment 'profoundly influenced economic development of Cornwall through exploitation of metalliferous minerals, stone and china-clay' (CCC, 1952: 14), and by offering the 'county's beauty as a tourist area' (LINC, 2005: 57).

Physical features also influenced development of the settlement pattern which was defined by Perry (1987) as a unique pattern of independent 'town states'. It was partly determined by environmental characteristics. Cornwall County Council (CCC, 1952) emphasised that 'the narrow peninsula in Cornwall, the steep-sided short valleys and the absence of a coastal plain is profound, isolating the towns west of the River Tamar and limiting their area of influence to comparatively small areas' (p 14). Perry (1993) also argued that environment is one of the most important factors determining Cornwall's

settlement structure. This unique settlement pattern and rural character of the county are seen as valuable features which should be maintained and protected (Barrington, 1976).

Existing literature provides evidence about the impact of environmental issues on levels of migration. American research differentiated rural turnaround according to natural amenities indexes and concluded that in-migration to areas with high natural amenities was higher than to other rural areas (Hunter et al, 2005). This phenomenon was called amenity-driven growth by Barcus (2004). Walmsley et al (1998) and Millington (2000) also emphasised physical and social characteristics of an area as important factors that were taken into account in decisions about migration. Perry et al (1986) reported that 42% of migrants to Cornwall stated that environmental quality was an important factor influencing their move.

The relationship between the account taken of environment by migrants and cohesion of local communities have been researched by Hunter et al (2005), Brehm et al (2004), Cloke et al, (1998a). Cloke et al (1998a) illustrated the differences between long-term population and incomers towards land management and vision of the countryside. On the other hand Brehm et al (2004) incorporated an attachment to natural environment into community attachment and suggested that, although social attachment was correlated with length of residence, attachment to natural environment was common among all residents which meant this could be common ground on which to build community cohesion.

2.6 Conclusions

The extraordinary change in population redistribution pattern in the 1970s happened not only in Cornwall (as presented in chapter 1). However in Cornwall the extent and persistence of the trend makes the county a suitable case study of that process. Undertaking the case study allow a more sensitive investigation of local circumstances and valid analyses. It makes it possible also to deepen our understanding of the process of rural turnaround.

This chapter explains how analysis of population change in Cornwall can contribute to understanding of population change in non-metropolitan areas. It presents Cornwall as a peripheral and mostly rural county. However rurality is not a homogenous concept as

presented in various classifications (Champion and Shepherd, 2006, Lowe and Ward, 2007, Mardsen, 1998) There is evidence that the population redistribution process in non-metropolitan areas might be influenced by different factors and that even within the South West region there is greater variability of factors influencing migration than presented in available explanatory models

The discussion of manufacturing industry in Cornwall aimed to show that decentralisation of the industry (Fielding, 1982) had various effects on different types of localities but that in Cornwall its effect was very short-lived, undermining its significance as a factor explaining population growth in the county Development of the service economy (Allen, 1988) has also had different dimensions depending on local circumstances. A large proportion of the economic output coming from the tourist industry might have a specific effect on the pattern of population redistribution Dependence on tourism and environmental attractiveness are shown to be significant factors influencing migration to Cornwall

The contribution to understanding the population redistribution process in non-metropolitan areas from the analysis of population change in Cornwall cannot be taken out of that context

Chapter 3: Methods

The methods chapter contains two parts. The first describes the data used in the project and the rationale for this choice. It includes also discussion of some methodological challenges related to this data. The second part presents the project's research questions and introduces the methods chosen to consider them.

3.1. Data

3.1.1. The Census and the ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS)

The main data source used in the research is the England and Wales Census. This section presents some information about the Census and its outputs. There is also more detailed information about the particular dataset, the LS, used in this project and an overview of its strengths and limitations.

A Census has been conducted every ten years since 1801 (with the exception of 1941, and a 10% sample in 1966). It contains mainly information about socio-economic characteristics of the population. Therefore it can serve as a valuable and reliable source of information which includes many details about the employment, family and housing circumstances of individuals and households.

Census data are available as various types of outputs including aggregated data or a sample of individual records. This second kind of data can be accessed through several datasets including the Sample of Anonymised Records and the ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS). They are characterised by particular features which distinguish them and allow different analytical tools to be used. This project is based on longitudinal census data (ONS LS).

The Census has been chosen due to its unique advantages. It is the most comprehensive source of data on the population of the United Kingdom available for secondary analysis. The advantage of using high quality data has been emphasised in secondary analysis textbooks (Dale et al, 1988; Hakim, 1982). In addition to its quality, the Census' strengths include: the possibility of analysing subsets of data (e.g. regions, minority groups), possibility of powerful statistical insight including multivariate statistics, and broad consistency of data (Dugmore and Moy, 2004). Furthermore the Census is an

important source of data on migration. An address of usual residence is recorded as well as an address a year prior to the Census which allows geographical mobility to be followed. However, it is not the only way to distinguish migrants and the definition used in this project is explained later.

Micro-data can be extracted from the Census which allows analysis of the relationship between different socio-economic characteristics at individual and household level. Its usefulness for migration analysis was emphasised by Greenwood (1985) who described the potential of looking at the influence of personal characteristics on migration behaviour, the ability to improve focus on decision-making, taking better account of prior migration experience, and studying important life cycle influences on migration decisions.

The longitudinal Census dataset (ONS LS) is approximately a 1% sample of Census records of individuals selected at each Census from 1971 on the basis of four dates of birth. Since 1971 new members have entered the sample via birth or immigration and exited it via deaths or emigration (if they share a sampled date of birth). By recording them the sample population accurately reflects the demography of the population over time (Hattersley and Creaser, 1995, Blackwell et al., 2005).

The ONS LS contains all the advantages of Census data including additional, unique features. The real power of this dataset is that Census records of individuals are linked through time. Records from 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 are linked and create a panel dataset. It preserves the micro-level data and adds information about previous socio-economic characteristics of individuals.

Longitudinal data give a unique opportunity to study systematic change over time. There is more explanatory potential because information is included about previous and later states. Hence it increases the power of causal explanation by its ability to recognise the direction of causality (temporal order of events) and better control over omitted variables which help to avoid spurious relationships (Dale and Davis, 1994, Tans, 2000).

In migration research longitudinal data allows measurement of the effects of geographical mobility on individuals' socio-economic characteristics by providing an

account of their characteristics before and after their migration and comparing the extent of these changes to those experienced by non-migrant groups. Moreover the LS stands out as an important dataset in migration research due to its quality and geographical detail. It provides large samples for relatively small geographical areas and its representativeness is strengthened by the fact that the data are not clustered. These advantages have been recognised in previous reports which emphasise that the 'LS remains a most useful tool for studying regional and sub-regional migratory characteristics' (Williams, 2000: 31).

One further advantage of the ONS LS is its ability to develop complex classifications not normally facilitated by published Census data. The ONS LS incorporates aggregated geographical data such as small area statistics which are added to individual records (Hattersley and Creaser, 1995). The ability to attach contextual information to individual records enhances the scope for possible research by, for example, creating alternative typologies and this is an opportunity that was taken in this project.

Although the Longitudinal Census data is a rich source of temporal migration data, some limitations should be noted. First, the Census is decennial and there is no information about changes in the circumstances of individuals between those Census dates (apart from the answers to the migration question(s)). In migration research it causes particular problems with defining the migrant population. People who migrated but died before being enumerated in their new location are not identified as migrants. It is also impossible to distinguish if young children are migrants (moving to particular area with their families) or non-migrants (being born after the move). The ten-year gaps mean also that the data became quite dated before the new Census data is available.

Some limitation is caused also by the fact that the Census does not take into account economic cycles or other major transformation but is fixed to a schedule. Therefore recording socio-economic position at regular fixed dates may or may not be representative of a decade.

Another problem is the geographical limitation of the ONS LS. It contains only records of individuals enumerated in England and Wales. There are similar longitudinal datasets in Scotland and Northern Ireland but they are not linked. This is particularly problematic for

migration research on movement between England and Wales and other UK countries, however in this project that limitation is acceptable because the research focuses on internal migration which in the regions studied is dominated by moves within England and Wales

Not specific to the LS but more serious in this dataset is the issue of confidentiality. Linking information about individuals through time presents a higher risk of identifying individuals. That is why confidentiality constraints in the ONS LS are stronger. The data about individuals are not published and detailed checks are performed on every table produced from the raw data. Access to the data requires separate approval of the LS board (Census Data Registration is insufficient) and any publication based on the ONS LS dataset is subject to a clearance process. For this project also the issue of using a non-standard geography had to be negotiated and was considered in the light of constraints of confidentiality. Despite these problems, the data nevertheless holds great potential for migration research.

3.1.2. Cornwall and Wiltshire samples in the ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS)

There are several aspects of the ONS LS dataset which appear to be particularly fruitful for this study: geographical coverage, time coverage and the flexibility in analysing sub-populations.

Geographical coverage of the ONS LS dataset allows population change and migration patterns in Cornwall to be compared with other areas within England and Wales experiencing similar demographic processes and with all residents of England and Wales. The project is a comparative study and characteristics of residents and migrants in Cornwall are compared to characteristics of residents and migrants in Wiltshire, which is another non-metropolitan, mostly rural county experiencing strong population growth and high net migration rates since the mid-1960s.

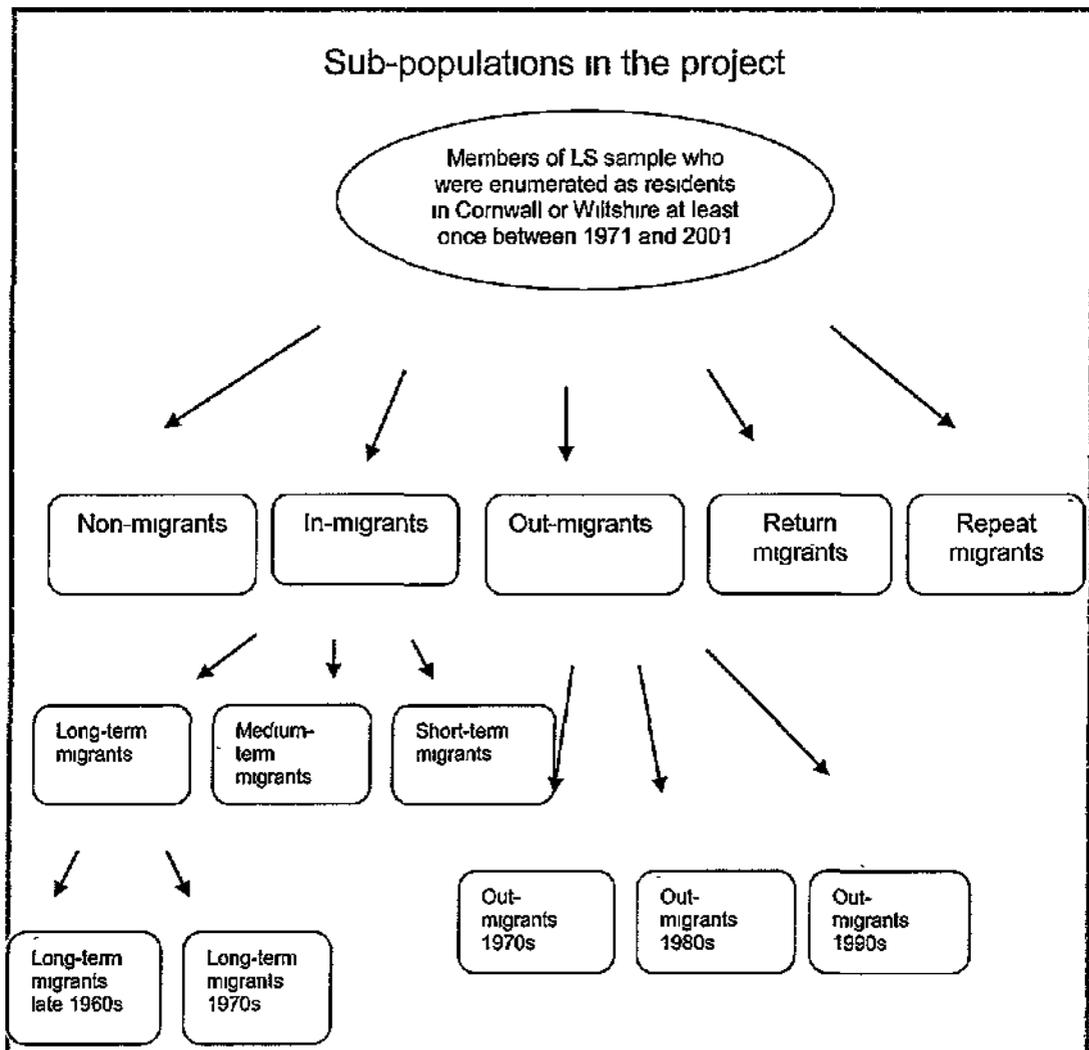
Moreover, time coverage allows for a comprehensive study of population change giving an accurate picture of changes in Cornwall and Wiltshire during the whole period of population growth in these counties. The ONS LS dataset makes it possible to distinguish between non-migrant and migrant populations in a much more precise way. Starting with the data from the 1971 Census and using the 5 year migration question, it

is possible to distinguish between individuals living in Cornwall (and Wiltshire) from at least 1966 and those who moved from the late 1960s onwards.

Another unique aspect of this study, which helps to present a fuller picture of migration to Cornwall (and Wiltshire) and would not be available in any other dataset, is the attention given to the complexity of the migration process. This project looks at the patterns of migration and distinguishes it not only as two flows from or to the county but also differentiates return migrants and repeat migrants as separate groups. It makes it possible to look at the characteristics of individuals who, although drawn to the county, left later in the period under study; however it changes the picture of long-term and medium-term migrants. They are not simply 1970s and 1980s migrants, they are migrants who came in that period and stayed.

The project distinguishes 10 sub-populations including the non-migrant population, long-term (two categories), medium-term and short-term migrants (who are in-migrants), out-migrants (1970s), out-migrants (1980s), out-migrants (1990s), return migrants, and repeat migrants. The detailed definitions of the sub-populations are discussed in section 3.1.3.1 and defined in the glossary attached as Appendix 1. The sub-groups in Cornwall and Wiltshire mirror each other. The structure of the sample is graphically represented in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Structure of the sample



The grey colour distinguishes the basic sub-populations analysed in the thesis, which means that when they are combined they equal the LS sample of residents in Cornwall. For some analysis some of the sub-groups were combined, e.g. all in-migrants. On each such occasion it is explained in the text.

 Source: Author's analysis

Table 3.1 presents the size of the ONS LS sample for the Cornwall population used in the analysis. In 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 the whole sample contains 6760 individuals (the categories of migrants are mutually exclusive in each point in time). It shows that within the period 1971-2001 the sample includes the records of 3551 individuals categorised in at least one of the Censuses as non-migrants, 1983 in-migrants, and over 743 out-migrants.

Table 3.1 LS sample for Cornwall

	1971	1981	1991	2001	Total*
Non-migrant population	2234	2008	2147	2418	3551
Long-term migrants- late 1960s	344	281	243	201	344
Long-term migrants- 1970s	419	419	347	288	419
Medium-term migrants- 1980s	518	611	611	507	611
Short-term migrants- 1990s	406	497	609	609	609
Return migrants	78	85	85	84	85
Out-migrants 1970s	300	269	228	202	300
Out-migrants 1980s	154	222	201	179	222
Out-migrants 1990s	64	161	221	215	221
Repeat migrants	319	389	377	332	393
Total					6760

* The column total presents the number of individuals who were classified as a member of each sub-sample in at least one of the Censuses. The row total presents the total number of individuals who were included in the sample at least once.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 3.2 presents comparable statistics for Wiltshire residents. The sample includes in total 8743 individuals who were residents of Wiltshire during at least one of the Censuses. In the period 1971-2001 4317 subjects were defined as non-migrants, 2075 as in-migrants, and 1206 as out-migrants.

Table 3.2 LS sample for Wiltshire

	1971	1981	1991	2001	Total*
Non-migrant population	2560	2424	2619	3185	4317
Long-term migrants- late 1960s	418	363	331	299	418
Long-term migrants- 1970s	425	425	366	317	425
Medium-term migrants- 1980s	438	543	543	467	543
Short-term migrants- 1990s	406	554	689	689	689
Return migrants	96	101	101	95	101
Out-migrants 1970s	511	469	427	382	511
Out-migrants 1980s	244	390	353	317	390
Out-migrants 1990s	102	192	305	302	305
Repeat migrants	415	509	500	466	521
Total					8743

* The column total presents the number of individuals who were classified as a member of each sub-sample in at least one of the Censuses. The row total presents the total number of individuals who were included in the sample at least once.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

3.1.3. Main Concepts

3.1.3.1. Migrant and non-migrant population

Within migration research there are recognised difficulties with the definition of a migrant (Boyle et al, 1998, Flowerdew, 2004) This results from the increasing complexity of forms of geographical mobility which have led to distinctions, for example, between migration, circulation and residential mobility (Cushing and Poot, 2004, Green, 2004, Clark and Huang, 2004) Due to the lack of a common definition, approaches to defining migrants inevitably vary and this needs to be taken into account in comparing various studies

The definition of a migrant adopted in this project is shaped as much by theoretical considerations as by the practical limitations of available data. The project focuses on migration flows to and from Cornwall and Wiltshire which means that all movements within the counties are ignored¹¹ Furthermore, although the vast majority of migrants are long-distance ones, short-distance moves for example between Cornwall and Devon (those moving across the River Tamar) are also included as they contribute to the change of the profile of Cornish residents

The ONS LS includes records of individuals enumerated in England and Wales, therefore the definition of migrants has to be limited to those who move within that part of Great Britain It is argued that this limitation can be accepted because the analysis of migration flows between Cornwall and other regions shows that the vast majority of all moves are within England and Wales For example, flows between Cornwall and Scotland are under 5% of all inter-regional moves (CIDER) The focus of this research falls upon movements from and to Cornwall and for comparison the same analyses are repeated for Wiltshire

Migrants can be defined in the ONS LS in two ways The first is on the basis of one of the Census questions It asks about address of usual residence a year before the Census The second is unique for the ONS LS By linking Censuses it allows the change of a usual address between Censuses to be identified This second possibility was used

¹¹ Moves within Cornwall were studied by Burley (2007)

to define migrants in the project. It allows the cohorts of migrants to be designed, enlarges the sample size, and safeguards against unusual, specific years in a decade being misinterpreted as representative for the whole period.

The project distinguishes the non-migrant and migrant population groups, and recognises further distinctions within the migrant group. Four main groups of migrants are distinguished: the in-migrant population, the out-migrant population, return migrants and repeat migrants, as defined below.

The non-migrant population consists of people who have lived in Cornwall (and Wiltshire) since at least 1966. The 1971 Census, which provides the oldest source of data in the project, includes a one year migration question and uniquely also a five year migration question which recorded the usual address in 1966. The sample of non-migrants includes also all those born between 1971 and 2001 if their first residential address was in Cornwall (or Wiltshire) and they had remained in that county subsequently.

The group of in-migrants (long-term migrants-1960s, long-term migrants-1970s, medium-term migrants, and short-term migrants) consists of four sub-groups: those who migrated to Cornwall (or Wiltshire) in the late 1960s (between 1966 and 1971), the 1970s (between 1971 and 1981), the 1980s (between 1981 and 1991), and in the 1990s (between 1991 and 2001). The 1966-2001 timeframe allows the majority of in-migrants to be accounted for because the increased in-migration to these counties started in the late 1960s.

A subdivision of migrants by time period has also been done for out-migrants (out-migrants-1970s, out-migrants-1980s, and out-migrants-1990s). There are three separate sub-samples of out-migrants which almost mirror those of in-migrants; however the sample of out-migrants does not include those who left Cornwall (or Wiltshire) between 1966 and 1971 because the data is not available. It is acknowledged that the period is a significant factor due to the major changes in the economic structure of Britain in the last 30 years, described by Urry (1995) as 'extraordinary economic transformations'.

Moreover, two other migration patterns 'in' and 'out' of Cornwall (and Wiltshire) were distinguished as theoretically fruitful and important. One of them is return migrants and the other is repeat migrants. Return migrants include those who lived in Cornwall (or Wiltshire) after 1971, but moved out and returned before 2001. It includes also those who moved into Cornwall (or Wiltshire) from the rest of England and Wales, and subsequently moved out and later returned to Cornwall (or Wiltshire). Repeat migrants (relating to Clark and Huang's (2004) 'repeat movers') are those who migrated to Cornwall (or Wiltshire) from other parts of England and Wales, but later left the county concerned.

Definitions are based on the usually resident population which excludes visitors and which is the commonly adopted rule in migration research. An issue which is more complex is the treatment of residents in communal establishments such as hospitals, prisons etc. The main concern relates to two particular types of communal establishments: military bases and residential homes. Both are significant in Cornwall and might bias the profile of residents of some areas. As a result military bases have been excluded because their residents have limited choice over their location and they move frequently. Members of the armed forces in private households are excluded for the same reason since their location is linked to military bases. However, residents of residential homes are included. Individuals moving to Cornwall for retirement are likely at some stage to move to residential homes. Residents of all other communal establishments are excluded from the definition.

Some methodological problems are also caused by the residential practices of students. Many of them are away from their usual address for a substantial part of the year and the rules of their enumeration in Census changed between 1971-2001. Additionally, timings of Censuses relative to university vacations have varied causing further inconsistencies. Students are included in the LS sample and particular attention has been given to ensuring that they are treated consistently in each Census year (in co-operation with a member of staff of the Centre for Longitudinal Study).

Furthermore the definition of the population is affected by one of the characteristics of the dataset, namely its decennial character. 10-year gaps between Censuses mean that movements of some individuals can be missed if they left and returned to the county

within that period. This can be especially important for young out-migrants leaving Cornwall (or Wiltshire) for a period of higher education following which they return. They are likely to be defined as non-migrants and it might be one of the reasons for the relatively small number of returned migrants.

Another disadvantage of 10-year gaps is that children are added to the samples as non-migrants if they were first enumerated in Cornwall (or Wiltshire), while in reality they could be born outside the county and move with their parents in their early childhood. It cannot be checked whether their parents were in Cornwall (or Wiltshire) on the Census day prior to their birth as the information is not available in the ONS LS. We can, however, definitely justify including them because they did not make decisions about migration themselves.

3.1.3.2. Cohorts of migrants

As described above, in-migrants and out-migrants are not treated as one group but as members of cohorts. Cohorts are defined in accordance with Ryder's definition (1965) as aggregates of individuals who experienced a particular 'influential in the rest of life' event in the same period. Hagenaars (1990) presents cohorts as living under particular historical circumstances.

Migration to or from Cornwall (or Wiltshire) in a particular decade is an event distinguishing consecutive cohorts in this study. It is argued that migration is strongly context dependent and that looking at cohorts separately helps to identify the influence of particular economic structures (e.g. labour market conditions in each decade), the importance of which is stressed especially in classical migration theories.

In the project four cohorts of in-migrants and three cohorts of out-migrants are distinguished. The difference is for a practical reason. Late 1960s and 1970s in-migrants were originally part of the long term migrant cohort; however, merging them did not allow changes in socio-economic characteristics before and after migration to be studied because data about their position before migration is only available for 1970s migrants. For this reason, for cohort analysis, they are divided into 'long-term migrants - late 1960s' and 'long-term migrants - 1970s' to avoid flawed conclusions about a change in migrants' circumstances in the decade of migration. However, in the analysis of their

residential preferences which investigate their choice of location while in Cornwall, they are treated as one cohort called 'long-term migrants'. The out-migrants, who do not include individuals who left Cornwall (or Wiltshire) before 1971, do not require this distinction.

3.1.3.3 Resident population

The study refers also to another concept related to the population – the resident population in the county. Resident population recreates the sample of Cornwall (and Wiltshire) residents in each point in time by combining various sub-groups as all residents are divided into various migrant and non-migrant groups. The groups are combined on the basis of their usual address (in or out of the county) at the particular point in time. For example, the population in Cornwall (and Wiltshire) in 1971 is a combination of the non-migrant population and all out-migrants, while in 2001 it is the non-migrant population and all in-migrants.

This concept helps with the analyses of the effect of migration on population structure. It makes it possible to distinguish which changes can be attributed to changes in the characteristics of the non-migrant population and which should be attributed to the effect of migration.

3.1.3.4 Area type

Another concept central for the research is area type. It is argued that geographical dimensions play an important role in migration. 'Locational characteristics also feature in migration decision making' (Cushing and Poot, 2004, 320). An area type represents a contextual variable which captures a geographical dimension in a meaningful way. For the purpose of this research a typology was developed capturing the most important dimensions related to migration and settlement structure in Cornwall.

The typology distinguishes not only urban and rural areas but also coastal and inland as it is emphasised that development of seaboard settlements is an important characteristic of Cornish neighbourhoods (Perry et al, 1986, Payton, 1993a). The coastal and inland dimensions were used also to distinguish the areas particularly attractive for resettlements for migrants, especially lifestyle migrants. Rural areas were assigned to the coastal rural category not only on the basis of their proximity to the sea but also on

the basis of their touristic attractiveness¹² which was used as a proxy to distinguish areas perceived as environmentally attractive and providing high quality of life. The relationship between tourism and creation of images of place was discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.2). Its relationship with migration is presented also in Boyle et al (1998b).

The outline of the typology is presented below. The details on the development of the typology are presented in section 3.2, its geographical representation is illustrated in figure 6.1 (p 204), and the comprehensive list of the wards and how they were classified in each Census year is attached in Appendix 2.

Outline of the Cornwall Area Type Classification

The classification used in the project consists of five categories: Inland Towns, Coastal Towns, Small Towns, Inland Rural and Coastal Rural. A major constraint in creating this typology was connected with population numbers. The aim was to create categories with the population of each area type being bigger than the population of the smallest mainland district, Penwith, to ensure that classification will not cause a problem of disclosure. As a result five categories were defined, which was one fewer than the number of districts. More categories in the classification would have allowed more complex area profiles to be defined but population levels would have been too low to be reliable.

Two types of urban areas are distinguished in the classification used in this project- main inland towns and main coastal towns. Urban areas are largely based on the ONS rural-urban classification (ONS(c)). Deviations from the ONS classification were, however, made in some cases. Torpoint is a town of less than ten thousand population (the threshold for this category in the ONS classification) but it is within the Plymouth Travel to Work Area, which significantly influences its character, and this was a decisive element in including it into the Inland Towns category. By contrast Illogan is excluded from the main inland towns' category (although it could have been categorised as such on the basis of its population size) because its settlement pattern is a combination of villages rather than a distinct town, and some of the villages have retained their individual character. St Austell is also an exception for a different reason. It has been

¹² The examples of research using tourist related measures for natural amenities are presented in section 1.1.4

classified as an inland town although it borders the coast. It was excluded from the Coastal Towns category because, of the towns on the coast in Cornwall, it is the most industrial in character being the centre for the china clay industry, and the least reliant on tourism. At this point it should be emphasised that 'coastal areas' are not defined solely on the basis of physical proximity to the coastline. One of their most significant characteristics is dependence on tourism.

Coastal towns were defined to include towns with a population of over 7,000 instead of the standard 10,000 threshold used by ONS in its urban-rural classification. This is appropriate for Cornwall because many of its towns have relatively small populations. It led to the following towns being classified as coastal: Bude, Falmouth, Newquay, Penzance and St Ives. Some of them have a population well over the 7,000 threshold, however Bude and St Ives just reached it.

The small towns category includes a mix of small market towns, with populations of only a few thousands, and some old industrialised areas (old mining communities and the china clay district). These are admittedly two different types of areas but they were combined so as to reach the population threshold set. The number of categories had to be limited in order to ensure adequate population numbers in each.

Inland rural areas were defined on the basis of low density (below the average population density for Cornwall which is 1.6 people per hectare¹³) and including no urban or semi-urban settlement. They are mainly agriculturally orientated areas.

Coastal rural areas are characterised not only by rural character and access to the coast but mainly by their significance for tourism which was measured by the number of visitors and proportion of second homes. This category shows most clearly that the typology of settlement types does not relate only to physical features of settlements, it includes the economic, industrial, tourist and agricultural characteristics of areas and produces categories which are uniquely appropriate for Cornwall.

¹³ Neighbourhood Statistics, Population density (UV02) (2001)

The tourist related measure was used to distinguish the areas with particular image of place associated with exceptional natural amenities and environment providing quality of life. These are the aspects playing their role in migration decision process motivated by lifestyle considerations¹⁴.

3.1.3.5. Concepts adopted from Censuses

Some of the concepts used in this study have been strongly shaped by the definitions used in the Censuses in order to collect data. Dale et al (1988) emphasise that in secondary analysis data should be used 'sensitively and with validity' which includes taking into account the fact that in government surveys standard definitions and classifications provide information on the characteristics of administrative systems as much as on the social phenomena connected with them.

'While it is easy to accept unquestioningly the definitions and the concepts of the survey, and the use of the officially collected data to represent complex concepts [...] secondary analyst should question both the basis upon which data is collected and also the meanings that can be attributed to the data' (Dale et al, 1988: 48).

Three concepts strongly shaped by Census definitions are used extensively in the study: economic activity, social class and tenure. Their definitions for the purpose of this project are discussed below.

Economic activity categories can be derived from various Census questions. Although the questions vary between Censuses, it is possible to derive categories which are comparable between the 1971 and 2001 Censuses. In the project a four-fold categorisation of economic activity was used: working (including working full-time, working part-time and self-employed), unemployed and temporarily sick (including the 'waiting to start job' category), permanently sick and early retired, and other inactive as a result of a focus on the transition from work to out-of-work life in Cornwall. Very limited analysis comparing the role of part-time and self-employment in Cornwall, Wiltshire and England and Wales are presented in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8).

¹⁴ The typology distinguishes only coastal areas as touristic because such developments as the Eden Project are fairly new and its impact on the image of the nearby villages was incomparable to that in some coastal villages.

These are very broad categories and in this project especially the inability to distinguish between those 'looking after home' and 'students' (who are merged into the 'other inactive' category) is recognised as leaving some ambiguity over the labour market position of these individuals. However, the sub-samples were not large enough to allow for more detailed classification

Students are also considered as a special case due to the fact that in 2001 they could be categorised as economically active if they worked during their studies. However, in all earlier Censuses students were recorded as inactive (and in this study classified as 'other inactive'). For this reason they are treated as inactive in all four points in time even if they were classified as economically active in 2001

The most significant change regarding economic activity involves the definition of the working age population. In 1971 this was 15-59 years for women and 15-64 years for men. However, from 1981 the lower limit was raised to 16. This is not considered a major issue because it arose from a change in the minimum school-leaving age

Another concept which is extensively used in the analysis is social class. It has been used in Censuses since 1911, first being called 'social grade' and later 'social class' (Rose, 1995). In the period of the project Censuses distinguish 6 social classes based on occupations

- I Professional occupations
- II Managerial and Technical occupations
- III (N) Skilled non-manual occupations
- III (M) Skilled manual occupations
- IV Partly-skilled occupations
- V Unskilled occupations

The detailed classification of occupations within each social class changed between Censuses but the concept developed as a hierarchical measure of social standing persisted. It has, however, been criticised for its limitations in representing contemporary employment relationships and the quality of the measure (Bland, 1979, Marsh, 1986, Nichols, 1996, Rose, 1995, Rose and Pevalin, 2001). As a result it was rejected by some

researchers as being inadequate and intuitive. The search for a better measure of social class led to the adoption of a new indicator of the social position of individuals based on occupation in the presentation of Census data i.e. the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) available for 1991 and 2001. Because it is available only for the last two Censuses NS-SEC was not used in this project. The analyses of migrants to Cornwall according to this classification can be found in Burley (2007).

Despite the criticism of social class based on occupation, Walthery (2006) shows that it can still be used effectively to demonstrate how social background determines an individual's achievements. This classification can to some extent account for individuals at both ends of the wealth scale and in this context it is used in the study, as an indicator of wealth and opportunity. As such it is believed that it can enlighten the most fundamental differences in socio-economic positions.

Social class based on occupation was chosen also because of the longitudinal character of this study which requires comparability of indicators through time. The detailed classification of occupations is revised between Censuses; however, the concept based on six social classes maintains a relatively high degree of comparability (Champion, 1995).

Another concept which is used in the study and is measured in various ways in Censuses is tenure. Changes to the housing market and in tenure distribution have led to information on individual's housing circumstances in Censuses becoming progressively more detailed, e.g. information about freehold and leasehold status of owned properties, a distinction between owners who own outright and those having a mortgage, shared ownership, as well as various renting categories.

In this study the Census categories have been aggregated to create three broad categories which can be compared between 1971 and 2001: owner occupiers, those renting privately and those renting socially. The distinction between the two renting categories aims to reflect the fact that broadly throughout this period there have been two different rented sector markets, regardless of the complex changes in the institutions involved in rented housing over the years. So social rent in 1971 includes renting from a council or New Town Development Corporation; in 1981 renting from a local authority,

housing association or charitable trust, in 1991 renting from a local authority, New Town Development Corporation, Housing Action Trust, housing association or charitable trust, and in 2001 renting from a council or other social landlord

3.2 Development of the area type classification

3.2.1 Existing classifications and the rationale for designing a new typology

The geographical dimension in sociological research is almost always restricted to standard administrative areas which provide information about local authorities. In Cornwall, which at the time of the research had a two-tier local authority structure (except for the Isles of Scilly), information is for districts (LGA, 2004)¹⁵. However, local government structure is designed to provide administrative functions and is not always a meaningful dimension in terms of settlement or population.

A critique of the universal use of administrative areas started in the 1970s but definition of socio-economic boundaries which will reflect 'real world' boundaries is still a challenge (Coombes, 1995). There have been various attempts to construct functionally defined areas including Weber's socio-economic classification of small areas, Travel to Work Areas, and development of urban and rural areas and later the national area type classification by ONS. They were considered for use in the project, however they all possess shortcomings limiting their usefulness for this research.

The ONS Area Classification was devised on the basis of criteria including demographic structure, household composition, housing, socio-economic characteristics, employment and industrial structure. These variables were used in cluster analysis of wards to produce a typology for the whole of Great Britain (ONS (a)). An interesting example of using this typology can be found in a migration study in Wales (Walford, 2007) which demonstrated that the ONS typology is a useful tool in national comparative studies. However, it lacks sensitivity in more focused regional studies and it has limited use for this project due to the fact that all of Cornwall has been classified as a remote rural area. Although subgroups are available which identify areas into far more categories, they are still of limited use for further analysis. In practice using subgroups only allows the areas which are the most deviant from the rural category to be distinguished and the final

¹⁵ In April 2009 Cornwall became a unitary authority which led to abolition of the districts

picture presents the majority of areas as rural, with only few pockets having significantly different characteristics.

Although Cornwall is largely rural, it would be a simplification to regard it as a homogenous area. It has been emphasised by those writing about Cornwall that 'to talk of 'rural Cornwall' as a homogenous entity is to gloss over important variations in socio-economic and cultural structures within Cornwall itself, as well as ignoring the differences between the area and agrarian regions such as East Anglia or the outer zones of Scotland and Wales' (Payton, 1993b: 36).

The need for a more sensitive classification of rural areas has been expressed by Marsden (1998) who warns against the 'notion of integration and holism of rural spaces' and encourages putting more stress on 'differencing rural space in its regional context' (pp 107). This need was also recognised by ONS in their Rural and Urban Area Classification (ONS (c)) which is based on settlement level and allows urban areas and rural towns to be identified within non-metropolitan districts. However, both approaches aim at national comparisons and are still not sensitive enough for regional or small area analysis.

'No single classification meets the needs of all users' (ONS (c)) and it is 'doubtful whether satisfactory general purpose classification can be devised' (Openshaw, 1983: 250). Openshaw (1983) stresses that the purpose of classification should be to achieve a unique approach to designing categories to make them meaningful in the context of the research. Following this argument and Marsden's (1998) statement that there is a need for more regionally and spatially orientated policies, the exercise to find a more meaningful dimension for analysing migration in a non-metropolitan rural context has been undertaken.

It has been found that using only an urban-rural dimension is not satisfactory for Cornwall. The body of research into migration to Cornwall (Perry et al, 1986; Payton, 1993a; Burley, 2006) suggests that both an urban-rural and a coastal- inland dimension are of great importance in terms of population and settlement. As a result, the new approach used in this project is based on a combination of these two dimensions. It indicates that classification of wards according to typology which consists of five area

types, namely main inland towns, main coastal towns, small towns and industrial areas, rural inland areas and rural coastal areas, can bring a fuller understanding of migration into Cornwall.

It is argued that this typology better represents the settlement pattern in Cornwall than any other available classification within the constraints of disclosure control rules (it distinguishes 5 categories which is less the number of local authorities-7 (including the Isles of Scilly))

3.2.2 Criteria used in creation of the typology

Classification is based on electoral wards for the years 1981, 1991 and 2001, and parishes for 1971. They are the smallest areas which could be used as building blocks for the typology in each of the years

Rees (1995) emphasises the importance of understanding the nature of types of small areas before using them for analysis of population change. He advises also that 'if the decision is taken to use wards as the small areas for studying population change [it is important to remember that] ward boundaries are subject to systematic review and adjustment [] in order to make the number of electors per seat more equal and to preserve the equivalence of the votes of people living in different areas' (Rees, 1995: 50). Therefore considerable attention was given to ward boundary changes during the period of this study, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

The 2001, 1991, 1981 wards, and 1971 parishes were allocated to one of five categories of areas to produce clusters with similar characteristics. The general rule was to classify areas according to their characteristics in 2001. Starting in 2001, wards were then classified to the same category in all three decades 1971-2001 to provide consistency through time. There are, however, several exceptions to this rule. For example, the Gover ward, which in 2001 was included in St Austell (main inland town), in all previous periods was part of a ward classified as small town, hence it was also classified as a small town in 2001. The classification of each ward/ parish in each year is shown in Appendix 2.

The criteria used to distinguish between rural and urban areas were population density and settlement structure. The same criteria were used by Panebianco and Kiehl (2003) who emphasised the limitations of the population density criterion and the importance of settlement structure. Coastal and inland areas were distinguished by the proximity to the coast and its significance for tourism measured by the number of visitors in the area and proportion of second homes out of the total housing stock.

After allocating wards to the different categories of the typology, the classification was evaluated in a qualitative way. The classification of areas was compared with that used by Cornwall County Council for policy purposes and differences were discussed. Using the knowledge of local people as a check on an analytical approach is a tool used frequently in qualitative research. Triangulation (cross-checking results of one technique against another), which was applied in creation of this typology, is used in social research to bring deeper understanding of an issue (Bryman, 2001). The evaluation helped especially with recognising the tourist and industrial character of different areas which were used in the distinction of coastal - inland, and small town – rural areas.

3.2.3 Problems encountered

One of the problems was to allocate wards to the type which best represents them. In some cases it was difficult because wards are big enough to include areas with different characteristics, which make a perfect match impossible. Ward boundaries should reflect identities of local communities; 'however equality of representation is often given much higher priority than community identity' (OPDM, 2007). This can lead to the creation of wards which do not represent distinct, local characteristics. An additional problem in using ward boundaries is in giving weight to the coastal and inland components of wards, which may contain elements of both. As a result, there had to be some compromise e.g. in such cases as St Endellion and St Kew Ward. Although St Endellion is a rural coastal area and St Kew a rural inland area, in 2001 both parishes were included in the same ward. Where wards had mixed characteristics, it was calculated where the majority of the population lived and greater weight was given to that part of the ward.

Another problem is connected with administrative boundary changes through time. The external boundaries of Cornwall itself did not change; however, electoral reviews affected ward boundaries twice in the time period 1971- 2001. Coombes (1995) warns

that failure to obtain coterminous geography can generate a spurious change. That is why so much attention was given to this issue in the period of this study.

The major administrative change took place in 1974 (Local Government Act, 1972). In Cornwall it retained a two-tier system of local government but introduced six district councils to replace a much larger number of boroughs, urban and rural districts. Ward boundaries were changed comprehensively. The status of the Isles of Scilly, however, remained unchanged. Fortunately, in the LS all 1971 data were coded for post-1974 geography. These district council boundaries remained unchanged until 2009 but ward boundaries have changed as a result of periodic electoral reviews. The most significant changes were between 1981 and 1991 in Caradon and Restormel districts (2 out of 7 districts in Cornwall) (CCC, 1982a, CCC, 1982b). Between 1991 and 2001 there were slight changes in all of the districts. These affected mainly very sparsely populated areas which account for a small proportion of the population of Cornwall. A significant exception applies to St Austell and neighbouring parishes between 1981-91, where the changes affected a substantial number of people.

The problem the changes caused was solved in most cases by aggregation. Areas affected by the changes were included in the same category whenever the characteristics of the ward allowed this. A 'merging strategy' was also used and recommended by Boyle and Exeter (2003) in their study of mortality over time in Scotland. This strategy allowed them to obtain coterminous geographies, however, in this project the method has its limitations. Major deviation from the characteristics of wards can blur the concept of area type classification and testing the hypothesis of its effect on migration. In other cases the method suffered because further inconsistencies would have been created.

Martin et al (2002) present three solutions to linking incompatible areal units: remodelling the data to some underlying surface-based representation, areal interpolation, and using look up tables to find a best fit of some areas into others.

In this project the third method was applied, namely the creation of look up-tables (reproduced in Appendix 2). The areas which were classified in one category at one Census and in another in previous ones were listed and estimation technique was

applied to account for any inconsistencies through time. The approach to this estimation was based on the population numbers for the areas which overlapped. The proportion of the population of overlapping areas was calculated for each category. It helped in making the adjustments to the tables including an area type variable. The method used was synonymous with the Geography Conversion Tables developed by Norman (2003). Source geography locations (for this project it was 2001 ward boundaries) and target geography locations (accordingly 1991, 1981 ward boundaries and 1971 parish boundaries) were weighted to indicate the extent of overlap. The population of overlapping areas is below 5% of the total population of Cornwall at each Census so these adjustments have only limited impact on the strength of the methodology and provides reassurance that confidence can be placed in the results.

3.2.4 The potential of the suggested typology

A typology combining urban-rural and coastal-inland dimensions was created for Cornwall to be a tool in the analysis of migration. The approach taken is supported by Boyle's and Halfacree's (1998) argument about unique aspects of migration to rural areas, and Champion's (2005a) findings of unusual population change characteristics in coastal, tourist locations. Resorts, ports and retirement areas which are defined as 'mainly coastal locations ... sometimes referred to as the 'costa geriatrica' (pp.98) had the highest average migration gain rates even though composing large urban centres (which is contrary to the general counterurbanising trend).

The significance of the coastal dimension is largely related to its environmental attractiveness. This does not necessarily relate to what landscape designation if any a particular place enjoys but to the rather subjective image of a place as an environmentally attractive area, providing high quality of life due to natural amenities.

Operationalisation of environmental attractiveness by the number of tourists or tourist-related facilities was suggested by Millington (2000). It was also adopted in this project as it not only reflects the fact that both phenomena are highly correlated but also the theoretical links between tourism, its influence on the images of places and in-migration.

Although tourist-orientated areas in Cornwall were defined as coastal areas, it is suggested that operationalisation of the environmental dimension by a tourist-related

measure is very fruitful and could prove equally useful in the analysis of migration in non-coastal regions favoured by tourists. In this approach it is argued that the environmental dimension is very important in studying migration patterns to non-metropolitan rural areas, and it should not be limited to coastal areas but rather extended to areas with other distinctive environmental attractions which have enabled the tourist industry to develop there.

The innovative character of this approach is in its potential to investigate new aspects of migration, verify lifestyle migration hypotheses and provide better understanding of the impact of migration on the local economy. It can be beneficial in the investigation of residential preferences in the light of counterurbanisation and lifestyle migration theories.

3.3 Analytical issues

The choice of the ONS LS data and particular decisions regarding the sample had important methodological implications. This section presents three issues of particular importance for the study: sampling, missing data and linking Censuses.

Using secondary data, especially such complex and large datasets as the ONS LS, does not mean that sampling procedures are irrelevant to the research process. It is common practice to use just part of such a dataset for particular analysis depending on its focus (e.g. women in employment, residents of a specific area, people in particular age bands etc.). For this project only residents of two counties were selected. This selection was not a straightforward procedure and required some judgements to be made as to what was appropriate and valid.

3.3.1 Sampling – units of analysis

Some aspects of the sampling procedure in this project are highlighted in the section presenting migrant/non-migrant population concepts: e.g. exclusion of visitors and residents of military bases and inclusion of residents in residential homes.

Sampling considerations also influenced the decision about units of analysis – individuals or households. On the one hand migration is often a household decision rather than an individual one. Especially in the case of child migrants, information about their parents

explains better the context within which a decision to move was made rather than their own characteristics.

On the other hand the ONS Longitudinal Study is a micro data linking information about individuals through time. Although there is some information about other members of the households, this is not on a longitudinal basis, which means that it is possible to relate an LS member to a Household Reference Person (HRP)¹⁶, but the HRP may change between Censuses. That makes it difficult to follow the changes in the aggregated tables and could lead to errors of interpretation. Therefore individuals remain the most suitable subjects to investigate using the ONS LS data.

Individuals were chosen as appropriate units of analysis; however, omitting the household dimension completely would be inappropriate and analyses are made in the light of information about households' structure of migrants.

3.3.2 Missing data

Another aspect of longitudinal datasets which has to be considered in composing a sample is attrition. Attrition is a form of non-response which results from the process of tracking the same individuals over time. The failure to collect information from any individuals at any point of data collection is defined as attrition (Frees, 2004). Missing data can cause biases if the 'mechanism of missingness' is not random (Little and Rubin, 1987) which means that some particular groups of people are more likely than others to be missing. The reasons for attrition are of prime importance.

In this project two kinds of attrition are recognised. One is due to natural causes, namely births and deaths, and the second is due to unexplained causes. Different approaches are needed to address each of these reasons.

The research period covers three decades. Therefore natural attrition will inevitably be very significant in the sample. A decision to include in the non-migrant population only

¹⁶ HRP identifies the person who is the reference person for the household on the basis of economic activity (in the priority order full-time job, part-time job, unemployed, retired, other). If more than one person has the same economic activity, the older person is chosen as the HRP, then order on the form is taken into account. For a person living alone, that person is the Household Reference Person (HRP). If the household contains a family, the HRP is the same as the Family Reference Person (FRP).

those individuals who were present in the county at all 4 points in time would lead to the sample having a considerable age bias. It would include only individuals who were born prior to 1971 and exclude all those who died between then and the 2001 Census. The majority of the sample would be people who were young in 1971 but this would only allow representative analysis for 1971. To prevent that, those who were born after 1971 and those who died before 2001 have been included in the sample. This has produced an unbalanced dataset (a data matrix in which data for some individuals at some points in time are missing) which is more complicated to analyse, however, after consideration the advantages of this approach seemed to outweigh the disadvantages.

Another approach is taken to those who are missing at some Censuses without a well-grounded explanation because it is impossible to decipher their migration patterns. Although migration is still the most likely cause of their not being enumerated in England and Wales, there might be many other explanations (e.g. not seeing or choosing not to complete a Census form, absence from the usual address on Census night and failure to complete it later). Although these individuals are not included in the sample, their characteristics are controlled to avoid biases. Appendix 4 includes patterns of 'missingness' in the Cornish (and Wiltshire) sample. The Irregularities Group presents the data for individuals who were not included in the sample due to their unexplained pattern of 'missingness'.

3.3.3. Linking Censuses through time

Linking the data collected at different time points is an inherent problem of longitudinal analysis. Although many topics in Censuses are repeated, at the same time there are continual changes in the detailed wording of questions, definitions and procedures which influence comparisons through time. The list of impediments is so long that Champion (1995) stated that 'such are the problems and pitfalls of comparing the results of separate Censuses that only extremely good reason can justify all the effort and care required' (pp 310). The explanatory power of longitudinal data at the individual level is thought to be the 'extremely good reason' for all the preliminary preparations for this project.

Three aspects of changes in Censuses leading to problems in comparisons, listed by Martin et al (2002), are particularly relevant to this project: environment, geography and variables.

The first area of concern – environment - is described as all the circumstances connected with collecting the Census data, e.g. whether it is conducted in term-time or holiday-time which influences where the student population is enumerated (especially in earlier Censuses when term-time address was not distinguished from the usual address for students) or 'the missing million' in 1991 which was attributed to suspicions over the confidentiality of the Census and unfortunate timing relative to the introduction of the unpopular community charge tax. These examples prove that political influences have methodological implications and such issues have been considered in this project in relevant situations e.g. in explanation of the patterns of missingness. Fortunately, a low response rate to the Census is not a problem which affects Cornwall or Wiltshire exceptionally badly (ONS(b)).

Changes to geographical boundaries are another area of concern. The major problem in comparisons over time is changes to boundaries of the areas for which the data are reported. The changes reflect the development of areas (e.g. growing of towns) as well as changes to the boundaries of administrative areas. The way geographical inconsistencies in Cornwall are treated in this project was explained in the section on the development of the Area Type Classification. Wiltshire experienced a significant boundary change in 1998 when Swindon became a Unitary Authority. However, in this project also in 2001 the data is reported for the area of the former Wiltshire county, which means the geographical county including Swindon, unless otherwise stated.

The third area of concern is changes to the questions in successive Censuses. New questions, the dropping of others and changes in answer categories have an effect on comparability. One example of continued changes is the classification of occupations; these has been revised between each Census and the degree of comparability varies between decades. However, other measures used in this thesis such as social class derived from the classification of occupations have proved to have high levels of continuity (Champion, 1995).

The most common solution to geographical and variable inconsistencies between Censuses is to work at an aggregate level and combine categories or areas to overcome problems. They cannot be overcome completely but they can be controlled so as to provide reliable findings, even if this limits in some cases the extent of the detail.

3.4. Research questions

The analyses are focused on explaining the patterns of economic activity and the residential preferences of migrants in the context of employment-led and lifestyle-led explanations of migration. It aims to bring a deeper understanding of factors influencing migration flows in the context of rural turnaround. It also looks at the impact of migration on population structure, economic performance and housing in two counties experiencing rapid population growth due to migration.

3.4.1 Research Question 1

Are changes in population structure linked to economic performance in the counties experiencing population growth due to migration?

The impact of migration on economic performance is investigated by comparison of two counties which experienced strong population growth due to migration. Cornwall is compared with Wiltshire, which is also a mostly rural county in the South West Region, however it includes a large town, Swindon, and the majority of rural areas are classified as accessible countryside. Although both counties experienced rapid population growth in the whole period covered by this research, their economic performance differed greatly.

Analysis focuses on comparison of the impact of migration on population structure in both counties and especially the patterns of inactivity and social class distribution in relation to economic performance.

3.4.2 Research Question 2

How do economic activity patterns and other socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants to Cornwall and out-migrants from the county explain the role of the labour market in internal migration?

The role of the labour market in migration strategies is investigated in cohort analysis of the economic activity and social position patterns of migrants. Cohort analysis involves the construction of cohort tables in which several cohorts are followed over time (Hagenaars, 1990). It seeks to explain an outcome through exploration of differences between cohorts as well as two other temporal dimensions: age and period (Mason and Wolfinger, 2001).

Table 3.3 presents an example of a cohort table in which each xx represents data. The rows relate to cohorts, columns to periods, and diagonally the data reflects age. In the tables for birth cohorts (cohorts distinguished on the basis of a common year(s) of birth) diagonal data include exact information about the age of individuals within the cohort. However, in this project cohorts of migrants are not birth cohorts but migration cohorts and age reflects the process of that ageing and does not reflect the actual age of cohort members.

Table 3.3. An example of a cohort table.

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
Cohort 1	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
Cohort 2		xx	xx	xx	xx
Cohort 3			xx	xx	xx
Cohort 4					xx

Source: Author's example

In this study the tables in Chapter 5 presenting economic activity and social class data for migrant groups for each Census are cohort tables. In-migrants and out-migrants are divided into cohorts and time is denoted as period. Looking at the data diagonally allows the effect of ageing of the cohorts to be tracked.

The differences in economic activity rates and patterns of inactivity as well as changes in the patterns of social class based on occupation might be an effect of either cohort differences (differences between cohorts in attitudes to labour market participation), period effect (an effect of labour market conditions at a particular point in time) or age effect (the ability to participate in the labour market depending on age) These three effects are very difficult to disentangle and are described in the literature as the identification problem (Hagenaars, 1990, Mason and Wolfinger, 2001)

In this study the cohort effect is investigated in the analysis of the patterns of economic activity before and after migration, and in consecutive periods. The analysis focuses on the similarities and differences of patterns between cohorts which indicate similarities and differences in attitudes towards participation in the labour market and identify labour market strategies

The period effect is investigated in comparison of economic activity and inactivity rates with other cohorts, in particular economic circumstances (in the particular decade), and the comparison with the population from which they come from, which is the population of England and Wales in the case of in-migrants, and the resident population in Cornwall in the case of out-migrants. Accounting for the period effect helps to differentiate between economic inactivity dependent on the conditions of the local economy and inactivity independent from economic conditions. The distinction between these two causes of inactivity was emphasised in previous research which identified a reduction in the economic activity rates of in-migrants to Cornwall (Williams, 2000, Burley, 2007). This can allow exploration of the influence of economic conditions nationally and locally on the profile of migrants and testing whether economic regeneration measures appear to have influenced the socio-economic characteristics of migrants in that decade, as suggested by Fielding in his 'spatial division of labour' thesis

The effect of the local economy is further investigated by analysis of the social class position of migrants. Chances of improving career prospects after migration or trading down in occupational social class also reflect labour market opportunities and strategies

It is particularly valuable that cohort analysis makes it possible to follow the long-term and short-term effects of migration. Longitudinal data over a thirty year period can be

used to look not only at a decade of migration but also at longer labour market histories. It allows the hypothesis to be tested of whether economic activity rates depend on period (socio-economic context) or rather on the act of migration (labour market strategies and preferences of migrants).

3.4.3 Research Question 3

How do residential patterns explain the role of environmental preferences of in-migrants to Cornwall?

The role of environmental preferences in migration is investigated through residence patterns classified according to the Cornwall Area Type Classification. It distinguishes: inland rural, coastal rural, small towns and industrial areas, main inland towns, and main coastal towns. Urban-rural and coastal- inland dimensions, which are the basis for the classification, reflect various environmental factors emphasised in the literature as significant in explaining high migration rates in some geographical areas.

Analysis again is based on cohorts. Residential patterns according to area types are compared for cohorts of in-migrants and non-migrant population. The analysis addresses the question whether there is a common pattern of residence in particular area types among in-migrants and whether they are different from the residential patterns of the non-migrant population.

Similar patterns of residence among in-migrants would suggest that there are some common, underlying factors influencing residential choices. Urban areas provide more work and education opportunities, better transport links and other urban facilities. On the other hand rural areas are able to offer a particular lifestyle and closer contact with nature (often also better quality i.e. larger and detached housing which contribute to the lifestyle factor) and in particular coastal areas provide astonishing natural amenities. Preferences towards particular locations indicate the significance of an environmental dimension and lifestyle factors in internal migration patterns since the 1970s. Furthermore, significant differences in residential patterns between in-migrants and the non-migrant population would further support environmental preferences as part of the

explanation of migration to Cornwall because it shows that availability of the housing stock is not constraining both populations equally

The Pearson chi-square (χ^2) which allows testing the assumption of independence is applied to test the statistical significance of the differences

3.4.4 Research Question 4

How has migration changed the population structure in Cornwall?

The final three research questions relate to the impact of migration on population and socio-economic performance, and treat all in-migrants as one group. To estimate the impact of migration a sample of the resident population of the county in 2001 was created and compared to the non-migrant population.

The actual population of Cornwall in 2001 was recreated by combining the non-migrant with the in-migrant population. This contrasts with the non-migrant population which reflects the population of Cornwall with continuous out-migration but no in-migration. Return migrants are not taken into account as the group is too small to make any significant differences. Comparison of these two groups clarifies which changes in population structure in Cornwall can be attributed to migration and which are due to endogenous transformations of the non-migrant population.

3.4.5 Research Question 5

Do migrants have better access to owner occupation than the non-migrant population?

The significance of migration and the consequent pressure on the housing stock have been emphasised in the debates about housing need in rural areas and have led to programmes promoting the building of homes for local people. However, the evidence of the impact of migration on local housing markets is not conclusive. The ONS LS allows testing of whether there is a difference in opportunities to improve housing circumstances for the migrant and non-migrant population.

The comparison of the potential to 'step up the property ladder' between the non-migrant and migrant population is achieved by calculating the odds of becoming owner occupiers for those previously renting. The odds ratio measures the strength of this association and Rudas (1998) argues that it is the best way to capture the relationship between variables as it is not affected by marginal distributions and depends only on the association between variables. The odds measure the strength of the association in respective categories and the odds ratio compares these strengths (Rudas, 1998). In this study, odds are calculated for more than two categories and for that reason they are used rather than odds ratios, giving more opportunities for comparison.

Chapter 4: Population growth and economic development - comparable case strategy in search of differentiating counter-urban migration flows

This chapter addresses the first research question considering population growth and migration and their links with economic performance. It compares how the population of two non-metropolitan, mostly rural counties (Cornwall and Wiltshire) has changed due to migration in the last 30 years of the 20th century marked by the counterurbanisation trend, and how this relates to the economic development of these areas.

The chapter consists of three sections. The first describes the relationship between population growth and employment in Cornwall and Wiltshire. As presented by Blotvogel (1997), according to neoclassical theory, the main links between population and economy operate through labour markets and as such the focus of researchers should be on the relationship between population development and employment related indicators.

The second part focuses on socio-economic characteristics of migrants and investigates whether the economic activity patterns of migrants suggest qualitative differences in migration flows to rural areas. As a result it tests whether economic activity can serve as an indicator distinguishing different types of migration flows which go beyond the well-established distinction between retirement and working age migration.

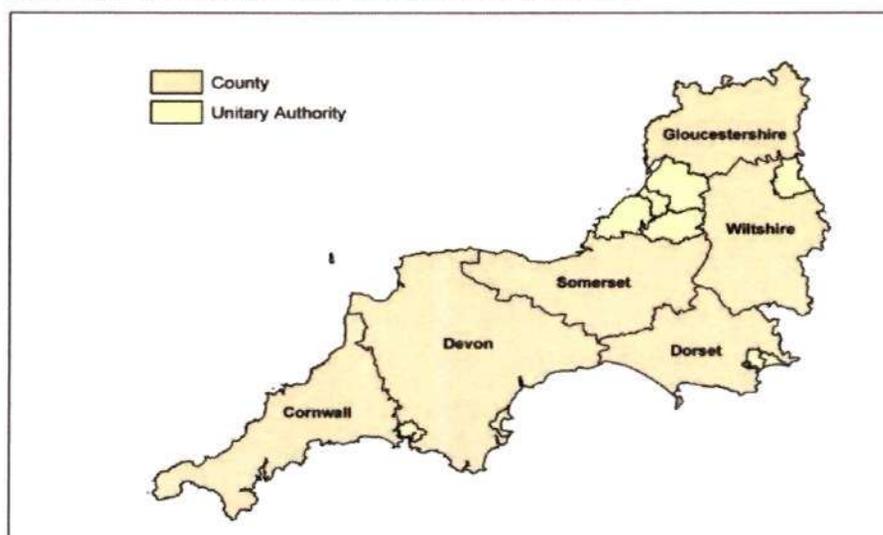
The third part of this chapter addresses the question of how socio-economic profiles of the resident population of these non-metropolitan counties have been changed by migration in order to investigate the impact of this process on local labour markets.

The aim is to investigate the links between migration and employment and consider whether counter-urban flows should be differentiated on the basis of the economic characteristics of migrants. It will be achieved by investigating two types of relationships: the relationship between population and economic growth, and the relationship between the characteristics of migrant and non-migrant population groups and labour market indicators.

Cornwall is compared to Wiltshire (which is defined to include Swindon for the whole period in line with the previous administrative county boundaries) in order to investigate the impact of rural turnaround since both counties experienced strong population growth, mainly as a result of in-migration. A comparable case strategy involves maximising 'the variance of the independent variables and minimise the variance of the control variables' (Lijphart, 1975: 164). For that reason Cornwall and Wiltshire have been chosen as suitable cases to consider the relationship between population growth, in which they show many similarities, and economic development, in respect of which they are very different.

Both counties shares many characteristics related to population and migration, and some similarities in respect of location and rurality, however some crucial differences should also be noted. They are both mainly rural including large areas designated as having exceptional landscape values (Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty and Areas of Great Landscape Value) which account for about 44% of the land in Wiltshire, excluding Swindon (Wiltshire County Council, 2009) and about 49% in Cornwall (Griffin, 1993). Cornwall and Wiltshire are both located in the South West region, however more detailed location characteristics show crucial differences. Figure 4.1 presents a map of the South West distinguishing county boundaries and illustrating the peripherality of Cornwall. By contrast Wiltshire is in the extreme east of the region and its boundary adjoins the South East region. The proximity to London is a major factor differentiating Cornwall and Wiltshire.

Figure 4.1 Administrative map of South West Region 2006



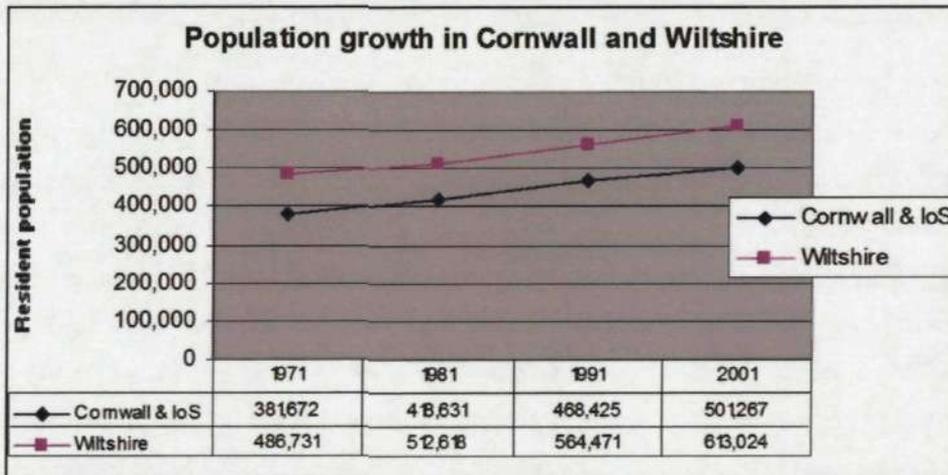
Source: South West Observatory Environment

http://www.swenvo.org.uk/local_profiles/local_profiles_maps.asp

4.1 Population growth and employment in Cornwall and Wiltshire

Cornwall and Wiltshire have both experienced strong population growth and high net migration rates since the 1970s. Figure 4.2 presents the numbers of resident population in both counties in each Census year between 1971 and 2001 (data for 2001 present the number of residents of the former Wiltshire county) and table 4.1 shows the inter-censal percentage growth of the resident population.

Figure 4.2 Resident population in Cornwall and Wiltshire 1971-2001



Source: Census, standard tables

Table 4.1 Percentage population change for Cornwall and Wiltshire by decade

Percentage population change	[^] 71-81 population present (%)	[^] 81-91 resident population (%)	^{^^} 91-01 resident population (%)
Cornwall & IoS	12.8	9.0	7.0
Wiltshire	6.5	7.5	8.3*

* former Wiltshire County

Source: Census: Key Statistics for Local Authorities, [^]Census 1991, Table 1; ^{^^}Census 2001, Table KS01

The population growth of these two counties was primarily due to internal in-migration flows. In Cornwall this concealed the excess of deaths over births. Table 4.2 presents the population change by its two major components: natural change and migration, including all other changes, for each decade in the period 1981 to 2001.

Table 4.2 Population growth by components of population change

<i>Thousands</i>	Change 1981-1990		Change 1991-2001	
	Natural change	Migration and other changes	Natural change	Migration and other changes
Cornwall	-5.0	52.7	-10.2	40.8
Wiltshire	17.2	29.5	9.0	25.9
Swindon UA			8.4	0.3

Source: Vital Statistics no 23; Vital Statistics no28

Table 4.2 demonstrates that population growth in Cornwall was entirely due to immigration. Although overall population growth in Cornwall and Wiltshire has been very similar, Cornwall experienced higher net migration in the period 1981-2001. In the table data for Wiltshire county and Swindon Unitary Authority¹⁷ are presented separately for the decade 1991-2001, and show different trends. Net migration made only a small contribution to population growth in Swindon whereas there was substantial natural growth. In the rest of Wiltshire there was natural growth and an even larger increase due to migration. Regardless of these differences in Wiltshire it can be concluded that in both counties (Cornwall and Wiltshire) migration played a pivotal role in population development.

Champion and Vandermotten (1997), analysing the relationship between population and economic growth in Great Britain, found a positive correlation between the two which suggests that population growth is beneficial for economic development. However, Cornwall and Wiltshire show very different economic performance. They are respectively the worst and one of the best performing counties in the region with regards to Gross Value Added which represents the income generated by economic activity (SWO, 2007).

Table 4.3 presents Gross Value Added figures¹⁸ for Cornwall and Wiltshire in relation to United Kingdom's GVA. It illustrates the persistently disadvantaged position of Cornwall whereas Wiltshire is close to the national average and at times even performing better¹⁹. It is difficult to interpret trends in Wiltshire because the

¹⁷ Swindon became a Unitary Authority in 1998

¹⁸ Figures before 2001 were described as GDP at basic prices. GVA represents the same value as GDP at basic prices which was replaced in ONS accounts according to European System of Accounts (Douglas, 2001).

¹⁹ Regardless of the limitations of GVA in showing the differences in economic welfare it is still the most widely used measure. On benefits and shortcomings of that measure see European Parliament (2007).

geography of the areas for which statistics are given varies during this period but what is consistent is that Wiltshire performs better than Cornwall. The table also shows that throughout the period of rapid increase in population numbers Cornwall's economy remained performing poorly.

Table 4.3 GVA (£) per head (UK=100)

	1981*	1991**	1996***	2001****	2006*****
Cornwall	77.3	72.9	65	57	63
Wiltshire	98.9	110	101	85	^110.2
Swindon			154	153	

Source: *Regional Trends 27, Table 14.3; **Regional Trends 29, Table 14.3 ***Regional Trends 37, Table 14.7; ****Regional Trends 38, Table 14.8; *****SWO (2007) Release of Regional and Sub Regional GVA Estimates;

^ data for Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and North Somerset combined

Other measures of economic performance are employment related indicators. The links between population growth and employment are often seen as positive effects of jobs created by self-employed migrants and stronger demand on services (Findlay, Short and Stockdale, 2000; Keeble, 1997; Bosworth, 2006). This argument shaped the Cornwall County Council policy in the 1970s (Calder, 1979). During this period local authority government adopted a population led growth strategy for Cornwall. However, regardless the similar population trends in Cornwall and Wiltshire, the employment situation in both counties differs significantly.

The analysis of employment figures below is based on Census data; however due to changing definition (e.g. table 4.4 and figure 4.3 present the percentage of unemployment for economically active people aged 15 and over in 1971, 16 and over in 1981 and 1991, and 16-74 in 2001), the table gives cross-sectional comparison and should not be used to follow longitudinal changes. At each point in time the data were collected and indicators calculated according to the same methodology. The analysis shows the extent of two phenomena often used to identify particularly disadvantaged areas: unemployment and underemployment. On both measures there can be seen persistent differences between the two counties.

Unemployment figures presented in table 4.4 and illustrated in figure 4.3 show that the proportion of unemployed was higher in Cornwall than in England in all four Census years. At the same time Wiltshire in all four years had much lower rates of unemployment which were also below those in England.

In 1971 and 1981 the unemployed were identified in the Census data as those seeking work, while in 1991 and 2001 the category was changed to unemployment and referred directly to this concept. There are other indicators available, including those based on the International Labour Organisation definition which is thought to measure unemployment more accurately; however these are not available for earlier dates and for that reason Census data was chosen as the most appropriate.

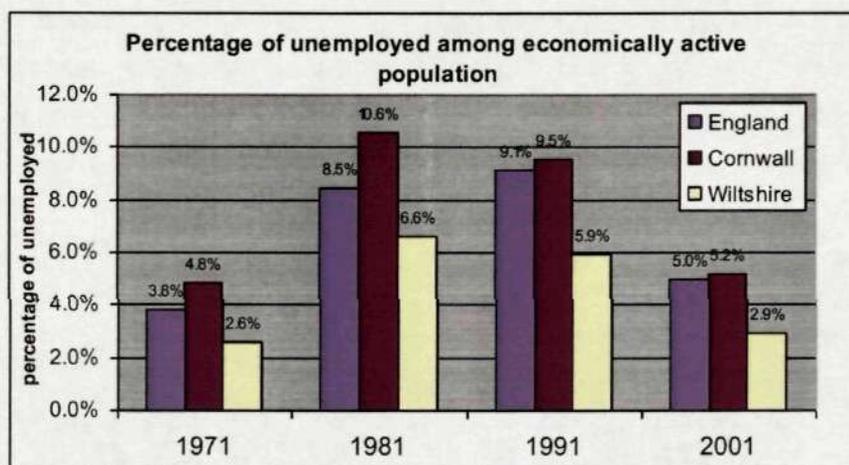
Table 4.4 Unemployment among economically active population

All population %	1971	1981	1991	2001*
England	3.8	8.5	9.1	5.0
Cornwall	4.8	10.6	9.5	5.2
Wiltshire	2.6	6.6	5.9	2.9

* former Wiltshire County

Source: Census 1971, Table SAS05 [Census Dissemination Unit]; Census 1981, Table 20; Census 1991, Table S08; Census 2001, Table CAS021 [Nomis]

Figure 4.3 Unemployment among economically active population



Source: Census

Another indicator suggesting weakness in labour markets is the proportion of the population employed part-time, which represents the underused potential of the labour force. The part-time employment is used as an indicator of underemployment, although it is accepted that some of it is voluntary.

The Census data for part-time employees at the county level are available only for 1991 and 2001 and for that reason Table 4.5 cover just that period. It shows that differences in the rate of part-time employment became really visible in the last Census. In Cornwall the proportion of part-time employees is clearly higher than that in England and Wales and Wiltshire. It suggests that again Cornwall was

disadvantaged in terms of the labour force structure and its potential to contribute to GVA in comparison to England and Wales.

Table 4.5 Percentage of part-time employees among economically active population

% of economically active	1991	2001*
England and Wales	16.2	17.7
Cornwall	17.6	21.1
Wiltshire	17.1	17.9

* former Wiltshire County

Source: Nomis, Census 1991, Table L08; Census 2001, Table S028

However what makes assessment of the degree of disadvantage which Cornwall's employment structure generates more complicated is the extent and impact of self-employment. Table 4.6 demonstrates that the proportion of economically active population who were self-employed was much higher in Cornwall than either England and Wales or Wiltshire. Self-employment is usually associated with entrepreneurial activities, however, as pointed out by Findlay et al (2000) there are considerable regional variations in dynamism of such businesses and their rate of job creation. Regardless the ambiguity over its contribution it is an important factor which needs to be taken into account when analysing employment structure, particularly in Cornwall.

Table 4.6 Percentage of self-employed among economically active population

% of economically active	1991	2001*
England and Wales	11.8	12.4
Cornwall	21.1	19.4
Wiltshire	12.2	12.4

* former Wiltshire County

Source: Nomis, Census 1991, Table L08; Census 2001, Table S028

The final element used to compare conditions in the labour market is wages. The significance of wages as an element of population growth through in-migration is emphasised in neo-classical theories. However, some research in Wales found that, contradictory to these theories low wages accompanied increased in-migration in rural areas (Goodwin et al, 1995).

The data about earnings were sourced from Regional Trends which has presented the findings of the New Earnings Survey since 1970. It has been used for cross-sectional comparisons to investigate the position of both counties in relation to wages in England.

Table 4.7 show trends in the gross weekly earnings; however the data includes only full-time earnings, which does not represent earnings across the whole labour force, particularly part-time workers and self-employed workers (ONS, 2002), which plays a more important role in Cornwall than on average in England. It is recognised that the data do not represent very well the complexity of the structure of wages, but at the same time it allows comparison of the main group of workers (those employed full-time) and it is argued that it can be used as a reasonable indicator of regional wage differences.

The table shows that in the 1970s the wages of full time workers in Cornwall, both manual and non-manual, were below 85% of the Great Britain average (except for female non-manual employees) but in Wiltshire they account for about 95% of that in Great Britain. This shows that wage differences were significant at the time when the process of population growth and increased in-migration started.

Since then the significant gap in wages in Cornwall and Wiltshire in relation to those in England has persisted. In 1980, 1991 and 2001 wages in Cornwall were in most cases below 80% of England's full time earnings, while in Wiltshire they were above or very close to 90%. In 2001 the data for Swindon were presented separately from those for Wiltshire county. Although earnings in Swindon were much higher than on average in England, after excluding Swindon, Wiltshire still shows much better earnings of full-time employees within that county (above 85% of England's earnings) than in Cornwall (about 75% of England's earnings).

Table 4 7 Wages - Average gross full-time weekly earnings (£)

		*April 1970		April 1980**		April 1991***		April 2001****	
		£	% of GB earnings	£	% of Engl earnings	£	% of Engl earnings	£	% of Engl earnings
England	male	M26.2 N35.7		124.7		322.8		498.3	
	female	M12.9 N17.6		79.5		225.2		371.6	
Cornwall (Western SW in '70)	male	M21.9 N29.8	83.6 83.5	98.9	79.3	246.3	76.30	362.3	72.7
	female	M10.8 N16.9	83.7 96.0	68.7	86.4	178.2	79.12	287.5	77.4
Wiltshire (Northern SW in '70)	male	M25.8 N33.7	98.5 94.4	114.1	91.5	316.5	98.04	447.0	89.7
	female	M12.4 N16.5	96.1 93.8	73.3	92.2	212.1	94.18	323.1	86.9
Swindon	male							559.4	112.3
	female							371.3	99.9

Note. M in front of the wage value stands for a manual worker, N stands for a non-manual worker

Source: New Earning Survey *Regional Trends 7 (sub-divisions cut through counties, as a result data for Cornwall are data for Western SW, and data for Wiltshire are for Northern SW, men aged 21 and over, women aged 18 and over), **Regional Trends 17 Basic County Statistics, men aged 21 and over; women aged 18 and over, ***Regional Trends 27 Table 14.4 Income, adult rates, ****Regional Trends 37 Table 14.5 Labour Market Statistics by local authority

Although economic indicators show that in the period 1971-2001 Cornwall and Wiltshire had very different economic positions (with Cornwall being and remaining well below the England and Wales average in respect of GVA, full-time employment and wages and above in respect of unemployment, but Wiltshire was much closer to the England and Wales average or above it for each indicator), they have experienced similar population changes. Regardless of economic performance both counties have remained attractive destinations for large number of migrants and have experienced rapid population growth.

These discrepancies in economic development in the context of population development remain unexplained. One hypothesis assumes the varying impact of immigration. The next section focuses on the economic activity of migrants to Cornwall.

and Wiltshire and explores whether this can be a factor in differences in the development of the local labour markets of migrants' destination areas.

4.2 Economic activity and migration - should we differentiate counter-urban flows?

Central to interest in migration studies is analysis of the economic activity of migrants. This section investigates the issue of economic activity of working age migrants in order to exclude the impact of retired individuals who are not seeking to remain in the labour market. The impact of statutory retirement rights has been recognised and accommodated by most migration theories (neo-classical theory, life cycle theory of migration). The focus of this section is on analysing economic activity patterns of working age migrants and considering the labour market strategies of migrants to two rural, non-metropolitan counties.

Earlier research (Williams and Champion, 1998; Burley, 2007) found that economic activity rates of recent migrants to Cornwall were very low. The analysis below examines consecutive cohorts of migrants to Cornwall throughout the period of increased in-migration and compares them with migrants to Wiltshire in order to investigate the role of the labour market for counter-urban migrants and to seek to understand the low economic activity rates of migrants to Cornwall.

Table 4.8 shows the proportion of men in employment after migration in both counties which in Cornwall has been much lower than in Wiltshire. Although the previous section demonstrated that Cornwall faced a bigger problem with unemployment than Wiltshire, the difference cannot be explained solely by migration. The table for male migrants also shows that the differences in economic activity rates between migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire became even more significant in later decades.

In all three decades male working age migrants to Cornwall not only included a much smaller proportion of individuals in employment than migrants to Wiltshire but also lower levels of employment than in England and Wales. In 1981 65% of Cornish migrants were employed full-time compared with 73% in England and Wales and 79% in Wiltshire. The sub-category of employment which seemed to be favoured by Cornish migrants was self-employment. A substantially higher proportion of male migrants to Cornwall in all three Census years was self-employed compared to migrants to Wiltshire or the England and Wales average. However, the higher rates

of self-employment did not compensate for the much smaller proportion of those being employed.

Although unemployment among migrants to Cornwall in the first decade after migration was higher than in England and Wales (particularly in 2001, when unemployment in England & Wales was 4.4% and among recent migrants (short-term migrants) to Cornwall 9.3%), and among migrants to Wiltshire much lower, there are even more consistent and substantial differences as regards the permanently sick and early retired. Among working age male migrants to Cornwall, the proportion who were inactive was approximately double that in England and Wales for all three cohorts and several times higher than among migrants to Wiltshire.

Table 4.8 Economic activity of male working age in-migrants after migration

	1981			1991			2001		
	England and Wales	Long-term migrants Cornwall N= 210	Wiltshire N= 252	England and Wales	Medium-term migrants Cornwall N=200	Wiltshire N=185	England and Wales	Short-term migrants Cornwall N=194	Wiltshire N=199
%									
Full-time	73.2	65.2	79.4	61.8	45.0	69.7	60.8	41.2	68.9
Part-time	1.0	2.4	1.2	1.6	3.0	2.2	-	-	²⁰
Self-employed	8.5	9.5	8.7	13.7	22.0	16.8	13.1	16.0	10.5
Unemployed	8.6	9.5	6.3	9.1	11.0	4.3	4.4	9.3	2.9
Permanently sick/ early retired	4.9	8.6	3.2	9.6	16.5	3.8	10.5	21.1	5.3
Other inactive	3.9	4.8	1.2	4.3	2.5	3.2	11.2	12.4	12.4

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

²⁰ The number of part-time short-term migrant male workers in Wiltshire in 2001 was so small that it had to be combined with full-time workers. For comparison reasons the same was done for Cornwall and England & Wales

Table 4.9 Economic activity of female working age in-migrants after migration

%	1981 Long-term migrants			1991 Medium-term migrants			2001 Short-term migrants		
	England and Wales	Cornwall N=254	Wiltshire N=266	England and Wales	Cornwall N=212	Wiltshire N=195	England and Wales	Cornwall N=194	Wiltshire N=276
Full-time	31.8	24.8	24.4	35.5	20.8	30.3	35.6	23.7	38.5
Part-time	21.7	17.7	21.4	23.1	20.3	28.2	23.7	20.6	20.6
Self-employed	2.9	3.1	4.2	3.9	10.9	6.7	4.7	9.3	5.2
Unemployed	4.1	3.1	2.6	4.7	6.6	3.6	2.7	5.2	2.4
Permanently sick/ early retired	1.8	1.6	1.5	5.2	7.1	4.1	7.2	11.9	4.8
Other inactive	37.7	49.6	45.9	27.5	34.4	27.2	26.1	29.4	28.5

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Economic activity rates for female migrants (table 4.9) are more difficult to interpret because the process of rising participation of women in the labour market played an important part in shaping economic activity patterns at the same time as other processes and it is more difficult to disentangle cohort and period effects.

Table 4.9 shows that the differences in the proportion of female migrants in employment between Cornwall and Wiltshire is much smaller than for men; however among female medium and short-term migrants the difference is statistically significant, which indicates that female migrants in Wiltshire more often undertook employment after their move than migrants in Cornwall.

In Cornwall, in all cohorts, female migrants had a much lower proportion (about 10% lower) in employment after migration than in England and Wales. In Wiltshire the same situation was only the case among long-term migrants in 1981. Medium and short-term migrants in Wiltshire had a slightly higher proportion in employment than the England and Wales average. Female migrants to Cornwall (like male migrants) were more likely to be self-employed but this does not change the general picture of low labour market participation by female migrants in Cornwall.

Female migrants to Cornwall were also more likely to be unemployed and permanently sick or early retired with the exception of long-term migrants for whom all the differences in employment levels can be attributed to a much higher proportion being in the other forms of inactivity category, which includes housewives.

The LS data for migrants, like other Census data for the resident population (e.g. presented in tables 4.4) demonstrates that employment among the migrant population in Cornwall was significantly lower than in England and Wales. On the other hand employment among migrants in Wiltshire was above that in the rest of the country. These tables suggest that the labour market position of migrants exaggerated the employment trends in both counties, influencing participation in the labour market by Cornwall residents in the direction below the national average and Wiltshire above. The question is whether this reflects local labour market conditions or individual choices of migrants.

Differences in economic activity have sometimes been attributed to differences in the dynamism of in-migrants, their lifestyle choices, conditions in the local economy and the extent of job prospects. Migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire could also differ in

their economic activity rates even before migrating and the consequent differences in their employment rates after the move could reflect of their earlier position in the labour market (e.g migrating unemployment).

Further analysis focuses on other aspects of employment in order to explain these differences in labour market strategies of migrants. First, the differences in the proportion of working age migrants continuing employment after migration is considered in the light of their employment circumstances before migration and the condition of the labour markets of destination areas.

4.2.1 Economic activity of migrants – differences in migrants' characteristics before their move or the impact of local labour markets

Migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire, both male and female, have very small differences in the proportions in employment before migration (table 6.10 and 6.11)²¹ and are very close employment rates in England and Wales. Male medium-term migrants who migrated later to Cornwall had an even greater proportion in employment than those in England & Wales and migrants who migrated later to Wiltshire. On the whole the patterns in the tables presenting economic activity in England and Wales and later migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire are very similar and it can be concluded that the different groups of migrants did not differ significantly in their strategies and positions on the labour market in the period before migration.

Although the LS data shows that the proportions of working age migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire in employment before their move were very similar, they had very different levels of economic activity after the move, with those moving to Cornwall having a much lower propensity to be in employment than those moving to Wiltshire or even the England and Wales average.

²¹ Table 6.10 and 6.11 present the data for long-term migrants excluding those who migrated before 1971 (the cohort includes individuals who had migrated since 1966) as the table aims to present the position of migrants before they moved to Cornwall and Wiltshire.

Table 4.10 Economic activity of male working age in-migrants before migration

	1971 Long-term migrants (migrating after 1971)			1981 Medium-term migrants			1991 Short-term migrants		
	England and Wales	Cornwall N= 151	Wiltshire N= 165	England and Wales	Cornwall N= 218	Wiltshire N= 170	England and Wales	Cornwall N= 190	Wiltshire N= 184
In employment	88.6	90.7	89.7	82.6	87.6	82.4	77.0	77.4	78.3
Unemployed	4.3	2.0	2.4	8.6	7.3	6.5	9.1	13.2	9.8
Permanently sick/ early retired	3.3	2.0	3.0	4.9	2.3	2.9	9.6	0.0	4.4
Other inactive	3.8	5.3	4.9	3.9	2.8	8.2	4.3	9.5	7.6

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 4.11 Economic activity of female working age in-migrants before migration

	1971 Long-term migrants (migrating after 1971)			1981 Medium-term migrants			1991 Short-term migrants		
	England and Wales	Cornwall N= 168	Wiltshire N=157	England and Wales	Cornwall N=241	Wiltshire N=198	England and Wales	Cornwall N=213	Wiltshire N=257
In employment	52.4	52.4	51.6	56.4	51.0	53.0	62.6	63.9	65.8
Unemployed	2.3	1.8	1.9	4.1	1.7	2.0	4.7	0.0	0.0
Permanently sick/ early retired	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.8	2.5	2.0	5.2	11.7	1.2
Other inactive	43.0	44.1	44.6	37.7	44.8	42.9	27.5	24.4	33.1

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Another explanation presumes that a migrant's economic activity after their move is conditioned by local labour markets therefore the lower rates of migrants to Cornwall were a result of employment opportunities being less than in Wiltshire. The analysis in the previous section demonstrated that the Cornish labour market was disadvantaged compared with Wiltshire and England and Wales. To test this hypothesis, economic activity rates of migrants are related to the non-migrant population in both counties.

Table 4.12 and 4.13 compare the economic activity rates of each cohort of in-migrants in the first decade after migration with the economic activity rates of the non-migrant population in Cornwall and Wiltshire. Comparing migrants and non-migrants makes it possible to control for the labour market opportunities which were faced by both local and new residents in each county.

The tables demonstrate significant differences in the trends in economic activity of males and females in the two counties. The economic activity patterns of men show striking and consistent differences between Cornwall and Wiltshire. In Cornwall, in all three Census years the economic activity of the migrant population was significantly lower than that of the non-migrant population and the difference became even larger in the more recent cohorts. In Wiltshire the opposite was the case with migrants having a higher proportion in employment than non-migrants throughout the period. The higher rates of inactivity experienced by migrants to Cornwall were mainly an effect of the substantially higher proportion who were either unemployed or permanently sick or early retired.

The data for women (table 4.13) show in both counties the proportion of migrants in employment being lower than that of the non-migrant population, with the exception of long-term migrants in Cornwall. At the same time in Wiltshire the lower rates of economic activity among women resulted from more of them staying outside the labour market, usually as home keepers and being assigned to the other inactive category, however in Cornwall both in 1991 and 2001 the lower rates of females in employment were mainly due to a higher proportion of them reporting being unemployed, permanently sick or early retired.

In general, although the data for medium and short-term migrants (both male and female) suggest that lower economic activity rates of migrants can be to some extent an effect of labour market conditions demonstrated by the higher rates of

unemployment than among the non-migrant population, it is not a sufficient explanation of the striking differences in labour market participation between the local population and newcomers. Male migrants in Cornwall in particular consistently had rates of economic activity considerably lower than the non-migrant population while the experience in Wiltshire was the opposite.

The data suggest that there are factors other than migrants' economic activity rates before their move or the employment opportunities in the local labour market they move to responsible for these discrepancies in the economic activity of migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire.

Table 4.12 Economic activity of male working age in-migrants after migration and the non-migrant population

%	1981				1991				2001			
	Cornwall non-mig N= 574	Cornwall LTmig N= 210	Wiltshire non-mig N= 778	Wiltshire LT mig N=252	Cornwall non-mig N= 513	Cornwall MT mig N=200	Wiltshire non-mig N= 727	Wiltshire MT mig N=185	Cornwall non-mig N= 550	Cornwall ST mig N=194	Wiltshire non-mig N= 696	Wiltshire ST mig N=199
In employment	81.4	77.1	87.5	89.3	78.8	70.0	81.0	88.7	71.8	57.2	83.2	82.4
Unemployed	10.5	9.5	5.8	6.3	7.4	11.0	5.5	4.3	5.1	9.3	3.0	2.5
Permanently sick/ early retired	5.4	8.6	3.5	3.2	10.7	16.5	9.2	3.8	8.2	21.1	9.1	5.5
Other inactive	2.8	4.8	3.2	1.2	3.1	2.5	4.3	3.2	14.9	12.4	4.7	9.6

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

LT= long-term, MT= medium-term, ST= short-term

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 4.13 Economic activity of female working age in-migrants after migration and the non-migrant population

%	1981				1991				2001			
	Cornwall non-mig N= 568	Cornwall LT mig N= 254	Wiltshire non-mig N= 728	Wiltshire LT mig N=266	Cornwall non-mig N= 497	Cornwall MT mig N=212	Wiltshire non-mig N= 628	Wiltshire MT mig N=195	Cornwall non-mig N= 522	Cornwall ST mig N=194	Wiltshire non-mig N= 656	Wiltshire ST mig N=276
In employment	44.5	45.7	60.4	50.0	56.1	51.9	68.8	65.1	60.3	53.6	73.5	67.4
Unemployed	3.2	3.1	1.9	2.6	4.0	6.6	4.5	3.6	1.9	5.2	2.5	2.5
Permanently sick/ early retired	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.5	5.8	7.1	3.2	4.1	5.9	11.9	5.1	5.1
Other inactive	50.4	49.6	36.0	45.9	34.0	34.4	23.6	27.2	31.8	29.4	18.9	25.0

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

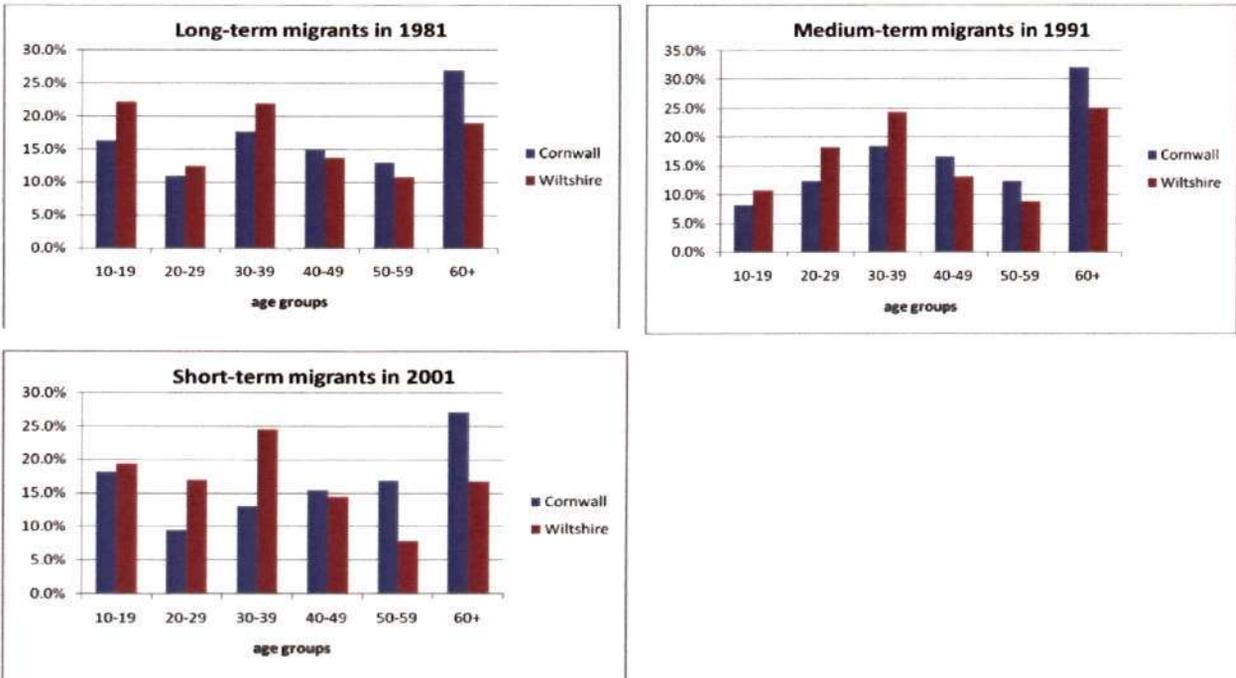
Other explanations of these differences in economic activity include life cycle theory or cultural aspects of regulation theory which considers phenomena such as the rural aspirations of the middle class. Analysis of the age structure and social position of migrants before their move is conducted so as to search other characteristics which can explain the differences in the labour market participation of migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire.

4.2.2 Age and social position- life cycle and aspirations of middle class thesis

The life cycle theory of migration considers the particular significance of age for people’s decisions to move and explains choices of destinations by their stage of life, household composition and their transitions, which are correlated to an age variable.

The age structure of migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire shows in figure 4.4 a consistent difference through time between the age distribution of migrants to the two counties. The graphs demonstrate a clear change in the proportions of different ages between migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire. The proportion of migrants to Cornwall is higher above the age of 40 while migrants to Wiltshire have a higher proportion in ages below 40. It shows that working age migrants to Cornwall are more often later career migrants but in Wiltshire more migrants are at the beginning or the middle of their working careers.

Figure 4.4 Age structure of in-migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire (after migration)



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Bures (1997) in her retirement transition explanation argues that job-related considerations diminish for pre-elderly migrants and that there is a discrepancy between the destination choices of 'pre-elderly' and 'younger adults' migrants. This suggests that the differences in the age structure of the working age population explain some of the differences in economic activity rates. If individuals in the later stages of their careers have lower rates of economic activity, and there is a higher proportion of these migrants to Cornwall, the lower rates of economic activity of migrants to Cornwall compared with Wiltshire might be the effect of different attitudes towards the labour market among migrants at different stages of their careers. Indeed, elaboration of the economic activity tables, presented as tables 4.14 and 4.15, shows that the crucial point about explaining the economic activity rates of migrants to Cornwall is the lower labour market participation of later career migrants.

Table 4.14 shows the percentages of working age men in employment and compares non-migrant and migrant residents of those below the age of 40 and those between 40 to retirement age. In England and Wales the economic activity rates of younger and older residents were very close to each other in all three Census years, especially among men. The same was true for the non-migrant population in Wiltshire; however the picture of the non-migrant population in Cornwall is inconsistent, especially in 2001 when the difference was particularly large.

On the other hand the differences in labour market participation between groups of male migrants to Cornwall are consistent and striking; among consecutive cohorts there are large differences in the proportion of employed individuals depending on age. Migrants below the age of 40 after moving to Cornwall had much higher rates of economic activity than later career migrants. It should, however, be noted that younger individuals among migrants did not differ substantially in their proportion in employment from the non-migrant younger people. In 1981, the non-migrant population older workers also had somewhat lower rates of employment than younger workers; however even then the differences in the proportions of younger and older migrant residents in employment were larger.

By comparison in Wiltshire older migrants only had considerably lower rates of employment than younger ones among the first cohort of migrants in 1981. However, the rate was not much lower than that of the non-migrant population and younger migrants had an unusually higher percentage in employment than either young non-

migrants or the England and Wales rate. In successive Census years all migrants to Wiltshire (both younger and older) had higher rates of employment than non-migrants, and younger and older migrants had very similar rates to each other.

Table 4.14 Working age male population- proportion in employment

Working age male population %	E& W		Cornwall		Wiltshire	
	16-39	40-64	16-39	40-64	16-39	40-64
1981	82.6	82.6				
Non-migrants			84.0	79.3	86.3	88.6
Long term migrants			80.8	73.9	92.4	86.8
1991	79.0	75.1				
Non-migrants			78.4	79.0	80.8	81.2
Medium term migrants			81.6	61.1	89.4	87.5
2001	73.7	74.1				
Non-migrants			64.5	80.3	76.6	80.3
Short term migrants			62.8	53.4	78.4	81.0

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The data presenting the proportion of working age females controlled by age are displayed in table 4.15. This shows that in England and Wales in 1981, 1991 and 2001 older females (age 40-59) had slightly higher rates of economic activity with the largest differences in 2001, when 61% of females aged 16-39 were employed and 67% of 40-59 years old. This is probably an effect of an increase in the labour market participation of women with school age children compared to those with younger offspring. In Cornwall and Wiltshire in 1991 and 2001 older (age 40-59) female non-migrant residents had also higher proportion in employment than younger residents; however female employment rates in Cornwall were lower than that in England and Wales and in Wiltshire it was higher.

The older migrant population in Wiltshire also had a higher proportion in employment than the younger migrant population. In Cornwall on the other hand there were no consistent patterns. Older female migrants had higher rates of economic activity than younger migrants in 1981, both groups had similar proportions in employment in 1991 but older female migrants had much lower rates in 2001 (59.5% of younger short-term migrants were employed but only 49% of older migrants).

On the whole the LS data presents a clear picture of the labour market strategies of migrants which supports the retirement transition thesis. Although the female data is less clear, it is most likely a result of the more complex relationships that women experience in respect of their participation in the labour market and homework.

Table 4.15 Working age female population- proportion in employment

Working age female population	E&W		Cornwall		Wiltshire	
	16-39	40-59	16-39	40-59	16-39	40-59
1981	54.6	58.7				
Non-migrants			49.6	40.2	61.4	59.6
Long term migrants			42.4	48.4	49.1	51.5
1991	61.4	64.1				
Non-migrants			54.3	57.7	65.7	71.6
Medium term migrants			51.3	52.7	64.7	66.1
2001	61.2	67.2				
Non-migrants			58.8	62.3	62.5	74.4
Short term migrants			59.5	49.1	63.6	65.1

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The difference in attitudes towards the labour market can also be an effect of cultural differences connected with the aspirations of migrants to rural areas. Previous research (Hoggart, 1997; Cloke et al, 1998a) demonstrated the preferences of the middle classes to move to rural areas in search of the 'rural idyll'.

Tables 4.16 and 4.17 present the social class of working age migrants based on their occupation before their move. They aim to examine whether the social position of the later migrants could influence their choice of location and later their labour market strategies. Social standing based on occupation of later migrants is compared for Cornwall and Wiltshire to seek to identify differences which could explain preferences towards each location.

Table 4.16 presents the data for male migrants before migration and it shows that the largest differences between the social position of migrants who later moved to Cornwall or Wiltshire were in the proportion of future migrants in professional and managerial occupations (I&II) and skilled non-manual occupations (IIIN). They were particularly large among the latest cohort of migrants, among which over half (51.2%)

of later migrants to Wiltshire were in professional and managerial occupations and about 43% of later migrants to Cornwall. This was balanced by higher proportions of manual skilled (IIIM), partly skilled and unskilled workers (IV&V) among migrants to Cornwall. On the other hand, in 1971 and 1981 more men who migrated to Cornwall in the following decade were in the top social classes than later migrants to Wiltshire; however for the earliest cohorts of later migrants the differences were smaller.

Table 4.16 Male migrants- social class before migration.

%	LT Migrants '71		(migrating after 1971)		MT Migrants '81				ST Migrants '91			
	Cornwall N=151		Wiltshire N=165		Cornwall N=219		Wiltshire N=170		Cornwall N=183		Wiltshire N=170	
I&II	34.4	48.3	29.7	49.7	40.2	55.7	39.4	51.2	42.7	55.8	51.2	65.9
IIIN	13.9		20.0		15.5		11.8		13.1		14.7	
IIIM	25.8		25.5		27.9		25.3		22.4		18.8	
IV&V	19.9		21.2		10.5		12.4		20.2		15.3	
Other	6.0		3.6		5.9		11.2		1.6		0.0	

Notes: LT refers to long-term, MT to medium-term; ST to short-term.
Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 4.17 presents data about the social position based on occupation of female migrants before their move. Contrary to the position of male migrants, the latest cohort of female migrants had similar social standing before their move, regardless of whether they later moved either to Cornwall or to Wiltshire. However among earlier cohorts there were substantial differences between later migrants to both counties. In 1971 females who later migrated to Cornwall were proportionally more often in professional and managerial occupations (15.5% compared to 10.2%) and the female migrants to Wiltshire were even more often in non-manual skilled occupations (29.9% compared to 19.6%). The situation of the consecutive cohort was very different with only 9.5% of later migrants to Cornwall classified in the top social class but 20.2% of later migrants to Wiltshire.

Table 4.17 Female migrants- social class before migration

%	LT Migrants '71 (migrating after 1971)		MT Migrants '81				ST Migrants '91					
	Cornwall N=168		Wiltshire N=157		Cornwall N=242		Wiltshire N=198		Cornwall N=175		Wiltshire N=224	
I&II	15.5	35.1	10.2	40.1	9.5	34.7	20.2	48.5	33.1	72.5	35.3	71.9
IIIN	19.6		29.9		25.2		28.3		39.4		36.6	
IIIM	5.4		3.2		7.9		3.0		6.3		7.6	
IV&V	12.5		9.6		9.9		5.1		19.4		20.5	
Other ²²	47.0		47.1		47.5		43.4		1.7		0.0	

Notes: LT refers to long-term, MT to medium-term, ST to short-term
Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The patterns became clearer when the highest social classes, professional and managerial with skilled non-manual (I&II and IIIN), were combined as an indicator of middle class status (Butler, 1995). When categories are combined, the data indicate very similar social profiles for migrants to both counties. There are still some noticeable exceptions such as a much higher proportion of male workers in the top social classes among later migrants to Wiltshire in comparison to Cornwall in 1991 and among female workers in 1981.

In conclusion the social class distribution does not suggest sufficiently significant or persistent differences between the social position of migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire to explain the preferences for later relocation based on different aspirations reflecting social position. However, it can be indicative of a changing role for the labour market in the counterurbanisation phenomenon.

Tables presenting the economic activity patterns of migrants to two non-metropolitan counties which experienced counter-urban migration flows suggest important differences in the labour market attitudes of migrants to these two locations (table 4.8 and 4.9). They suggest that the counterurbanisation flows should be differentiated not only in respect of the retirement and working age migrants but also as regards the economic activity of working age migrants. That distinction can help understanding of the relationship between population growth due to migration and the economic development of migrants' destination areas.

²² Changes in the definition of social class have had particularly important effects on the treatment of women. Data for 1971 and 1981 shows the social class structure of those who were in employment at the time of the Census but 1991 counts include all those who had ever worked.

4.3 Labour market restructuring in Cornwall and Wiltshire – the impact of migration

The final part of this chapter compares the characteristics of the non-migrant population and the resident population (which in 2001 is represented by a combination of non-migrant and in-migrant population) in Cornwall and Wiltshire. It focuses on the question of the impact of migration on local labour markets in both counties. The analyses focus on economic activity rates and social class based on occupation as two indicators of labour market opportunities- the quantity and quality of available employment.

Economic activity rates and their links with population growth are important areas for social policy as they reflect the impact on communities and the economy. There are two competing views about the effect of in-migration on local employment opportunities. The population-led growth approach, which was employed by Cornwall County Council in the 1970s (Calder, 1979), encouraged in-migration to stimulate economic growth and job creation. Alternatively there are theories that migration increases unemployment and competition for local jobs (Beatty and Forthergill, 2004).

The issue of whether in-migration brings employment or unemployment to an area was discussed in a series of planning documents prepared by Cornwall County Council. The 1979 Structure Plan said that jobs are 'responsive to the size of the County's population [and] for each increase in population of 1000 persons [...] an extra 208 non-basic jobs will be generated to serve the additional population' (paragraph 34 and 37). In 1985, although it was pointed out that population growth continued 'in the absence of any overall increase in the number of jobs' (pp 3), it was still emphasised that 'job growth [is] related to population increase' (pp 9).

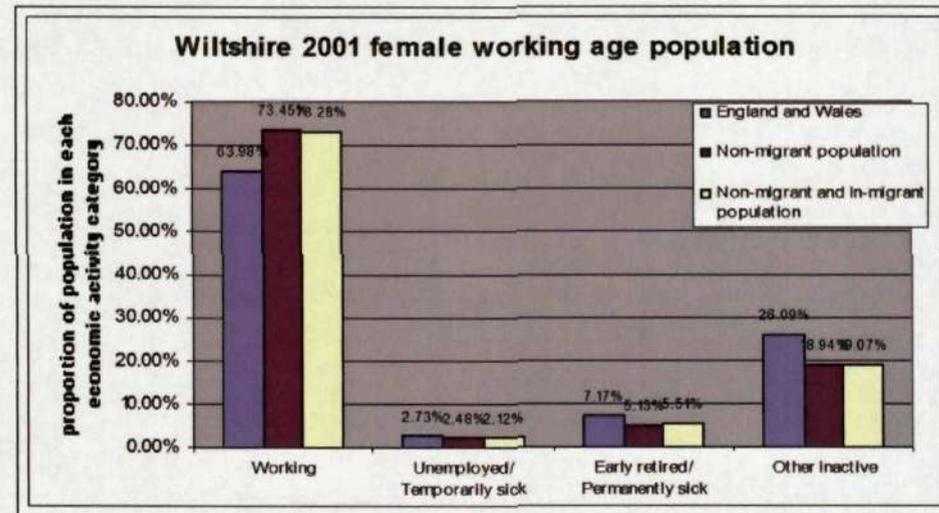
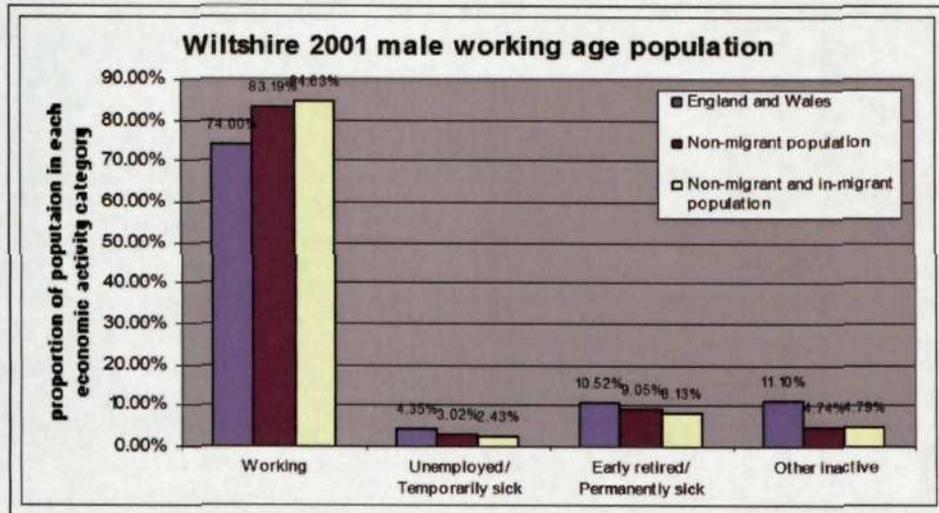
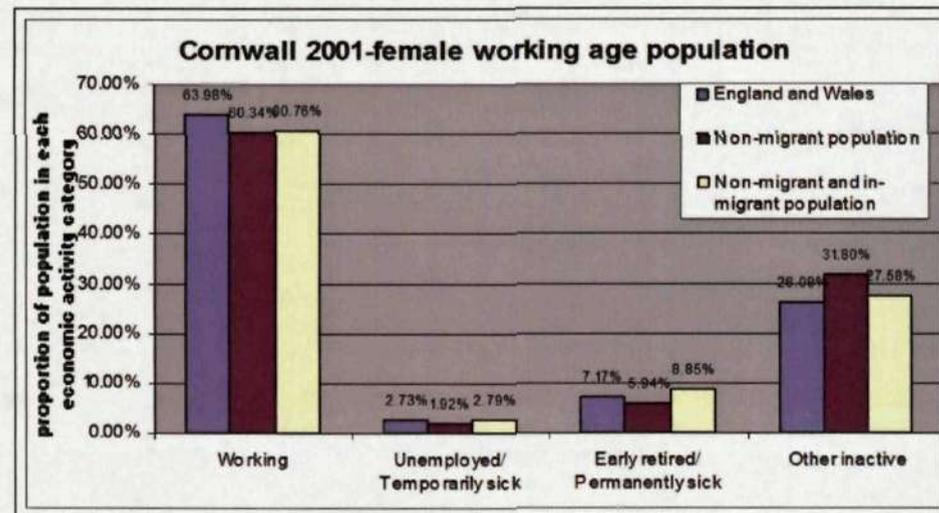
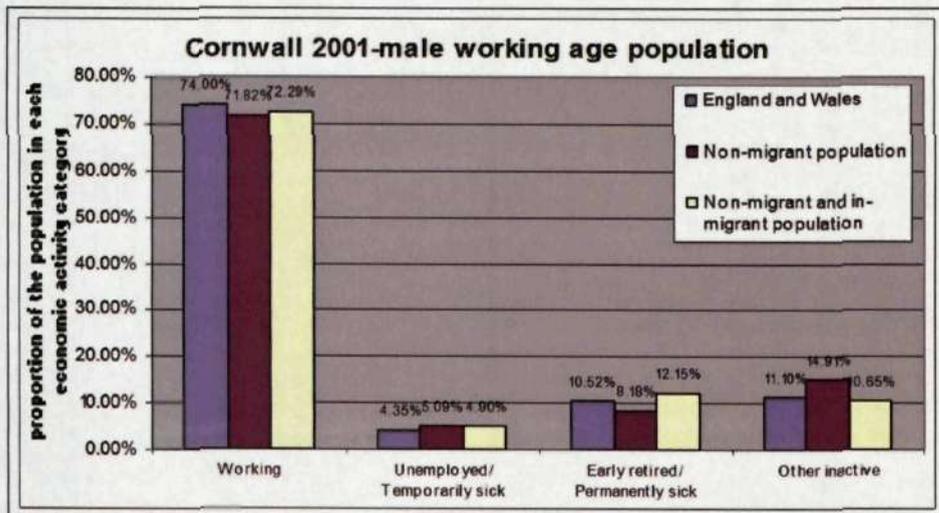
In this section data for the non-migrant population and resident population (combined non-migrant and in-migrant population) in 2001 is used to investigate the proportion of the working age population that is in employment compared with those who are inactive. The aim is to assess whether migration had a substantial impact on the proportion of the working age population that was economically inactive. Limiting analysis to the working age population allows exclusion of the effect of differences between the age distribution of migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire, which differ in

terms of proportions of retirement migrants. Due to the great differences in the patterns among males and females, the economic activity rates are controlled by sex.

Figure 4.5 presents the rates of economic activity of the working age population in Cornwall and Wiltshire compared to those in England and Wales in 2001. A significant number of earlier migrants are excluded because many of them would have retired by then. Hence the graph illustrates the long term effect of migration on the employment rates of the resident population. It also shows that the differences between the proportions of the non-migrant and resident populations in employment are insignificant, however in comparison with England and Wales, Cornwall had lower and Wiltshire higher percentages in employment in both sub-groups.

The insignificance of the differences in the proportions of individuals in employment between the non-migrant and resident populations in both counties suggests that overall the impact of migration on economic activity rates is negligible. However, there were some significant differences in patterns of inactivity in Cornwall. The non-migrant population had a larger number of inactive working age individuals in the 'other inactive' category and less in 'early retired/ permanently sick' than the resident population. The resident population, whose characteristics account for the impact of migration, included more working age individuals being inactive due to disability or early retirement. This might have significant implications in terms of service provision and illustrates possible pressure on some services in the county. The importance of this category of inactivity among the resident population in Cornwall increased as a result of in-migration. There are, however, no significant differences in the patterns of inactivity between the non-migrant and resident populations in Wiltshire.

Figure 4.5 Economic activity of Cornwall and Wiltshire working age population



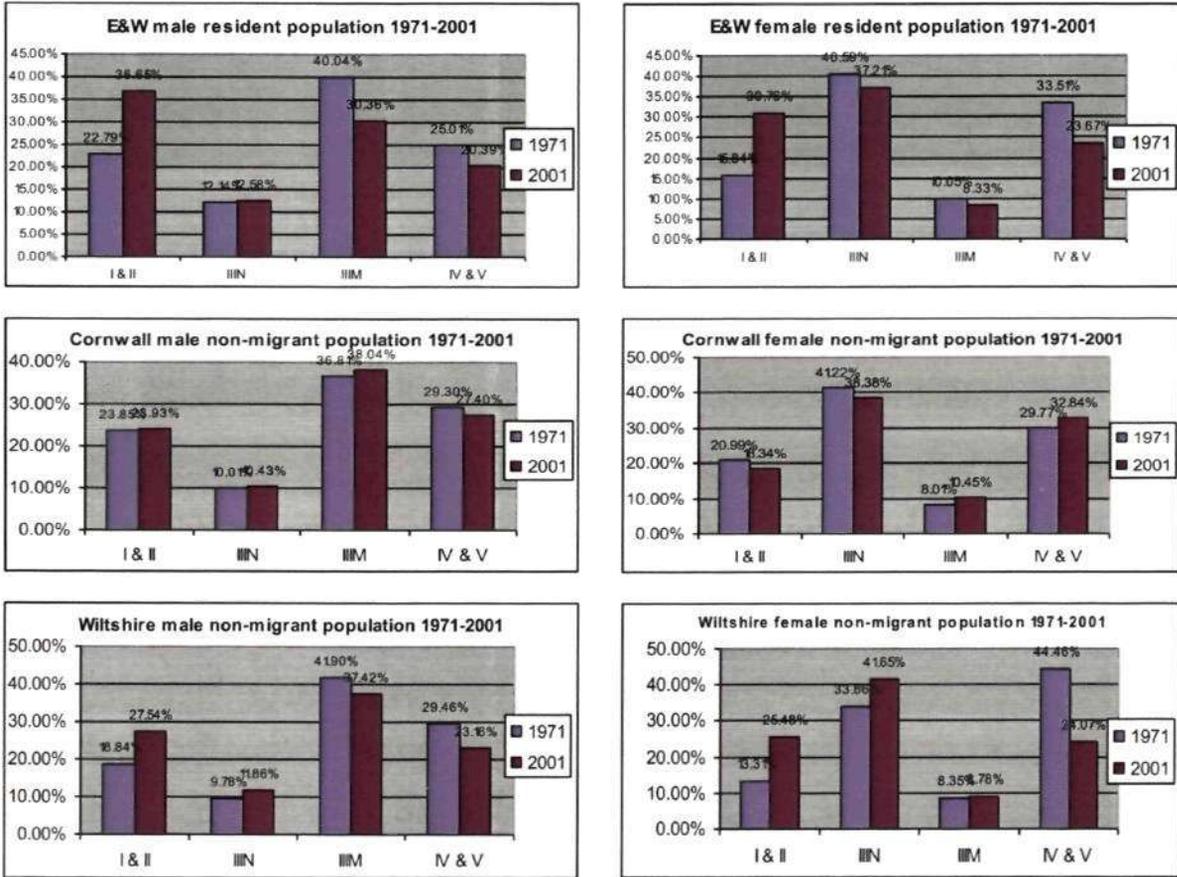
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Although in-migration has no apparent effect on the rates of economic activity, it appeared to be significant in explaining the changes to distribution of social class based on occupation. The social class indicator helps to capture the quality of employment dimension by distinguishing between skilled and non-skilled jobs and indicating wages and social position in the society. The social class data in figures 4.6 and 4.7 are for the working age population which helps to exclude the impact of age differences, especially between the non-migrant and migrant populations in 2001.

Figure 4.6 presents the distribution of social class for the working age non-migrant population in Cornwall and Wiltshire and for the resident population in England and Wales, for males and females separately in 1971 and 2001. It shows that the structure of employment and the proportion of the population working in professional and managerial occupations (classes I & II) for the non-migrant population in Cornwall hardly changed between 1971 and 2001. It is probably partly an effect of out-migration of potential professional and managerial workers.

Although in England and Wales the proportion of the population being assigned to the top social classes on the basis of their employment increased for about a half, in Cornwall it stayed at the same level. In the same time in Wiltshire it also increased significantly. The data shows that in Wiltshire the proportion of the non-migrant population in professional and managerial occupations in 1971 was lower than in Cornwall; however by 2001 it had grown far above the proportion in Cornwall. This may result from the structure of its economy which determines opportunities to obtain better skilled and better paid jobs.

Figure 4.6 Social class structure based on occupation 1971-2001

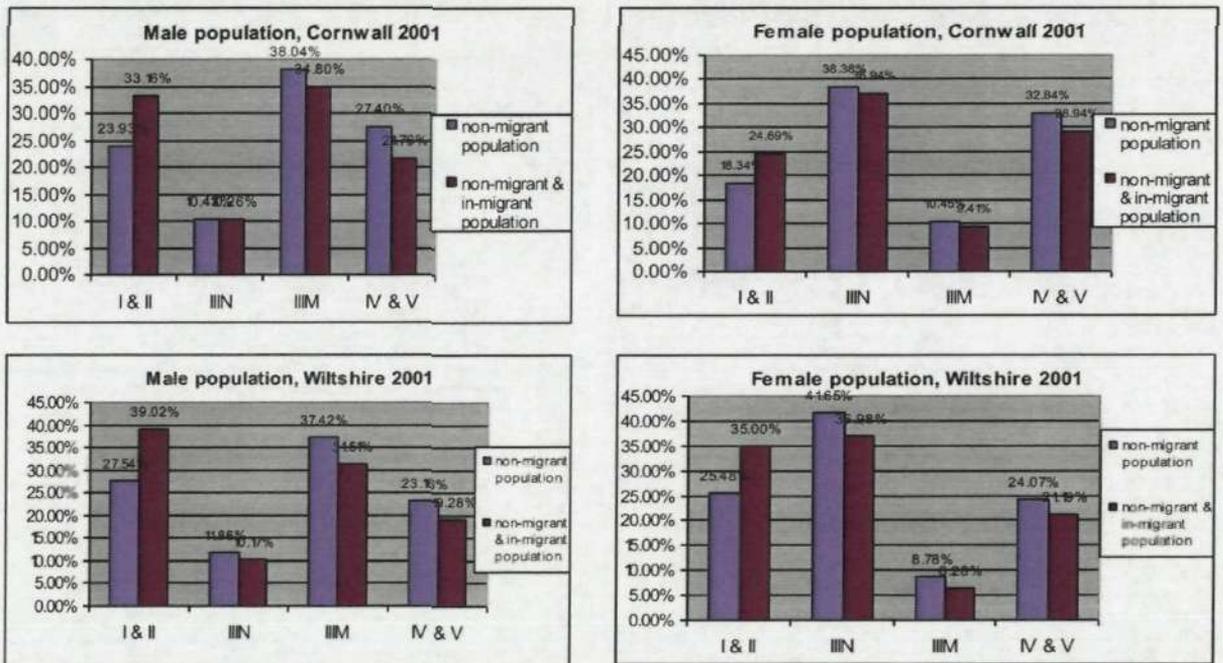


Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The lack of change in the employment structure of the non-migrant population in Cornwall does not mean, however, that local communities remained unchanged. Due to large differences in the types of jobs between the non-migrant and migrant populations, the social class structure in Cornwall has a more favourable pattern (towards higher social positions) when both groups are combined. The figure for the resident population (figure 4.7) shows a much higher number of people in professional and managerial occupations and lower in all other classes compared to non-migrant population. This indicates that while data for the population of Cornwall can show a better employment structure in the county, this can hide the fact that the non-migrant population is more likely to work in non-skilled jobs and to be paid even below the Cornish average.

In Wiltshire, although the position of the non-migrant population improved in the period of population growth, it can also be observed that there is an imbalance in social class distribution between the non-migrant and resident populations, which confirms the selective process of migration and the higher social position of the migrant population.

Figure 4.7 Cornwall 2001- social class structure



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

This highlights a problem of growing economic disparities within the counties experiencing population growth, which can be invisible in the statistics for total resident population. It appears that people working in these growing non-metropolitan counties might not have the same access to some amenities and can face unequal competition in such areas as the housing market. Gentrification connected with in-migration can be a challenge in the light of the significant disparities between the non-migrant population and incomers. There is a higher risk of being affected by some form of deprivation for the non-migrant population.

4.4 Conclusion

The comparison of two counties which have experienced population growth mainly as a result of migration throughout the period of counterurbanisation was focused on

economic performance and labour market indicators in order to explore the differences in the relationship between demographic change and economic development. The economic and demographic indicators suggest that population growth has had different effects on employment in Cornwall and Wiltshire.

The analysis focused on the migrant population, their participation in the labour market and its impact on the economic profile of the resident population in the counties experiencing counterurbanisation and on the economic performance of these areas. The distinction between retirement and working age migration is well-established in the literature. However, the LS data suggests that working age migrants should be differentiated into further categories. It shows that separate groups of working age migrants should be distinguished based on age and the stage of their career i.e. early/middle career migrants and later career migrants. Such a distinction helps to analyse the labour market behaviour of migrants.

Later career migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire show very different levels of labour market participation which cannot be explained by the local labour market conditions. In Cornwall later career migrants were much less likely to be in employment even compared to younger migrants and the non-migrant population, while in Wiltshire no substantial differences were observed. The retirement transition hypothesis is one of the theories which can help to explain the effect of age structure on the local labour markets.

The differences in labour market participation can be explained within lifestyle migration theory. Although the concept of lifestyle migrants has been frequently tested (Williams and Jobes, 1990; Halliday and Coombes, 1995; Walmsley et al, 1998; O'Reilly, 2000; Costello, 2007), they were mainly researched in qualitative studies which are suitable for investigating motivation but have limited potential to be generalised. Regional differences in employment rates provide indirect support for this theory and will be discussed further in respect of Cornwall in Chapter 5.

On the whole, however, the comparison of the non-migrant and resident populations does not indicate negative, long-term effects of population growth through migration on economic activity rates, even though migrants participated much less in the labour market in the first decade after moving. The overall effect of migration on economic

activity was very small but it left Cornwall with low and Wiltshire with high participation of its residents in the labour market

On the other hand the disparity in the social class distribution between the migrant and non-migrant populations provides evidence which raises concerns over inequalities in both counties. The data shows that the changes to social class composition in local communities were mostly (and in Cornwall exclusively) a result of migration. On one hand as an effect of out-migration of potential professional and managerial workers, and on the other hand in-migration of many individuals in top social classes. As a result the social class distribution of the non-migrant population in Cornwall hardly changed in the period 1971-2001, however the distribution of the resident population shows a substantial increase in the proportion of professional and managerial residents, and a decrease in the proportion of residents working in partly-skilled and non-skilled occupations. As social class indicates wealth, opportunities and well-being, the findings suggest growing inequalities in Cornwall.

In Wiltshire there was also observed disproportion when the non-migrant population was compared with the resident population, indicating an effect of migration on social class distribution in the county but at the same time there was also some evidence of social mobility among locals.

Chapter 5: Migration flows to and from Cornwall 1971-2001

This chapter provides an overview of various categories of migration flows to and from Cornwall in order to understand better population change in this rural county. It aims to address the second research question about the role of the labour market in internal migration. The main focus is on economic activity and social class to investigate the labour market context of migration to and from Cornwall. The analyses are presented in the context of other socio-economic characteristics of migrants representing life cycle and the geographical complexity of migration.

The first part examines the socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants before and after migration to answer the question of economic incentives to move to Cornwall on the basis of the labour market position of in-migrants. Furthermore cohort analysis makes it possible to control for changing economic conditions and compare the labour market histories of migrants and locals. The second part presents the characteristics of out-migrants and considers the factors influencing out-migration. It investigates the impact these departures have had on the subsequent development of the county and its communities. The last part of this chapter concentrates on other migration flows, namely return and repeat migrants. Although limitations with the data restrict the analysis to 2001, valuable information is given about very mobile individuals, which helps to reveal the complexity of migration flows to and from Cornwall.

5.1 In-migrants to Cornwall

In the first part of this chapter, focusing on in-migrants, various factors which influence migration decisions are investigated including life cycle, counterurbanisation and labour market conditions, which have all been considered in the literature as explanations of rural turnaround.

Life cycle is considered in analysis of the age and household structure of in-migrants. Characteristics of in-migrants are also analysed in the context of their origins using broad categories distinguishing Government Office Regions and some aspects of the rurality of their previous place of residence. Finally the role of the labour market is investigated in cohort tables illustrating economic activity and social class based on the occupation of in-migrants. The economy of Cornwall has experienced fundamental

changes in this period and the chapter tests whether this is reflected in changes in the characteristics of migrants

5.1.1. In-migration to Cornwall in the context of the life cycle concept

The most important aspect of life cycle theory and one of the crucial variables explaining the patterns of migration is age (Millington, 2000). Figure 5.1 compares the age distribution of each cohort of migrants when first enumerated in Cornwall to illustrate the age patterns among in-migrants in consecutive decades, and compares each cohort after migration to the population of England and Wales in corresponding years

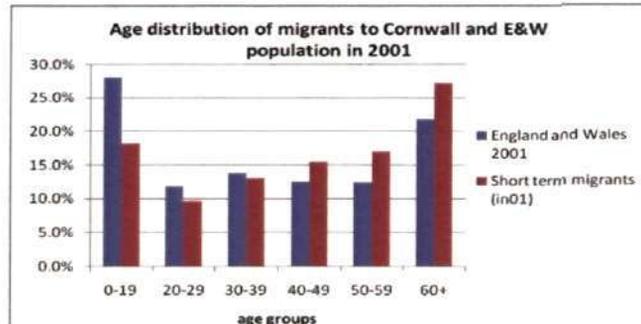
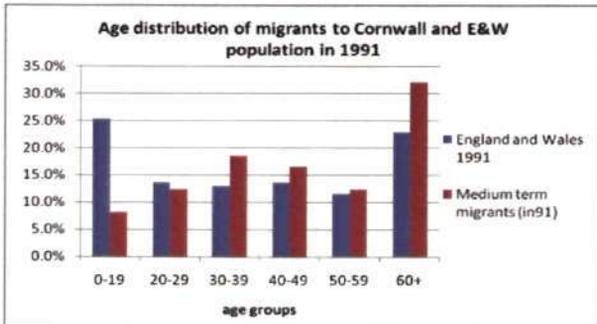
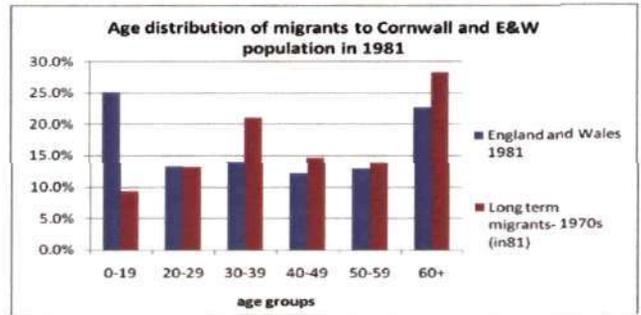
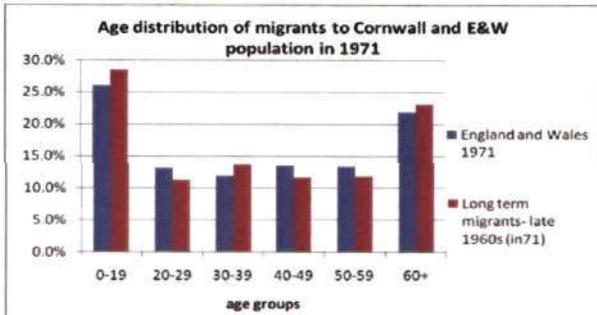
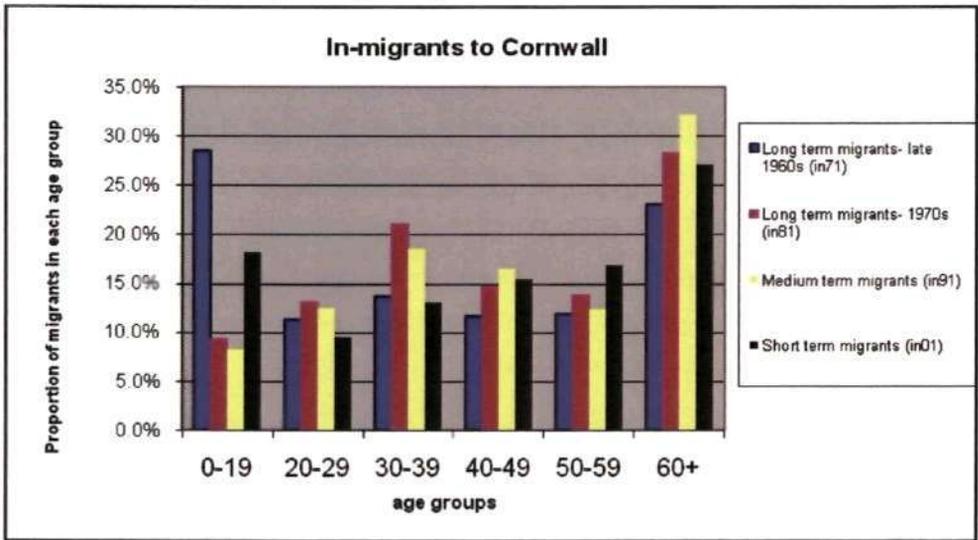
The graph demonstrates that when consecutive cohorts of in-migrants are compared the least typical age structure is found in migrants who migrated to Cornwall before 1971. They include an exceptionally high proportion of young people (children and teenagers) who account for over a quarter of these late 1960s migrants. However, when compared with the population of England and Wales, it emerges that only these earliest migrants did not show the age selectivity found in other studies and demonstrated by the later cohorts. The age selectivity effect is described in the literature as illustrating that sensitivity to migration stimuli and the propensity to migrate to particular locations is dependent on age, which in non-metropolitan areas is associated with a higher proportion of older migrants (Champion et al, 1998, Millington, 2000), however this did not seem to affect migrants moving to Cornwall between 1966 and 1971.

The two following cohorts had very similar age structures each having a very small number of children and teenagers (below 10%)²³, a smaller peak among migrants in their 30s and a larger peak among migrants aged 60 and over. Due to the fact that all individuals over the age of 60 are combined into one category, all the lines show a peak in this category. The age distribution of short-term migrants, when children are excluded,

²³ The age structure of in-migrants who migrated after 1971 is to some extent affected by the fact that, due to the ten year period between Censuses, it was impossible to classify children below the age of 10 precisely. Because they were first enumerated in Cornwall, they were included in the non-migrant population. As a result conclusions about children in the following cohorts of in-migrants should be drawn with caution. Children of in-migrants below the age of 10 are likely rather to rejuvenate the profile of the non-migrant population than that of in-migrants. It can also inflate the proportion of migrants in other age groups, however that would have a proportional effect which may flatten the distribution but would not change it.

presents an almost linear pattern. Older age groups account for the highest and younger ones for the lowest proportion of the cohort.

Figure 5.1 Age of in-migrants (after migration)



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The age distribution of late 1960s migrants was very different from other migrants but on the whole the data shows consistently that among migrants to Cornwall there was not

only a higher proportion of retired migrants but also a higher proportion of migrants at the later stages of their working careers in comparison to the population of England and Wales. This suggests that since the 1970s Cornwall has not been a preferred destination for young migrants but has been favoured by older migrants.

One of the common perceptions of migration to Cornwall is that it is mostly retirement migration. The ONS LS data support the hypothesis of the importance of this category of migration flow. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 present the proportion of each cohort of in-migrants above retirement age in each point in time. The decade of migration is highlighted and shows the proportion of migrants reaching statutory retirement age during the decade of their migration. Due to the differences in the statutory retirement ages of men and women, the data are presented for each gender separately.

The tables illustrate that around 20% of the male in-migrant population and 30% of the female population were retiring to Cornwall. It is not stated that they left the labour market but they moved reaching retirement age. It is also important to note that the percentage of retirees increased several times in the decade of their migration (highlighted cells) and then stabilised (rising at a much lower pace). The increase in the percentage of individuals over retirement age is partly due to the aging of cohorts; however, the very high rate of those reaching retirement age correlated with migration supports the thesis that Cornwall is favoured as a retirement destination.

To summarise, a substantial number of individuals are retiring to Cornwall (up to a third of all in-migrants); however it is also important to emphasise that the majority of in-migrants are of working age.

Table 5.1 Percentage of male in-migrants above retirement age (65+)

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Long-term migrants- 1970s	6.31% n=34	21.57% n=60	20.94% n=53	19.49% n=42
Medium-term migrants		7.52% n=21	25.08% n=70	27.55% n=62
Short-term migrants			7.11% n=20	19.21% n=54

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.2 Percentage of female in-migrants above retirement age (60+)

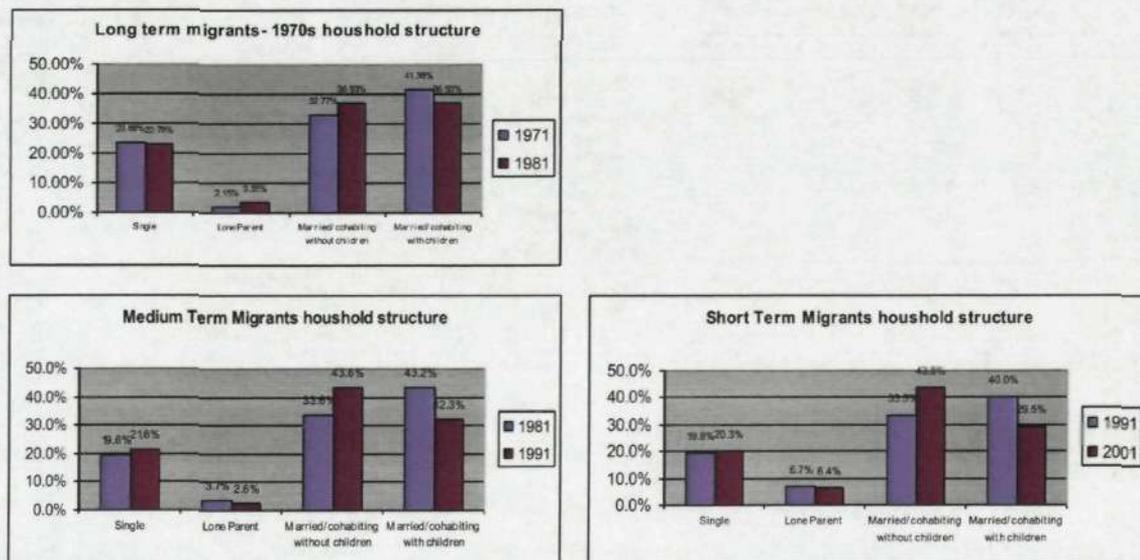
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Long-term migrants- 1970s	14.84% n=80	27.51% n=106	35.17% n=112	47.05% n=128
Medium-term migrants		14.45% n=48	31.32% n=104	34.04% n=96
Short-term migrants			15.54% n=51	28.65% n=94

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

LS data, which is presented throughout this chapter, is individual level data; however migration is usually a household decision and the household dimension helps to explain migration patterns in the life cycle context. About 20% of all in-migrant households in all three cohorts were single person households both before and after migration, and for these individuals a household dimension does not bring a deeper understanding of migration decisions.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the household structure of in-migrants before and after migration and shows that the vast majority of migrants are part of migrating households and that there are consistent changes to the household structure of these migrants in the decade of their migration. In that decade, in each cohort, a change in the proportion of couples with children and couples without children can be observed. Before migration each cohort consisted of a higher proportion in the first category and after migration a higher proportion in the latter. Among medium and short-term migrants, about 30% of migrants after migration were in households with children, which represented a fall of about 10% from the figure before migration. The magnitude of that change was much less (about 5%) among long-term migrants - 1970s than later cohorts.

Figure 5.2 Household structure of in-migrants before and after migration



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

This change in household structure can be an indication of young people leaving their parental home and forming their new households in Cornwall or of migrants later in their life cycles who have brought up children and migrated to Cornwall after their children moved out. The age structure of migrants (figure 5.1) indicates that the second option is much more likely as an explanation of these changes. Therefore, there is evidence that the likelihood of moving to Cornwall increases when families move to the 'empty nest' phase.

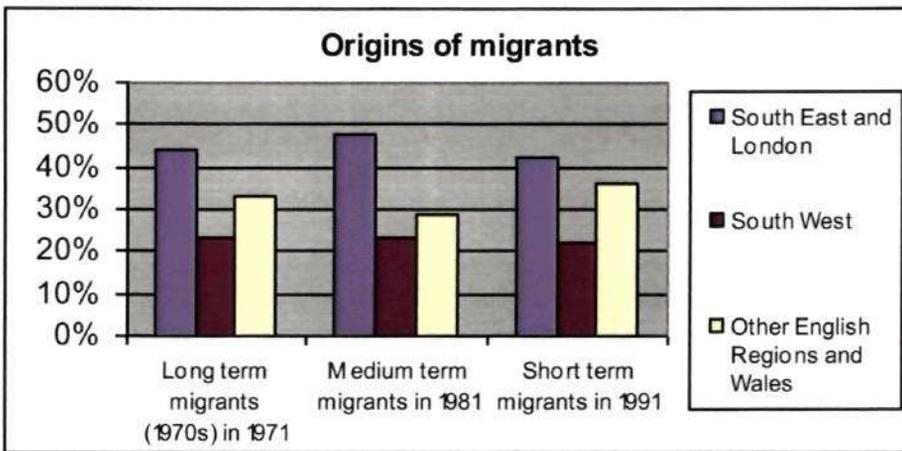
5.1.2. In-migration to Cornwall in the context of counterurbanisation

The geographical dimension of migration to Cornwall also helps to understand the character of in-flows. Geographical analysis makes possible consideration of the push factors by analysing the economic conditions of migrants' regions of origin. It also makes possible investigation of the counterurbanisation thesis that a reverse trend can be observed in migration in relation to settlements' sizes, and that migration into non-metropolitan, rural counties comes from more urbanised areas.

Figure 5.3 presents the origin of in-migrants by region. The graph illustrates a persistent trend of almost half of all migrants to Cornwall coming from the South East of England

(including London) which is perceived as a very prosperous region providing many labour market opportunities. The flow of migrants from the rest of the South West (within the region) accounts only for about 20% of all in-migrants including short distances from Plymouth and western Devon. The stability over time of the proportion of migrants from various parts of England and Wales suggests that the push factors might be consistent for all three cohorts of migrants.

Figure 5.3 Origins of migrants



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

More detailed analysis of migrants' origins, presented in table 5.3, shows that excluding the South East and South West, where most of the migrants come from, migrants from other regions were relatively evenly distributed. However, the fewest migrants came from the East of England which is in environmental terms a region similar to the South West and Cornwall. Table 5.3 shows that slightly more than half of the migrants from the South West came from the adjoining county, Devon (13% compared to about 10% from the rest of the South West). Many of these are likely to be short distance movers.

Table 5.3 Origins of migrants by GORs

Region of origin	Long-term migrants- 1970s in 1971	Medium-term migrants in 1981	Short-term migrants in 1991
North East, North West, Yorkshire & the Humber	3.6%	6.3%	7.7%
Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire	9.5%	6.3%	5.9%
West Midlands	8.5%	9.7%	11.8%
East Midlands	5.9%	4.4%	6.1%
East of England	2.1%	0.7%	1.6%
South East	26.5%	34.0%	30.5%
London	16.8%	13.7%	11.8%
Wales	2.6%	2.5%	2.5%
Devon	13.7%	12.5%	12.0%
Rest of South West	10.7%	10.0%	10.0%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

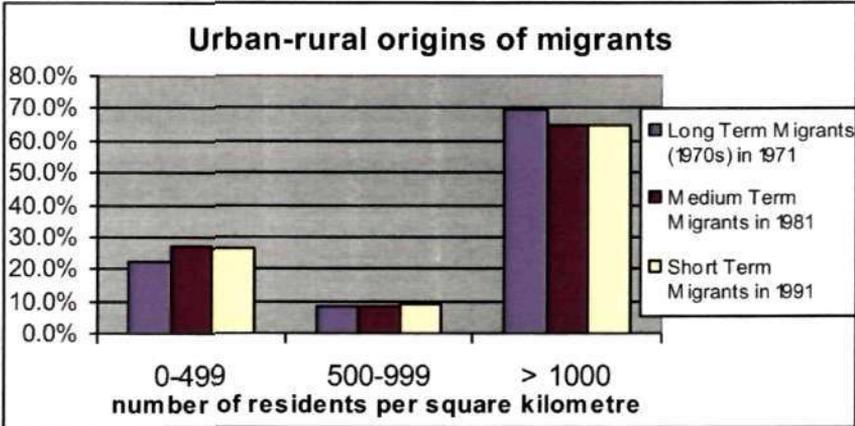
Not only wider spatial factors, but also the rural-urban dimension specifically, were taken into account; the latter concentrated on investigation of the contribution of counter-urban moves to in-migration flows to Cornwall. The selected classification of rural-urban areas was based on Paul Norman's typology attached to LS data which is based on population density. For the purpose of this project some categories were merged to present a more generalised picture.

The regional data already discussed suggest that most moves come from more urbanised areas. Even rural areas within the South East are accessible countryside whereas Cornwall consists of mostly remote rural areas. Use of Norman's classification confirms that most migrants come from major urban areas.

Figure 5.4 presents the density of the areas from which in-migrants come. The data shows clear disproportion between migrants from the most urbanised areas (over 1000 residents per square kilometre) and those from areas of lower density. Migrants are almost three times more likely to come from the most densely populated areas than from rural areas. Despite the acknowledged fact that density has limitations as a measure (e.g. migrants moving from some suburban areas of large conglomerations to major

Cornish towns might exceptionally move from areas of lower density to ones of higher density, despite the non-metropolitan character of Cornish settlements), this approach demonstrates the importance of moves from urban areas. As with regional origins, the tendency for the vast majority of in-migrants to move from very densely populated areas (above 1000 people per square kilometre) remained consistent for all cohorts.

Figure 5.4 Urban-rural origins of migrants



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

5.1.3. Labour market histories of in-migrants to Cornwall

The next section presents the labour market histories of in-migrants in the form of cohort tables which allows the full potential of longitudinal data to be used in following the history of activity and inactivity in the labour market of each cohort of migrants throughout the period 1971-2001. The histories for each cohort start in the decade of their migration and the tables present consecutive changes in migrants' labour market position. The cohort tables focus on economic activity and social class data for in-migrants to illustrate the issues of quantity (participation in the labour market) and quality (the skills and status of undertaken employment).

Previous research reported low levels of economic activity among migrants to Cornwall (Williams, 2003; Burley, 2007) and an earlier chapter demonstrated a deficit in the labour market participation of migrants to Cornwall compared with migrants to another rural county i.e. Wiltshire. It suggests that the entrepreneurial potential of migration differs quite significantly between areas. In the one case it contributes directly to economic development but in the other the primary effect of the population growth seems to be a

growth in consumption which encourages further the growth in labour intensive, less skilled service sector jobs.

This study makes it possible to look at a longer 30-year period and search for new evidence as to whether decisions are voluntary or determined by economic conditions in Cornwall. Trying to explain why so many working age migrants move to Cornwall, which has not performed well economically, remains a crucial issue in studying these high levels of in-migration.

Tables 5.4 and 5.7 present the proportions of economically active and inactive migrants in 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 for males and females respectively. The data for England and Wales used in comparison show a persistent decrease in the percentage of the male working age population being in employment. It also records a very significant increase in the 'other inactive' category which is probably due to a larger proportion of people going into higher education.

Table 5.4 demonstrates that the levels of economic activity of male migrants are much more dependent on the act of migration than on overall trends in the British economy. The level of economic activity among male in-migrants dropped dramatically in each cohort in the first decade after the move to Cornwall. In all three decades it fell from above average participation in the labour market before migration to a rate very close to that in England and Wales for 1970s and 1980s migrants but much below that rate for the latest cohort of in-migrants.

The single greatest cause of that drop in male economic activity rates was a drastic increase in the proportion of permanently sick and retired individuals. Together they increased about 5 times in all three cohorts of male migrants in the first decade after their migration. Although permanently sick and retired individuals left the labour market for different reasons, both sets of decisions are independent of the context of the economy, so both are classified as 'voluntary migrants'. The categories were merged to avoid small cell counts. Moreover, in terms of retirement this grouping includes not only people who reached the statutory retirement age and retired but also those who decided to retire early. It is noteworthy to report that similar analysis of working age migrants only also showed a substantial increase (at least 400%) in the number of retired and

permanently sick people, suggesting that early retirees accounted for a considerable number of all those who retired after migration.

On the other hand, in the decade after migrating the proportion of those migrants who were working increased significantly to levels above those in England and Wales. This trend repeated among long-term and medium-term migrants supports the 'involuntary inactivity thesis' (migrants leaving the labour market probably due to difficult economic conditions). However the increase of the employment rate among these migrants in the second decade following migration was not only a result of the fall in unemployment but also a result of aging of the cohorts i.e. none of the migrants being below the age of 16 and in compulsory education.

Economic activity tables provide evidence for both 'voluntary' (independent of economic conditions) and 'involuntary' (dependent on conditions in the local economy) inactivity of in-migrants. 'Involuntary inactivity' is supported by the increase in the proportion of individuals reporting being unemployed among long-term migrants-1970s and to some extent medium-term migrants. This rapid growth of unemployed men among long-term migrants-1970s in 1981 might be a result of the economic recession following the oil crisis; however, it does not appear to have been so significant for long-term migrants-late 1960s, who moved to Cornwall before 1971. However, in general it can be concluded that the pattern of unemployment was not uniform for all cohorts of in-migrants and it seems to have been heavily dependent on economic conditions (period effect) while the substantial rise in retirement and leaving the labour market due to ill health was a consistent pattern throughout that period. It suggests that the effect of choice is stronger than that of external factors on the participation of migrants in the labour market.

It should be noted that the distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' inactivity, as defined above, is somewhat crude and there is anecdotal evidence that migrants stop looking for a job after becoming more familiar with the Cornish labour market and its difficulties. Recognising this limitation, it is argued that a distinction between unemployed/ temporarily sick, who are generally assumed to be prepared to go back into the labour market, and the permanently sick/ retired, who do not intend to do so, is a reliable indicator of 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' moves out of work.

Table 5.4 Economic activity of MALE in-migrants to Cornwall²⁴

		1971	1981	1991	2001
England and Wales					
	Working	62.4%	57.9%	50.5%	46.2%
	Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	2.9%	5.8%	5.9%	2.7%
	Permanently sick/ Retired	11.7%	14.1%	18.9%	19.6%
	Other Inactive	1.8%	2.7%	2.8%	7.0%
	Child under 16	21.2%	19.6%	22.0%	24.5%
Long term migrants- late 1960s		n=149	n=113	n=94	n=76
	Working	53.7%	52.2%	67.0%	64.5%
	Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	2.0%	3.5%	6.4%	0.0
	Permanently sick/ Retired	15.4%	15.0%	26.6%	35.5%
	Other Inactive	0.0	4.4%	0.0	0.0
	Child under 16	28.9%	24.8%	0.0	0.0
Long term migrants- 1970s		n1=190	n2=190	n3=148	n4=118
	Working	72.1%	58.4%	65.6%	65.3%
	Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	1.6%	8.4%	5.4%	2.5%
	Permanently sick/ Retired	5.8%	24.2%	27.0%	28.8%
	Other Inactive	3.2%	2.6%	2.0%	3.4%
	Child under 16	17.4%	6.3%	0.0	0.0
Medium term migrants			n1=277	n2=277	n3=223
	Working		71.1%	51.6%	61.9%
	Unemployed/ Temporarily sick		5.8%	7.9%	1.8%
	Permanently sick/ Retired		6.1%	33.6%	35.0%
	Other Inactive		2.2%	1.8%	1.4%
	Child under 16		14.8%	5.1%	0.0
Short term migrants				n1=282	n2=280
	Working			52.8%	39.6%
	Unemployed/ Temporarily sick			8.9%	6.4%
	Permanently sick/ Retired			7.1%	31.4%
	Other Inactive			5.7%	8.6%
	Child under 16			25.5%	13.9%

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The cohort tables do not provide conclusive explanation of the factors behind labour market behaviour but they illustrate consistency in the pattern in labour market decisions

²⁴ Due to ageing of the cohorts the population bases changes. This reflects natural attrition from the sample.

of consecutive cohorts of in-migrants throughout the period of population growth. It demonstrates how these personal strategies were linked to people's earlier decisions about migration.

Table 5.4 above presents a cross section picture; however, it is important to emphasise that it illustrates the labour market position of the same individuals in up to four points in time. Further tables help to present more detailed labour market histories and demonstrate the labour market trajectories of some types of migrants.

The focus of table 5.5 is on the labour market strategies of migrants who were in employment before migrating. The table shows the percentage of them reaching the statutory retirement age after the move, the proportion becoming inactive, and the proportion staying in employment for all three cohorts of male in-migrants.

It shows that the proportions in each cohort were relatively stable and that about 60% of migrants who worked before migration to Cornwall found new jobs after their relocation (64% of long-term migrants-1970s and 56% of short-term migrants). Between 20-30%, depending on the cohort, became inactive after the move. The inactive category includes all sorts of inactivity including early retirement but excluding retirement on reaching pensionable age. About 15% had reached retirement age by the time when they were enumerated in Cornwall for the first time in a Census.

The data shows that a large proportion of migrants became inactive after their move, reaching almost a third in the latest cohort of in-migrants. The number becoming inactive is higher than the number of those reaching retirement age. Unfortunately the table does not allow a distinction between those becoming unemployed and those retiring early; however, the earlier table suggests that unemployment was a less significant category than other forms of inactivity.

Table 5.5 Labour market position of male migrants who were in employment before migration

In employment before migration	Labour market position after migration		
	In employment	Inactive	Over 65
Long-term migrant- 1970s in '71 n=143	63.6%	19.6%	16.8%
Medium-term migrants in '81 n=205	59.0%	22.4%	18.5%
Short-term migrants '91 n=153	55.6%	30.7%	13.7%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Another interesting issue is the rising proportion of migrants in employment in the second decade after migration. This might be an effect of re-entry to the labour market by some previously inactive, retiring of those who had previously been inactive or entry to the labour market by those previously below working age. Table 5.6 makes it possible to assess whether the increase in employment in the decade after migration reflects lagged adaptation by migrants to local labour market conditions or the effect of retirement by those who would find labour market conditions more difficult because of their age or disability.

The table presents the trajectories of migrants who were inactive but still of working age after moving to Cornwall. It shows the percentages of migrants who returned to work, remained inactive or retired in the following decade. The data are presented only for the first two cohorts as the latest cohort was only enumerated once in Cornwall and there is no available data to follow up their labour market position subsequently.

Table 5.6 shows that migrants who were inactive after migration were more likely to move into work during the following decade than to stay inactive; however they were even more likely to reach retirement age than to stay in the inactive category or move back into work. The data demonstrates that the age factor is the most important element in explaining the rise in economic activity rates of migrants in the decade following their relocation. The major reasons for that change were retirement by older cohort members (who had often not participated in the labour market) and the entrance of younger members leaving education.

However, the fact that over a quarter of all migrants who were inactive after the move entered the labour market in the following decade should not be overlooked. It indicates that for some the initial inactivity might not have been a matter of choice.

Table 5.6 Labour market position of male migrants inactive after the move to Cornwall

Male inactive in the first decade after migration	Labour market position in the following decade		
	In employment	Inactive	Over 65
Long-term migrant- 1970s in '71 n=36	30.6%	22.2%	47.2%
Medium-term migrants in '81 n=61	26.2%	18.0%	55.7%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.5 shows that those in employment before migration were more likely to have become inactive than to have reached retirement, and table 5.6 demonstrates that male migrants who were inactive after moving to Cornwall were more likely to retire than to come back to work. The most plausible explanation of the increasing levels of inactivity among later career migrants to Cornwall is early retirement, which suggests that the transition towards retirement might be an important element of the decision about migration to Cornwall.

Women differ greatly in their participation in the labour market compared to men. Comparable data for female migrants are presented in table 5.7 which shows that nationally there was an opposite trend among women compared to men. They increased their involvement while it fell among males; however women started from a much lower base. A major difficulty in analysis of female economic activity rates is the significance and ambiguity of the 'other inactive' category which in the tables for women includes not only students but also those looking after the family and home.

Table 5.7 shows that the pattern of labour market participation of female migrants to Cornwall is different from the national picture. Among female migrants the levels of labour market participation dropped after migration like among male migrants. This drop was due to very large increases in the number of permanently sick and retired individuals among the two most recent cohorts, and the increase in other forms of inactivity among 1970s migrants. In the two later cohorts the proportion of 'other inactive' migrant women, which includes housewives, decreased. Among women there was also some indication of unemployment rising after migration but even so it increased to levels which were lower than among male migrants.

However, the most significant change is the increasing number of people permanently sick or retiring after migration to Cornwall which reached about 30% among the two

latest cohorts. This matches the proportion of male migrants in that category and confirms the overall pattern of low participation in the labour market due to high numbers of retirees and individuals having long-term health problems among migrants.

Table 5.7 Economic activity of FEMALE in-migrants to Cornwall

	1971	1981	1991	2001
England and Wales				
Working	32.1%	34.3%	36.9%	37.1%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	1.4%	2.4%	2.7%	1.6%
Permanently sick/ Retired	12.8%	7.8%	20.2%	24.5%
Other inactive	32.6%	36.6%	20.7%	15.3%
Child under 16	21.1%	18.9%	19.5%	21.6%
Long-term migrants- late 1960s				
	n=193	n=166	n=147	n=125
Working	19.7%	30.1%	47.0%	43.2%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	2.1%	1.8%	2.0%	0.0
Permanently sick/ Retired	16.1%	8.4%	23.8%	41.6%
Other inactive	35.8%	41.6%	27.2%	15.2%
Child under 16	26.4%	18.1%	0.0	0.0
Long-term migrants- 1970s				
	n1=228	n2=228	n3=199	n4=170
Working	41.7%	29.8%	42.7%	41.2%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	1.3%	2.2%	1.5%	1.8%
Permanently sick/ Retired	7.0%	10.1%	26.6%	48.8%
Other inactive	34.7%	52.6%	29.2%	8.2%
Child under 16	15.4%	5.3%	0.0	0.0
Medium-term migrants				
	n1=331	n2=331	n3=280	
Working		39.3%	34.1%	43.9%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick		1.2%	4.2%	1.8%
Permanently sick/ Retired		3.6%	27.8%	38.6%
Other inactive		41.7%	28.4%	15.7%
Child under 16		14.2%	5.4%	0.0
Short-term migrants				
		n1=330	n2=325	
Working		42.1%	32.9%	
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick		0.0	3.4%	
Permanently sick/ Retired		17.6%	32.9%	
Other inactive		20.6%	17.9%	
Child under 16		19.7%	12.9%	

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

To understand labour market strategies of female migrants it is important to study the trajectories of women who were in employment before migration as well as those who were inactive before migration, as both categories are very significant.

Table 5.8 presents the position in the labour market after their move for women who had worked before migrating. It demonstrates that less than half remained in employment after relocation, with 39% of long-term migrants (1970s) and 48% among the latest cohort of in-migrants. Relatively few had yet reached retirement age with the highest proportion among medium-term migrants (22%). Between 34% and 45% became inactive after their move. The levels of unemployment among women even after the move were small and the 'other inactive' category was dominant, as shown in table 5.7; this suggests that decisions to leave the labour market were voluntary even though they could have been influenced as much by family circumstances as by lifestyle choices.

Table 5.8 Labour market position of female migrants who were in employment before migration

In employment before migration	Labour market position after migration		
	In employment	Inactive	60 and over
Long term migrant- 1970s in '71 n=89	39.3%	44.9%	15.7%
Medium term migrants in '81 n=124	44.4%	33.9%	21.8%
Short term migrants in '91 n=137	48.2%	35.8%	16.1%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.9 presents the trajectories of women who were inactive before migration. It shows that about a third found employment in Cornwall (32% of long and short-term migrants and 37% of medium-term migrants). Most of them, however, remained inactive after migrating but only up to a quarter had already reached retirement age (19% of long-term migrants and 26% of medium-term migrants). Almost half of inactive migrants in the 1970s remained inactive after the move; the proportion dropped to 36% in the 1980s but rose again in the 1990s to 43%.

These patterns mean that there is little evidence of women becoming active in the labour market as part of a household strategy to react to more difficult economic conditions in Cornwall. Although the levels of working men fell drastically in the first decade after migration, in about a third of households women started working but an even larger proportion of those who had been employed earlier became inactive, leaving the overall

balance negative. This suggests that migrants had some other strategies independent of labour market considerations.

Table 5.9 Labour market position of female migrants who were inactive before migration

Inactive before migration	Labour market position after migration		
	In employment	Inactive	60 and over
Long term migrant- 1970s in '71 n=79	31.6%	49.4%	19.0%
Medium term migrants in '81 n=118	37.3%	36.4%	26.3%
Short term migrants in '91 n=77	32.5%	42.9%	24.7%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Another conundrum of the attractiveness of Cornwall for a large number of working age in-migrants is the structure of the local economy which provides mainly non-skilled and relatively low-paid employment, as presented in table 4.6. These should be demotivating factors but seemed to have no impact on the attractiveness of Cornwall.

The changes to the occupational structure of working age in-migrants have been investigated through their social class position based on occupation so as to follow the mobility patterns and the impact of migration on their social position. The tables are presented only for the working age population to reflect the position of migrants based on actual employment. Changes in the labour market position related to migration are reflected better by excluding retired individuals who would have been classified according to their position before migration. Selecting working age migrants only also made it possible to lessen the impact of some methodological problems resulting from changes in the population to which social class was assigned in Censuses between 1971 and 2001²⁵.

Table 5.10 presents the social position of working age male in-migrants and shows that in all cohorts in-migrants were more often in higher non-manual classes (professional and managerial occupations) before migration than the population of England and Wales

²⁵ From 1981 social class was assigned not only to those who were economically active but also to those who were retired or permanently sick but had worked previously. Although they did not participate in the labour market, it is believed that their last position reflects their social position even after they have become economically inactive. Comparability through time was improved by limiting analyses to the working age population. In this way retired individuals were excluded in the columns for all four Censuses and not just 1971. Social class classification achieves relatively high levels of reliability, especially at the aggregated level of six social classes (Champion, 1995).

generally. It shows that migrants who had obtained a very good position on the labour market were more prone to migrate to Cornwall than individuals in lower social positions.

After migration there are very few changes to the social position of migrants which suggests that their employment in Cornwall tended to match their previous positions and that those who entered the labour market in Cornwall gained similar kinds of occupation in terms of skills and social status. There is almost no change in the proportion of individuals in professional and managerial occupations. In-migrants were more likely to be assigned social class I and II before migration, and in Cornwall they continued to work more often in occupations associated with the higher social classes than the average for the population of England and Wales.

The only considerable change affected the proportion of individuals working in skilled manual and non-manual jobs. After moving to Cornwall, there was a significant drop in migrants securing an occupation in the skilled non-manual class (IIIN). Nevertheless there was a noticeable change in the 1990s when among the latest cohort of migrants no decrease was recorded in this category. This supports the view that Cornwall lacked this kind of employment. It was compensated for, however, by an increase in the proportion of individuals working in skilled manual jobs (IIIM), with the exception of short-term migrants. On the whole, however, the changes to the social classes of male migrants were small, and for the short term migrants almost non-existent.

Table 5.10 Social Class for MALE in-migrants to Cornwall (working age population)

	1971	1981	1991	2001
England and Wales	%	%	%	%
I & II	22.8	27.6	33.1	36.3
IIIN	12.1	11.9	11.3	12.5
IIIM	40.0	37.2	34.2	30.1
IV & V	25.0	23.3	21.3	20.2
Long-term migrants- late 60s				
	n1=84	n2=62	n3=68	n4=54
I & II	31.0	32.3	22.1	25.9
IIIN	16.7	8.1	10.3	0.0
IIIM	31.0	35.5	42.7	53.7
IV & V	21.4	24.2	25.0	20.4
Long-term migrants- 1970s				
	n1=142	n2=131	n3=112	n4=94
I & II	36.6	35.9	46.4	42.6
IIIN	14.8	11.5	8.9	7.5
IIIM	27.5	32.1	28.6	38.3
IV & V	21.1	20.6	16.1	11.7
Medium-term migrants				
	n1=206	n2=186	n3=161	
I & II		42.7	42.5	42.9
IIIN		16.5	10.2	11.2
IIIM		29.6	35.0	31.1
IV & V		11.2	12.4	14.9
Short-term migrants				
			n1=183	n2=178
I & II			43.2	46.6
IIIN			13.1	12.9
IIIM			22.4	21.4
IV & V			20.2	18.0

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Changes in the social position of women present a much more complex picture²⁶ and should not be taken out of the context of the general increase in female participation in the labour market in this period.

²⁶ Women who at the time of the Census were looking after their home but had worked previously were treated differently in different Censuses. They were assigned a social class in 1991 and 2001 but not in 1971 or 1981. Table 5.11 presents social class for women who were in employment at the time of the Census in 1971 and 1981, and in 1991 and 2001 for those who had ever worked.

Table 5.11 shows that among female in-migrants, as among male in-migrants, the proportion of individuals working in professional and managerial occupations after moving to Cornwall did not change much, and among medium-term migrants even increased substantially.

On the other hand, there is evidence of women trading down in their labour market position. After migration the proportion of women working in occupations associated with non-skilled employment increased considerably. This might support the 'tied migrant' theory which says that women accept trading down in favour of their partner's careers and are more likely to accept jobs which give them less social status and which often are paid less. However, it might also indicate that younger migrants or those who were previously inactive and entered the labour market after the move accepted less skilled positions.

The growth in women working in non-skilled occupations is mainly an effect of losses in skilled (non-manual as well as manual) occupations. The decrease was particularly marked in the proportion of women working in non-manual skilled jobs which, as for male in-migrants, indicates limited opportunities for jobs requiring this level of skills.

Another warning relates to the fact that the retirement age is lower for women than that for men which results in a higher percentage of the female population being excluded from these tables. Overall a very significant part of the female in-migrant population has to be excluded from the tables about social position.

Table 5.11 Social Class for FEMALE in-migrants to Cornwall (working age population)

	1971	1981	1991	2001
England and Wales	%	%	%	%
I & II	15.8	20.3	25.4	30.5
IIIN	40.6	42.1	40.8	36.9
IIIM	10.1	8.5	7.6	8.3
IV & V	33.5	29.2	26.1	23.5
Long-term migrants-				
late 60s	n1=42	n2=52	n3=92	n4=74
I & II	31.0	23.1	20.7	27.0
IIIN	40.5	44.2	39.1	33.8
IIIM	7.1	7.7	12.0	9.5
IV & V	21.4	25.0	28.3	29.7
Long-term migrants-1970s				
	n1=89	n2=72	n3=104	n4=87
I & II	29.2	27.8	21.2	21.8
IIIN	37.1	33.3	45.2	33.3
IIIM	10.1	6.9	4.8	14.9
IV & V	23.6	31.9	28.9	29.9
Medium-term migrants				
	n1=127	n2=171	n3=177	
I & II		18.1	26.3	31.6
IIIN		48.0	39.2	37.9
IIIM		15.0	9.4	7.3
IV & V		18.9	25.2	23.2
Short-term migrants				
		n1=175	n2=183	
I & II			33.1	34.4
IIIN			40.0	35.0
IIIM			6.3	6.0
IV & V			19.4	23.5

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

In summary, migrants to Cornwall in the period 1971-2001 tended to be late in their careers. Although their economic activity rates dropped following migration, this was to a large extent an effect of retiring (sometimes early) or leaving the labour market due to ill health. The changes to social class based on occupations also provide little evidence that migrants traded down in their social position after moving to Cornwall.

It does not mean, however, that economic conditions in Cornwall did not shape the careers of in-migrants. In the decade after their migration to Cornwall levels of economic activity among migrants increased and rates of unemployment dropped, suggesting that some of the withdrawal from the labour market might have not been 'voluntary' but rather forced by the condition of the local economy. About a quarter to 30% of male migrants returned to work after a period of inactivity following the move to Cornwall. In terms of quality of employment, both female and male migrants were much less likely to be working in skilled non-manual occupations, indicating the limited number of this kind of jobs in Cornwall.

The patterns of economic activity rates and social class groups support Fielding's thesis (1992a) of 'stepping out of the escalator'. He demonstrated that the patterns of migration to rural areas were often characterised by individuals who were successful in their work in dynamic urban centres and moved to an environment which gave fewer work career opportunities but better quality of life. The thesis about the shift from production to consumption and the importance of quality of life is connected with findings about other factors such as the environmental dimension and housing discussed in later chapters.

5.2 Out-migrants from Cornwall

Stockdale (2004) criticises counterurbanisation studies for their lack of attention to the important phenomenon of rural out-migration and its consequences. Especially in areas of strong in-migration such as Cornwall, the outflow of people may be overlooked. This section is focused on this particular group of migrants.

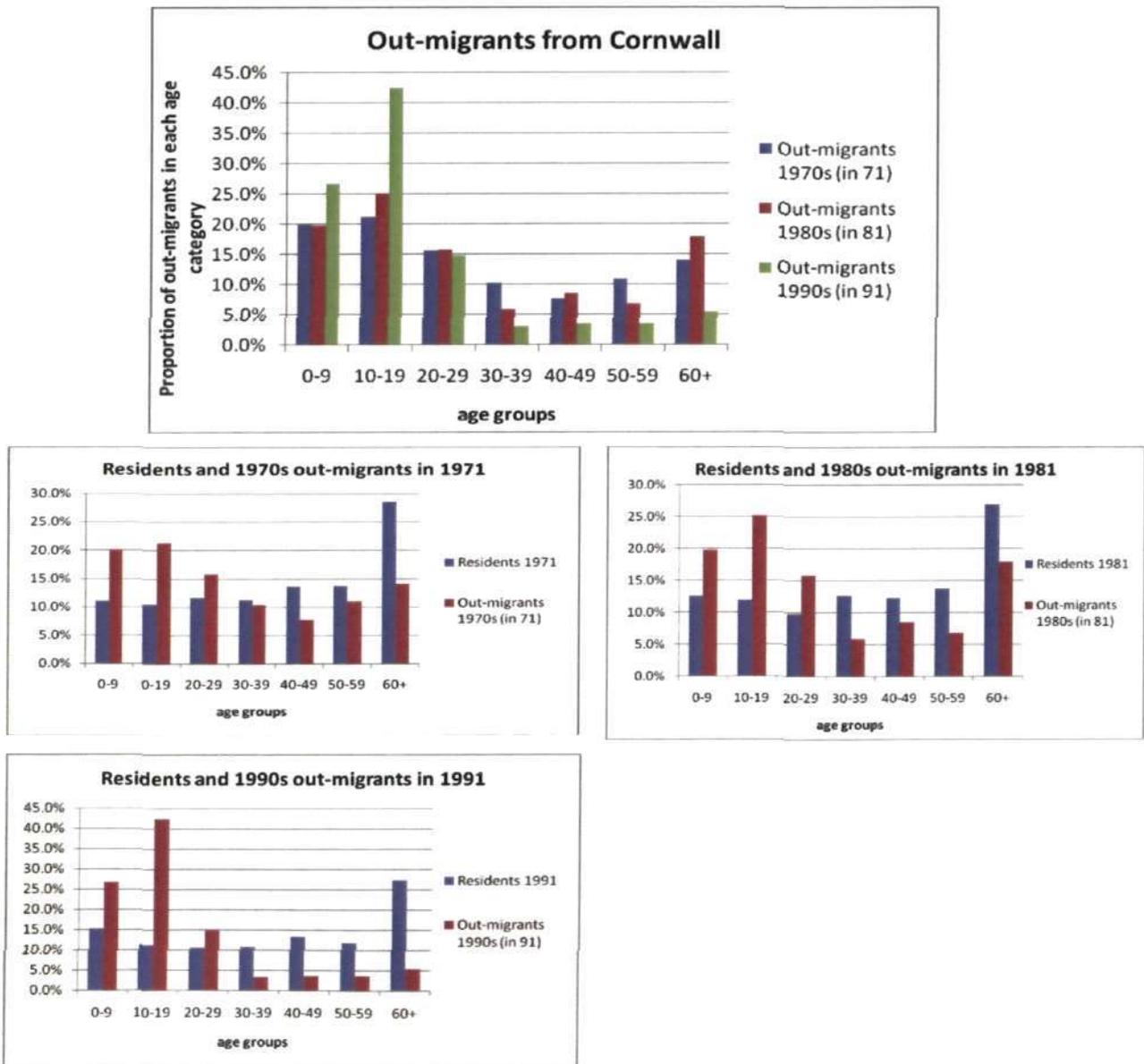
The changes in the population structure in Cornwall are an effect of two flows: one into the county, and another out of the county. Out-migration remained high in all three decades under investigation; however the profile of out-migrants has changed.

Although out-migration is smaller than in-migration and therefore net migration is positive, the very distinct profile of out-migrants has a critical impact on the population of Cornwall. The next section considers the characteristics of out-migrants, factors which influence out-flow of population from Cornwall and its consequences.

5.2.1. Age structure

The most distinctive characteristic of out-migrants is their age. Figure 5.5 presents the age structure of out-migrants before they migrated, and compares it with the resident population in Cornwall. The resident population at different dates includes the non-migrant, in-migrant and out-migrant population groups depending on whether they resided in Cornwall at the particular point in time.

Figure 5.5 Age structure of cohorts of out-migrants (before migration)



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The graph shows that out-migrants were mainly young people, especially those in their teens and 20s. In all three decades out-migrants included a higher proportion of people below the age of 30 than the average in Cornwall and a lower proportion of older individuals. What is even more pronounced is that, as the 30 year period proceeded, this trend became even more prominent, resulting in out-migration in the 1990s being almost exclusively among people below 30 years old, presumably due to an increase in the university student population²⁷.

The extent of this outflow of young people from Cornwall has led to local concern and raised questions about factors influencing this process. There is little research about the recent out-migration of young people from Cornwall; however the evidence from the other rural areas shades a light on some of the causes. Stockdale (2006) considered that lack of employment and the negative influence of high house prices were the main considerations which encouraged young people to leave their local communities. A Commission for Rural Communities report (2008) pointed out another element - educational needs - and emphasised that whether young people returned home after completing their education was the most important aspect of the phenomenon, not the fact that they chose to study away.

It is recognised that in this study it is not possible to identify all of the individuals who leave their local communities to continue education outside Cornwall because of the nature of the LS sample in which there are the 10 year gaps between the waves of data. In the project the cohorts of out-migrants consist of individuals who left the county and did not return.

Further analyses focus on other characteristics of out-migrants to help to define the profile of individuals lost from local communities. They investigate the labour market and housing circumstances related to the outflow of such large numbers of young people. Evidence of economic and educational needs behind out-migration from Cornwall will be examined.

²⁷ Another possible explanation of so substantial a rise in the number of out-migrants of student age is different coverage between Censuses. Students are a group at particular risk of being under enumerated and this may have been more serious in earlier years.

5.2.2. Who leaves Cornwall – the unemployed, school leavers or workers?

This section looks at the importance of factors such as unemployment, being in education and participation in the labour market among out-migrants from Cornwall. It focuses on economic activity which gives an indication of the importance of the labour market in shaping this outflow. Both economic and educational factors may play a role in Cornwall, which has traditionally been a region with low wages, high unemployment and only limited higher education opportunities.

Among the important aspects of economic activity data are the proportion of people looking for work but not being able to find any, people having previous work experience in Cornwall and probably influenced by that factor, and those who were students in the decade before migration. It is assumed that the 'other inactive' category for men will contain mainly those in education²⁸

Table 5.12 presents cohort tables illustrating labour market histories of three consecutive cohorts of out-migrants and the resident population in Cornwall. Out-migrants are compared with the resident population as the latter represent the characteristics closest to their origin communities. The data demonstrates that in comparison with the resident population, out-migrants in all three cohorts included a higher proportion of young people (under 16) who accounted before migration for about a third of all out-migrants in the 1970s and 1980s and rose to over half of all male out-migrants in the 1990s. This demonstrates the great significance of children, young people and school leavers among out-migrants.

Another group which might indicate migrants leaving Cornwall after completing a particular level of education is represented by individuals classified in the 'other inactive' category. It is assumed that the majority of male out-migrants in the 'other inactive' category were other young people in education who were over 16. The cohort table shows that their proportion was also much above that among the resident population and further indicates the significance of the out-flow of school leavers from Cornwall. Before migration over 40% of 1970s and 1980s out-migrants and over 60% of 1990s

²⁸ The other inactive category also includes inadequately described circumstances, taking care of the home, and other life circumstances which tend to be experienced much more by women than by men.

out-migrants belonged to one of these two categories, indicating that they were school leavers.

Table 5.12 also indicates the importance of the labour market. It shows that over 40% of male 1970s and 1980s out-migrants had previous work experience in Cornwall. However, in the latest cohort of male out-migrants, only a quarter reported working in Cornwall before their migration. At the same time in the 1990s there was for the first time a high rate of unemployment in Cornwall among individuals who subsequently migrated out in that decade (7.4%).

Throughout the period under investigation one of the factors which encouraged working outside Cornwall was wages. Cornwall was characterised by low wages which were often blamed for out-migration. In the 1970s Cornwall County Council reported that wages in Cornwall were 16% behind the England and Wales average (Calder, 1979). In 2005 it was reported that wages were 21% behind the UK average (Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Economic Forum, 2006).

Summarising the data on the labour market position of male out-migrants before migration, there is evidence that labour market conditions were an important factor in the decision to leave Cornwall for a large proportion of 1970s and 1980s male out-migrants. Among 1990s out-migrants about one third were working or looking for a job before moving. The second group among male out-migrants, at least as large as the first one and among the 1990s out-migrants even larger, comprised children and young people, including men who were probably continuing education beyond the compulsory schooling age.

The cohort table demonstrates that after migration over half of all male out-migrants participated in the labour market. Between 52% and 57% in all cohorts were in employment in the first decade after migration. Although the 1980s cohort of out-migrants experienced an increase in unemployment after migration, this did not affect the 1970s migrants, and among 1990s out-migrants it dropped a few percentage points compared to the levels before migration.

However, children under the age of 16 remained a very substantial category after migration which can be reliably assumed as indicating children in migrating households. The percentage of child migrants was similar in all three decades and accounted for about 16-18% of all male out-migrants from Cornwall. This indicates the proportion of families with young children moving out of Cornwall and paradoxically might suggest the economic factors determining migration.

Nevertheless the proportion of young men leaving Cornwall in the decade in which they finished secondary education (which can be estimated by extracting the proportion of children under 16 after migration from the proportion of children under 16 before migration) is high: 18% and 15% in the first two cohorts and in the latest cohort 35% of male out-migrants. Unfortunately on the basis of the LS data it is impossible to distinguish how many moved to continue their education and how many left to look for employment after completing a certain level of education in Cornwall. It is difficult to establish from this data any clear-cut distinction between economic and educational motivation because it is likely that, due to the 10 year gaps between Censuses, many of those who left Cornwall for educational reasons might have completed it and subsequently entered the labour market, although their primary motivation for leaving was related to education.

It is assumed that among men a high proportion of individuals in the 'other inactive' category continued education after the compulsory schooling age. The significance of this category among 1990s out-migrants (20% after migration) also suggests that educational needs were a very important factor influencing migration from Cornwall.

The proportion of retired men among migrants has reduced with each cohort. Among 1970s out-migrants after migration they accounted for about a quarter, among 1980s about 15%, and among 1990s just 6%. This last figure suggests that moving out of Cornwall became less attractive or less practical for more elderly migrants.

It can be concluded that a significant proportion of out-migrants were school leavers, who might have accounted for up to a quarter of out-migrants in the 1970s and 1980s (by combining the percentage of those who migrated in the decade of leaving compulsory education and 'other inactive'). In the 1990s they might have accounted for

up to a half of all out-migrants. With participation in higher education growing nationally, the profile of out-migrants from Cornwall may stay similar to that of the 1990s out-migrants. On the other hand such initiatives as implementing the Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC) proposals for additional and further education facilities in Cornwall are likely to have some effect on retaining higher levels of school leavers in the county.

Table 5.12 Economic activity of MALE out-migrants from Cornwall²⁹

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Resident population in Cornwall				
Working	58.7%	52.6%	46.2%	41.4%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	2.7%	6.2%	5.0%	2.9%
Permanently sick/ Retired	17.6%	17.5%	22.7%	22.8%
Other Inactive	1.4%	2.6%	2.3%	6.2%
Child under 16	19.6%	21.1%	23.8%	26.8%
Out-migrants (1970s)				
	n1=136	n2=117	n3=100	n4=85
Working	41.2%	53.0%	73.0%	70.7%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Permanently sick/ Retired	16.2%	23.9%	24.0%	25.9%
Other Inactive	7.4%	6.0%	3.0%	3.5%
Child under 16	35.3%	17.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Out-migrants (1980s)				
	n1=102	n2=88	n3=80	
Working	42.2%	56.8%	71.3%	
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	3.9%	6.8%	5.0%	
Permanently sick/ Retired	10.8%	14.8%	18.8%	
Other Inactive	9.8%	3.4%	5.0%	
Child under 16	33.3%	18.2%	0.0%	
Out-migrants (1990s)				
			n1=95	n2=93
Working			25.3%	51.6%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick			7.4%	5.4%
Permanently sick/ Retired			5.3%	6.5%
Other Inactive			10.5%	20.4%
Child under 16			51.6%	16.1%

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.13 presents the labour market histories of female out-migrants. It shows that, despite the rise in participation nationally and regionally in the last few decades, the

²⁹ The graphs present cross-sectional and not longitudinal data.

proportion of female out-migrants working before migration dropped from 29% for the earliest cohort to 23% for the latest one. The proportion of female out-migrants who were working also changed in this period from a few percentage points above to a few percentage points below that of the resident female population. However, it does not signify low economic activity rates among female out-migrants as in the same period the proportion of children under 16 rose from 25% to 48%. Paradoxically this means that female working age out-migrants had higher levels of participation in the labour market while in Cornwall than the resident population but the different age profile of out-migrants, which is skewed towards younger individuals, masked the growth in labour market participation among female out-migrants.

The most significant category describing the labour market position of female out-migrants before migration was 'other inactive' for the 1970s and 1980s cohorts (36% and 44% respectively) and children under 16 for 1990s out-migrants (48%). Unfortunately for females it is much more speculative to use the 'other inactive' category as an indication that the people concerned are participating in education as many more of these women are taking care of their home or children but in the table they are in the same category as students. It shows the shortcomings of Census categories in capturing roles peripheral to formal labour market.

After migration the proportion of women participating in the labour market increased substantially and ranged between 39% among 1970s out-migrants and 46% among 1990s out-migrants. There are signs of a degree of unemployment affecting females before migration among 1970s and 1990s migrants, and after migration the rates rose a few percentage points among 1980s and 1990s migrants.

Table 5.13 Economic activity of FEMALE out-migrants from Cornwall

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Resident population in Cornwall				
Working	23.5%	25.2%	30.9%	32.0%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	1.7%	1.7%	2.2%	1.5%
Permanently sick/ Retired	16.1%	8.1%	21.2%	30.6%
Other Inactive	41.9%	47.1%	25.8%	14.8%
Child under 16	16.7%	17.9%	19.9%	21.0%
Out-migrants (1970s)				
	n1=162	n2=150	n3=126	n4=116
Working	29.0%	38.7%	60.3%	55.2%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Permanently sick/ Retired	7.4%	10.7%	19.1%	32.8%
Other Inactive	36.4%	40.0%	20.6%	12.1%
Child under 16	25.3%	10.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Out-migrants (1980s)				
	n1=124	n2=113	n3=96	
Working	22.6%	41.6%	61.5%	
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	0.0%	4.4%	3.1%	
Permanently sick/ Retired	6.5%	22.1%	24.0%	
Other Inactive	44.4%	20.4%	11.5%	
Child under 16	26.6%	11.5%	0.0%	
Out-migrants (1990s)				
	n1=126		n2=122	
Working	23.0%		45.9%	
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	4.0%		5.7%	
Permanently sick/ Retired	2.4%		9.0%	
Other Inactive	23.0%		23.0%	
Child under 16	47.6%		16.4%	

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The cohort tables for both males and females illustrate the significance of the phenomenon of young people leaving Cornwall after completing secondary education for the next stage of education or for work. The data for female out-migrants show that a similar proportion of female as male out-migrants moved out of Cornwall in the decade of finishing compulsory schooling. Table 5.14 presents their labour market position after migration. As the rates of entering the labour markets for these young men and women are similar to each other and so as to avoid small cell counts, the analysis in table 5.14 is for males and females combined.

Table 5.14 shows a considerable cohort effect and confirms an educational aspect of the out-flows. The percentage of school leavers being in employment after migration dropped from 70% among the 1970s cohort to 42% among 1990s out-migrants. Although the inactive group will include an unknown number of people who were inactive for other reasons, it can be reasonably assumed that this growth indicates in part an increase in educational motivated migration.

Table 5.14 Labour market histories of school leavers

Males and females under 16 before migration and in working age population after the move	In employment	Inactive
1970s out-migrants n=37	70.3%	29.7%
1980s out-migrants n=35	60.0%	40.0%
1990s out-migrants n=74	41.9%	58.1%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.15 presents the labour market trajectories of out-migrants who were inactive before migration (this excludes those below or above working age), separately for men and women. It demonstrates that among women inactive before migration, there can be observed a cohort or/and period effect reflected in the rapid increase in participation in the labour market after migration in each cohort and decade, and a decrease in the proportion of women who remained inactive after migration. Male out-migrants who were inactive before migration show a very consistent pattern after their move with between 60% and 70% of each wave of migrants finding employment.

Table 5.15 Labour market histories of out-migrants who were inactive before migration

Inactive before migration		After migration			
		Males		Females	
		Employed	Inactive	Employed	Inactive
1970s out-migrants	Males n=27 Females n=58	63.0%	11.1%	27.6%	44.8%
1980s out-migrants	Males n=16 Females n=39	68.8%	18.8%	51.3%	30.8%
1990s out-migrants	Males n=19 Females n=31	68.4%	21.1%	74.2%	16.1%

Notes: Inactivity excludes retirement. For that reason the tables do not sum to 100. Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

To present a full picture of labour market histories of out-migrants, table 5.16 shows the trajectories of migrants who had the experience of working while in Cornwall. The cohort table for male out-migrants suggested that labour market issues were an important driver

in the 1970s and 1980s and to a large extent also in the 1990s. Due to the fact that no unemployment was recorded among male 1970s out-migrants, inactivity after the move is interpreted as arising from early retirement, disability, becoming a student or some other rare life circumstances. Among 1980s out-migrants some of those men who were inactive after migration might have been unemployed as the rates of unemployment rose in that cohort after migrating. However among 1990s out-migrants, the vast majority of those who were in employment before the move (regardless of the fact that their numbers were smaller than in previous cohorts as a result of the changing age structure) remained in work and the proportion becoming inactive was very small.

The proportion of females who after working in Cornwall remained working after the move rose with each cohort, especially from the 1970s to the 1980s. The proportion that was inactive fell steadily.

Table 5.16 Labour market histories of out-migrants in employment before migration

In employment before migration		After migration			
		Males		Females	
		Employed	Inactive	Employed	Inactive
1970s out-migrants	Males n=71 Females n=46	66.2%	16.9%	50.0%	32.6%
1980s out-migrants	Males n=43 Females n=25	67.4%	16.3%	60.0%	24.0%
1990s out-migrants	Males n=23 Females n=29	82.6%	13.0%	62.1%	17.2%

Notes: Inactivity excludes retirement. For that reason the tables do not sum to 100. Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

5.2.3. Fortunes of out-migrants

Further analyses focus on how successful the out-migrants were after migration. One of the indicators of success is change in social class based on occupations which indicates the career development of these young migrants from Cornwall.

Table 5.17 and 5.18 present the distribution of social class based on occupation before and after migration for out-migrants controlled by sex. The tables present the data for working age migrants but, due to the large number of out-migrants who were under 16 before migration, any comparison should be made with caution. The distribution of social classes after migration includes many individuals who had not been assigned one before migration and excludes those who had reached retirement age. So this table should not be analysed longitudinally but instead treated as representing in one column the

structure of occupations of migrants who worked in Cornwall, and in the next column the structure of occupations undertaken by migrants after migration, including those who entered the labour market after migration

The tables show that among both male and female out-migrants who had worked in Cornwall before migration, between 20 and 35% worked in partly skilled and non-skilled occupations (IV&V) The proportion of professional and managerial out-migrants was at its highest among 1970s male out-migrants and accounted for 32% before migration. However, this proportion declined in each consecutive cohort accounting for 29% of male out-migrants in the 1980s and 23% in the 1990s. The decrease in the proportion of migrants in higher social classes before migration is likely to be an effect of the younger age structure of later out-migrants (see figure 5.5) Among females the highest proportion worked in skilled non-manual occupations (IIIN) in Cornwall (55% among 1970s out-migrants, 42% among 1980s, and 45% among 1990s out-migrants)

After migration the proportion of individuals in higher social classes among both male and female migrants increased, whereas it decreased in unskilled occupations for the 1970s and 1980s cohorts. In the last cohort of out-migrants, although the proportion of individuals in professional and managerial occupations increased spectacularly as happened with earlier cohorts, uniquely the number of individuals in partly skilled and non-skilled occupations stayed at about the same level. For that cohort trends in the highest and lowest social classes are very similar for men and women.

Table 5.17 Social Class for MALE out-migrants ((15)16-64 years old)

	Out-migrants 1970s		Out-migrants 1980s		Out-migrants 1990s	
	Before (n=66)	After (n=70)	Before (n=45)	After (n=61)	Before (n=30)	After (n=66)
I & II	31.8%	44.3%	28.9%	54.1%	23.3%	42.4%
IIIN	18.2%	24.3%	17.7%	19.7%	20.0%	13.6%
IIIM	28.8%	21.4%	24.4%	13.1%	30.0%	18.2%
IV & V	21.2%	10.0%	28.9%	13.1%	26.7%	25.8%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.18 Social Class for FEMALE out-migrants ((15)16-59 years old)

	Out-migrants 1970s		Out-migrants 1980s		Out-migrants 1990s	
	<i>Before (n=49)</i>	<i>After (n=57)</i>	<i>Before (n=26)</i>	<i>After (n=61)</i>	<i>Before (n=40)</i>	<i>After (n=87)</i>
I & II	12.2%	24.6%	23.1%	42.6%	22.5%	36.8%
IIIN	55.1%	49.1%	42.3%	27.9%	45.0%	28.7%
IIIM	6.1%	8.8%	0.0	9.8%	7.5%	9.2%
IV & V	26.5%	17.5%	34.6%	19.7%	25.0%	25.3%

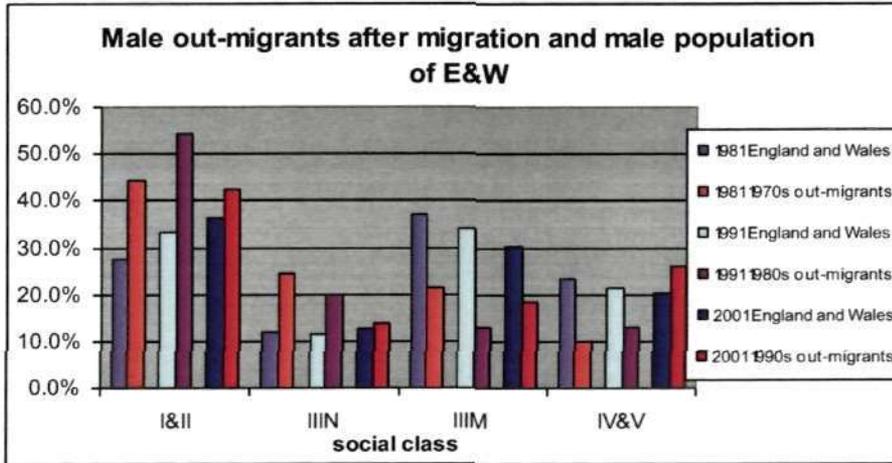
Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

When the social class position of out-migrants after migration is compared to the population of England and Wales, as illustrated in graphs 5.6 for men and 5.7 for women, out-migrants can be seen as very successful in the labour market; after the move far more worked in professional and managerial positions than the average in England and Wales. This suggests how dynamic those individuals were and it also indicates the greater career opportunities outside remote Cornwall. It strongly supports the 'escalator region' thesis (Fielding, 1992a).

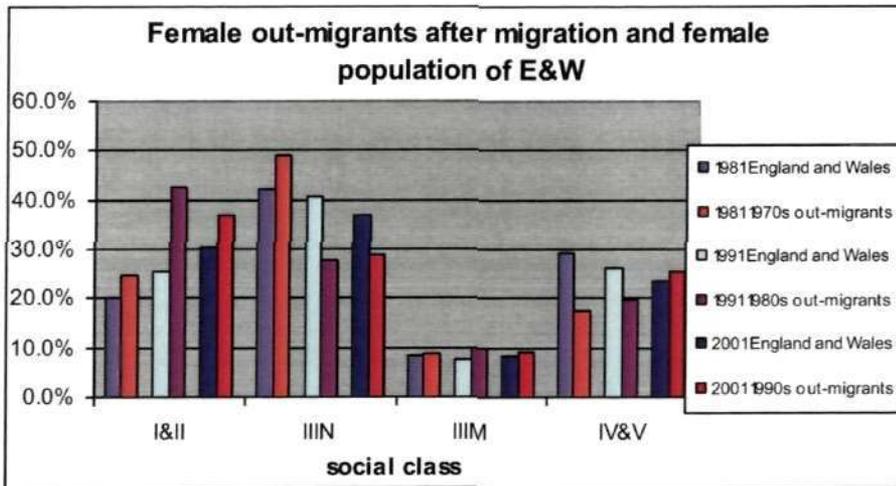
The last cohort differs in many respects from the earlier ones. In terms of the social position of working age out-migrants, it shows a higher number than among earlier cohorts of out-migrants in non-skilled occupations (IV&V), a quarter of the total. The younger age structure of this cohort suggests that a relatively large proportion is at the beginning of their careers. In comparison with England and Wales more still worked in the occupations of the higher social classes, though the difference is smaller than it had been in earlier decades.

Figure 5.6 Social class positions of male out-migrants and male population in England and Wales



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Figure 5.7 Social class positions of female out-migrants and female population in England and Wales



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Another indicator of social status is tenure because it is related to differences in wealth and income. Housing has been identified as one of the push factors which influence out-migration. Moreover, housing careers of out-migrants and any change in the proportion of them living in owned accommodation after their move presents another dimension of the fortunes of out-migrants from Cornwall.

The high proportion of out-migrants living in privately rented accommodation before migration would suggest that housing may be one of the factors pushing individuals out

of their communities. However, living in owner occupied property does not necessarily mean living independently. As discovered by Williams (1997), Cornish people are more likely than nationally to live in complex households which include more than one family or families and individuals living with unrelated persons. Sharing accommodation has been found to be one way of gaining access to housing in Cornwall. In her research she also showed that young people were living longer with their relatives than they wished due to the lack of affordable accommodation to rent as an alternative.

Table 5.19 presents the tenure of out-migrants before they left Cornwall. It shows that out-migrants were much less likely to live in social rented accommodation and in the 1970s and 1990s they were more likely to live in privately rented accommodation than the non-migrant population in Cornwall. At the same time all three cohorts were more likely to live in owner occupied accommodation and in the 1980s even much more likely than the non-migrant population to own their property.

The data suggests that being a private renter has relatively little impact on the likelihood of someone moving out of the county, but the likelihood that the housing need is concealed within the composition of many households remains.

Table 5.19 Tenure of out-migrants reported before migration

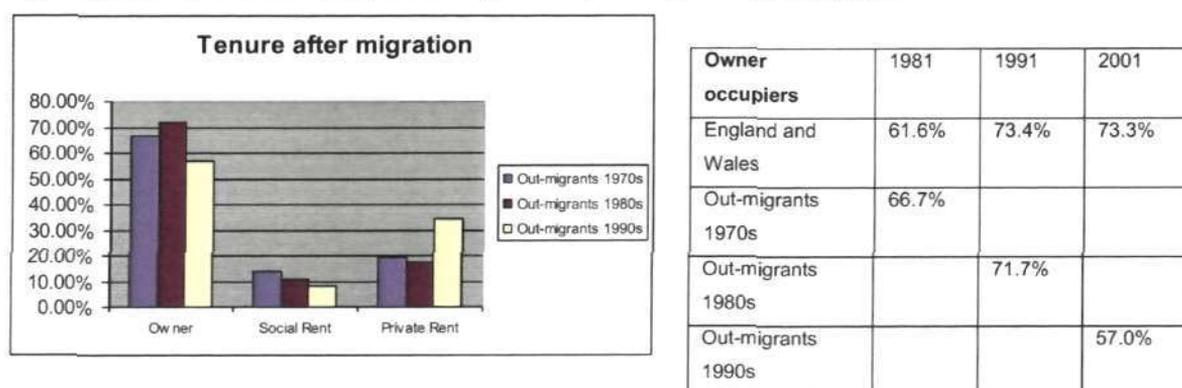
Before migration	Owner occupier	Social renter	Private renter
Non-migrant population in 1971	55.37%	24.17%	20.13%
1970s out-migrants in 1971	59.10%	13.09%	27.79%
Non-migrant population in 1981	61.02%	27.34%	11.62%
1980s out-migrants in 1981	74.41%	13.95%	11.62%
Non-migrant population in 1991	72.83%	18.72%	8.44%
1990s out-migrants in 1991	77.16%	10.04%	12.78%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Figure 5.8 presents the rates of owner occupation among out-migrants after they had migrated and shows how this changed for consecutive cohorts. 1970s migrants from Cornwall had levels of owner occupation after migration several percentage points higher than the average in England and Wales. This dropped slightly below the average

for 1980s migrants. However, the levels of owner occupation after migration among the 1990s cohort of out-migrants were considerably below the average in England and Wales. Over a third of 1990s out-migrants, who were much younger than earlier cohorts, lived in privately rented accommodation after they left Cornwall. This characteristic distinguishes further the latest cohort of out-migrants and indicates a more fundamental change from the past in the character of the recent out-migration flow. It is most likely due to such factors as longer education and later marriage and child rearing.

Figure 5.8 Number of owner occupiers among out-migrants reported after migration



Owner occupiers	1981	1991	2001
England and Wales	61.6%	73.4%	73.3%
Out-migrants 1970s	66.7%		
Out-migrants 1980s		71.7%	
Out-migrants 1990s			57.0%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The issues of social class and housing cannot be considered outside the context of the age structure of each cohort of out-migrants. It is very likely that the dramatic change in the age distribution of the latest out-migrants is the main explanation for the substantial differences in their social class and tenure circumstances after migration. Nevertheless the LS data demonstrates that after migration the migrants who entered the labour market had a higher social status than the England and Wales average.

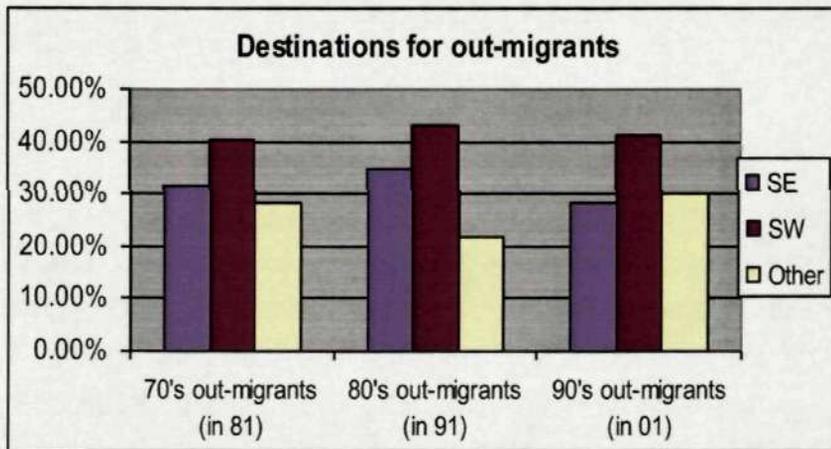
5.2.4. Geography of out-migration

A large proportion of migrants from Cornwall achieved a high social position after migration. In the context of movements for better work prospects the geographical dimension also plays an important role. The South East has been called an 'escalator region' (Fielding, 1992a) as it attracts people with opportunities to develop their careers.

However, as shown in figure 5.9, the South East (which includes London) is not the main destination for out-migrants from Cornwall. Although almost half of all in-migrants came from the South East, only about one third of out-migrants moved to that region. Still what should be taken into account is the possibility that cities in the South West are just the first step in the move to the largest metropolitan area i.e. London.

Nevertheless the geography of out-migration differs somewhat from the geography of in-migration. At least in the first decade after migration over 40% of out-migrants decided to relocate within the region (South West) and there has been almost no change in the patterns of destinations in all three decades. The South West (outside of Cornwall) appeared to be a mini-escalator region for migrants from Cornwall which does not contain metropolitan areas on the scale of places like Bristol, Exeter, Bournemouth - Poole and Plymouth in the wider South West region. Figure 5.9 groups the destinations of out-migrants into three main areas.

Figure 5.9 Destinations of out-migrants



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

A more detailed table presenting the destinations of out-migrants (table 5.20) shows that at a time when the proportion of migrants to three main destination areas stayed stable throughout all three decades, there was a substantial change in the particular destinations chosen. Among the first two cohorts majority of the migrants who moved elsewhere in the South West moved to the county bordering Cornwall, Devon (with the vast majority moving to the most urbanised areas of Devon) but in the 1990s migrants

were moving further away and only about one third of migrants to the South West went to Devon. There was also a noteworthy decline in migration to the South East (excluding London) in the 1990s.

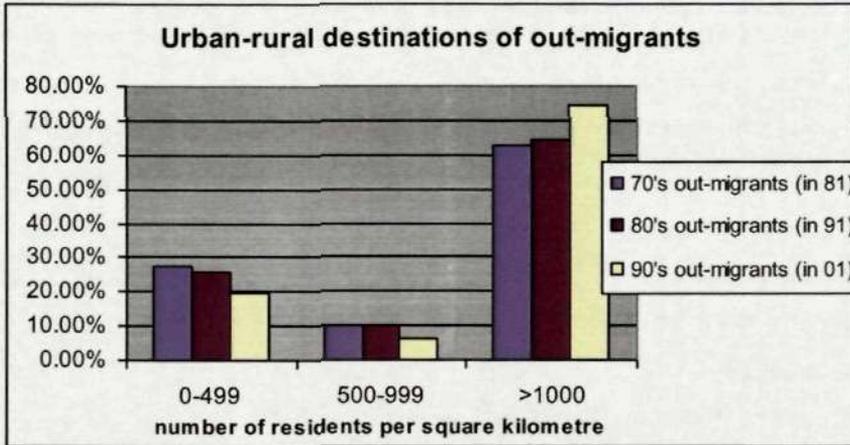
Table 5.20 Destination of out-migrants by GORs

Region of destination	1970s out-migrants in 1981	1980s out-migrants in 1991	1990s out-migrants in 2001
North East, North West, Yorkshire & the Humber	5.6%	3.5%	3.3%
Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire	4.5%	2.0%	3.7%
West Midlands	5.2%	5.5%	7.0%
East Midlands	4.9%	4.0%	5.1%
East England	3.4%	3.0%	7.0%
South East	22.8%	23.5%	17.7%
London	8.6%	11.5%	10.7%
Wales	4.5%	4.0%	4.2%
Devon	22.1%	27.5%	13.0%
Rest of South West	18.4%	15.5%	28.4%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The movement of out-migrants to urban and rural areas respectively is mostly in the reverse direction to that of in-migrants. In-migrants came mainly from very densely populated areas and out-migrants moved to such areas, as shown in figure 5.10. This would represent the replacement process if we ignore the spatial dimension (far fewer moves to the South East and a higher proportion migrating to the rest of the South West than among in-migrants). Young people perpetuate the urbanisation trend.

Figure 5.10 Urban- rural destinations of out-migrants



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The out-migration phenomenon requires attention from strategic planners. Related issues are not only why people left Cornwall but also why they did not return. A recent report of the Commission for Rural Communities (2008) shows that rates of return to rural home areas after a period of education differ significantly between local authorities, with the highest rates of returnees being to Cumbria. Improving opportunities for young out-migrants to return after their studies is an important issue for the more sustained development of Cornwall and similar areas.

The skewed age profile of out-migrants raises particular concerns over the impact of this process on the population structure of Cornwall. As shown above in the analyses of in-migrants, this out-flow of young people is not replaced by similar individuals. The sustainability argument that this is undermining local communities is highlighted by Matthew Taylor MP in his governmental review (2008), arguing that they need 'demographic balance' for economical and social sustainability.

5.3 Return and repeat migrants

The next two sections investigate two groups of migrants who are often overlooked in the analysis of flows into and out of particular geographical areas: return migrants and repeat migrants. It is argued that they are distinct groups of migrants, more mobile and possibly driven by different factors: family connections or being more responsive to changing economic conditions.

Return migrants and repeat migrants are both in-migrants and out-migrants, and in research focusing on just two points in time they would have to be classified within one of these categories. They include all individuals who at different times lived both in and outside the county but eventually returned to Cornwall or finally left it, regardless of the decade in which any of their moves took place. That means that the only point in time when there are precise data about their residence is 2001. In 2001 return migrants lived in Cornwall and repeat migrants lived in England and Wales but outside Cornwall. As a result it is impossible to relate the changes in their circumstances with the act of moving in or out of Cornwall because it is not known during which decade the move took place. The change in the decade of migrating cannot be identified.

5.3.1. Return migrants

Return migrants as a separate category were distinguished in the Perry, Dean and Brown study (1986) of migrants to Cornwall in which a quarter of all in-migrants were identified as return migrants. They concluded that return migrants constituted a separate category which in term of their socio-economic position placed them somewhere between new settlers and the local population.

The LS sample of return migrants to Cornwall is relatively small. It contains 84 individuals in 2001. It is recognised that Census data might not be the most suitable source for investigating return migration as a result of the long gaps between Censuses, which means that those individuals who both moved out and returned within the 10 year period between two Censuses cannot be identified. Furthermore the small size of the sample does not allow detailed analysis and the data is probably best treated almost qualitatively (as much referring to individual circumstances as possible within ONS Longitudinal Study). Although the ONS Longitudinal Study sample is unstratified and unclustered, due to its small sample size it has to be treated with great caution.

Among return migrants gender appears to be a significant issue. There are 57 women and only 27 men in the LS sample for Cornwall. This disproportion between male and female return migrants does not appear in Wiltshire or among any other migrant group and may well be specific to Cornwall.

Due to the fact that return migrants have to be enumerated during at least 3 Censuses, they were at least 20 years old in 2001. However the majority of returning migrants in 2001 were in their 30s and 40s (59 out of 84 individuals were below the age of 50) which demonstrates that only a minority were returning to retire. Table 5.21 presents the broad age profile of return migrants and shows that the majority were of working age and continued working after returning to Cornwall.

Table 5.21 Socio-economic profile of return migrants

Return migrants-2001 frequencies	Working age		Retired
	Economically active	Economically inactive	
Men	16	7	4
Women	38	12	7

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Women were twice as likely to return as men and they were as economically active as men. However, while male returning migrants were mainly in top occupations, the social class profile of women returnees was more diverse. Half of male returnees in 2001 were in the highest social classes (I and II), and none are recorded in the lowest classes (IV or V). Although the majority of women were also in professional and skilled non-manual social positions, about a quarter were in non-skilled occupations.

The LS sample provides limited information on return migrants and the difference they make to the population structure in the county. However, an additional source of information on return migrants in Cornwall is available. The data from ONS LS were enriched by the results of the People's Panel survey conducted by Cornwall County Council in 2005 which included a section on migration. Return migrants were identified by a question asking their year of migration, to which return migrants spontaneously added the fact that it was the year of their re-entering Cornwall.

The People's Panel survey included a sample of 828 individuals living in Cornwall in 2005³⁰. A sub-sample of returnees to Cornwall included 27 individuals. In the survey there is an almost even balance between male and female return migrants (13 men and

³⁰ The full findings (for all migrants) can be found in Burley (2007) who prepared the migration section of the People's Panel. He re-asked the questions used by Perry et al (1986) allowing following the changes in motivation of migrants. In this project the Panel is used only to give some supplementary information on return migrants because, due to the skewed age structure of respondents, it was decided that it would be better used in a more qualitative way.

14 women) but the respondents differ in their age structure from the LS sample and contain more retired people (17 out of 27) which suggests that the People's Panel captured a slightly different population of return migrants.

Some respondents were keen to explain when and why they had moved out of Cornwall which gives an interesting insight into the return migration phenomenon. Circumstances of leaving and returning to Cornwall included reminiscences of 'growing up' in Cornwall (8 individuals) and their 'Cornish born' status (4 individuals). One person mentioned spending the war and post-war periods in Cornwall and one explained their frequent moves as an effect of an army career.

The People's Panel was also used in a rather qualitative way and its usefulness lay particularly in the fact that it included a question on motivation to move to Cornwall. Although respondents were given a set of defined reasons to choose from (they could select as many appropriate answers from those as they wished), these included a reasonable range of possible motives and were complemented by an open-ended question allowing respondents to describe any further reasons in their own words.

Table 5.22 summarises the importance of various aspects of economic, housing and lifestyle considerations for return migrants from the People's Panel survey. Importance was measured by the frequency of various aspects being chosen. It illustrates that returning home and reunion with friends and family, in combination with environmental factors, were part of the motivation for the majority of return migrants. These were followed by various aspects of lifestyle such as escaping the urban rat race, and benefits anticipated for children, older people and health. Two issues related to housing and economics (cheaper housing and being transferred with their job) were also mentioned by a significant number of return migrants.

Other possible factors appeared to be of minimal or no importance. Possible reasons included in the questionnaire but which were not chosen by any respondent might also be assumed to be categories of recognised disadvantages associated with living in Cornwall. This shows that for return migrants such considerations as amenities, wages, work, and quality of housing were not significant in their decision to return.

Table 5.22 Importance of factors influencing decision to move to Cornwall (return migrants)

Very important (11-17 respondents)	Some importance (3-10 respondents)	Minimal importance (1-2 respondents)	No importance (no respondent)
Move near relatives and friends. Preferred environment. Return to homeland.	Transferred with job. Preferred climate. Better for retirement. Escape urban rat race. Better for health. Better for children. Cheaper housing.	Enjoyed previous holidays. Move out of family home. Move to smaller property. Buying own business. Growing up in Cornwall during the war and choosing to retire there. Marital separation.	Move closer to amenities. Better wages. Better housing. Move closer to work. Move to larger property.

Source: Cornwall County Council People's Panel

The findings of the People's Panel support the results of the Perry et al survey conducted in the early 1980s in which return migrants, reporting their motivation for moving back to Cornwall, pointed out the significance of returning to their homeland (78%) and rejoining family and friends (68%). Preferred environment was the third most frequently chosen option (33%) out of the pull factors. The most substantial difference between the surveys is in the importance of a push factor (escaping the urban rat race) which was chosen much more often by return migrants in the Perry et al study (49%) than in the People's Panel.

The LS data show that many migrants returning to Cornwall were still economically active. The People's Panel broadens that picture, indicating that coming back home, to their family, and environment are very important reasons to return.

5.3.2. Repeat migrants

Another particularly interesting group which is rarely in the focus of research is repeat migrants. In-migrants analysed in the first part of this chapter moved to Cornwall and were motivated not only to move but also to stay (however, less can be said yet about longer trends among short-term migrants). Repeat migrants as a separate migrant group are both in- migrants and out-migrants during the period of this study. They moved into the county sometime after 1966 but left it before the 2001 Census. This series of decisions raises the question of which factors discourage some migrants from staying in Cornwall.

Repeat migrants are a significant proportion of all migrants to Cornwall (sample of 332 individuals in 2001), however, as with return migrants, the only point in time when knowledge about their whereabouts is certain is 2001 and it is impossible to relate their earlier characteristics with the residence in or outside Cornwall. Only the final social and economic position after moving out of Cornwall can be referred to precisely. Data gaps about inter-censal changes of addresses again mean that knowledge is particularly patchy about people who move house frequently.

One of the reasons why repeat migrants are such an interesting group is that a significant number of them are likely to be children of in-migrants. They originally came to Cornwall as children with their parents and left later in their life. Not the entire group consists of a second-generation in-migrants. The LS sub-sample of repeat migrants includes all in-migrants who left Cornwall at the later stage. The only way to distinguish the second-generation in-migrants to Cornwall is through their age. In order to distinguish children of in-migrants, repeat migrants have been divided into three age groups as presented in table 5.23. Repeat migrants, like return migrants, have to be enumerated three times in Censuses both in and out of the county. This means that individuals below 40 years old in 2001 would have had to be very young when moving to Cornwall, probably with their parents. Individuals above the age of 60 were definitely migrants who took the decision to move on their own or participated in it. The middle group of migrants might belong to individuals who either moved to Cornwall as children or moved on their own depending on their pattern of migration (i.e. which year exactly they moved to and left Cornwall).

Table 5.23 shows the age distribution of repeat migrants and divides them into three categories: second-generation, mixed repeat migrants and adult migrants to Cornwall. It indicates that about a third of all repeat migrants were definitely children of in-migrants to Cornwall and also about a further third were definitely migrants who originally took the decision to move to the county.

Table 5.23 Age of repeat migrants

2001		
'second generation'	20-39	36.4%
'mixed repeat migrants'	40-59	32.2%
'adult migrants to Cornwall'	60+	31.3%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Because it is not possible to compare the status before and after migration of people concerned, the information related to the process of migration is very limited. Nevertheless the socio-economic characteristics of repeat migrants in 2001 (after they left Cornwall) can be compared with those of in-migrants to Cornwall and national data in an attempt to explain factors associated with frequent mobility.

Analysis of economic activity includes only the working age population which excludes almost all 'adult migrants to Cornwall'. Almost all of them are already retired and their exclusion enables a clearer picture to be drawn of younger repeat migrants. Table 5.24 compares the levels of economic activity between repeat migrants and England and Wales controlled by sex. It shows that repeat migrants, both men and women, were much more likely to be economically active and were below the average in England and Wales in all categories of inactivity (with the exception of females in the permanently sick and early retired category).

Table 5.24 Economic activity in 2001- England and Wales and repeat migrants (working age population)

Working age multiple migrants- 2001	England & Wales Male	Repeat migrants Male n= 129	England & Wales Female	Repeat migrants Female n= 131
Working	74.0%	83.0%	64.0%	67.9%
Unemployed/ Temporarily sick	4.4%	3.1%	2.7%	2.3%
Permanently sick/ Early retired	10.5%	6.2%	7.2%	9.2%
Other inactive	11.1%	7.8%	26.1%	20.6%

Note: Some cell counts have been rounded to meet disclosure control standards.

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5.25 presents the social class of working age repeat migrants. In 2001 a very large number of repeat migrants were occupying professional and managerial positions which among men accounted for over half. The proportions of repeat migrants in higher social classes were much larger than in England and Wales for both men and women. Two-thirds of working age repeat migrants were classified to social classes identified with the

service class (Butler, 1995) The social class distribution for working age migrants was compared to that of all repeat migrants and shows almost no differences (below 2%) which means that retired migrants are very similar in their social class position to younger repeat migrants

Table 5 25 Social class in 2001-England and Wales and repeat migrants (working age population)

Working age multiple migrants- 2001	England & Wales Male	Repeat migrants Male n= 108	England & Wales Female	Repeat migrants Female n=125
I & II	36.3%	53.7%	30.5%	40.0%
IIIN	12.5%	12.0%	36.9%	28.0%
IIIM	30.1%	18.5%	8.3%	13.6%
IV&V	20.2%	15.7%	23.5%	18.4%

Source. ONS Longitudinal Study

Working age repeat migrants have above average labour market participation (among both men and women) and much higher rates in highly qualified occupations which suggests that they are very successful, economic driven migrants Taking into account their high social position it is surprising that this does not translate to housing wealth

Table 5 26 presents the tenure of repeat migrants compared to England and Wales and other groups of in-migrants to Cornwall and shows that levels of owner occupiers among repeat migrants are slightly below England and Wales and much below earlier cohorts of in-migrants to Cornwall They are also less likely to live in the socially rented accommodation than all other migrants

The fact that the rate of home ownership among repeat migrants is only average despite of their much higher socio-economic status is surprising Home ownership is considered as a type of wealth accumulation and individuals in higher social classes have a higher home owner ratio Levels of home ownership among repeat migrants might be related to their more frequent geographical mobility It is also possible that they might own the property outside Cornwall and rent while living in the county

Table 5.26 Tenure in 2001-England and Wales and different migrant groups

Tenure in 2001	Owner	Social renter	Private renter
England and Wales	73.3%	17.3%	9.4%
Repeat-migrants	72.8%	10.6%	16.6%
Long term migrants	87.3%	7.1%	5.6%
Medium term migrants	83.5%	7.3%	9.2%
Short term migrants	73.1%	7.4%	19.4%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Summarising the data about repeat migrants their diversity should again be emphasised. The second-generation in-migrants to Cornwall might be similar to other out-migrants from Cornwall. Relatively large numbers are likely to be leaving for educational reasons. Adult migrants to Cornwall who later left the county could be professionals and managers being transferred with jobs.

Repeat migrants seem to be very mobile, economically driven migrants. The fact that the rate of repeat migrants being in professional and managerial occupations is so high suggests that they might be representative of managerial migration.

5.4 Conclusions

The debate over the determinants of migration is ongoing and in particular the theories explaining the migration of so many individuals into rural counties are continuously competing with each other. There are two major frameworks emphasizing either the economy or lifestyle as the structures shaping the face of migration. This chapter focuses in particular on the role of the labour market by following the labour market histories of migrants. However, other aspects of these histories were in focus with regards to in-migrants and out-migrants.

Not surprisingly, age is one of the most important factors explaining differences in the labour market behaviour of migrants as in-migrants and out-migrants differ greatly in their age structure. For in-migrants age is important not just as an indication of retirement migration but also as a factor explaining the withdrawal from the labour market of later career migrants. On the other hand the age structure of out-migrants is strongly skewed towards younger ages including a large proportion below working age.

As a result the analyses focused on estimating the proportion of school leavers and the effect of the previous working experience in Cornwall on the out-flow of people from Cornwall

For in-migrants the main interest was in the proportion of migrants who left the labour market after migration compared with those who remained in work. There are, however, two essential issues to be taken into account. One is whether the decision to become inactive was voluntary or whether it was determined by economic conditions in Cornwall. Another issue is high probability that migrants motivated to move by lifestyle reasons might not wish to stop working. That is why further analysis focused on answering the question of whether there is evidence of workers improving their work opportunities after migration or rather trading down in their occupational position as an effect of the move to their chosen location.

The data provides considerable amount of information supporting both 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' inactivity after migration to Cornwall. About one-third of all in-migrants in all three cohorts moved to Cornwall reaching the statutory retirement age, which highlights that freedom from or lessening of work constraints is an important element of this decision. The economic activity tables also demonstrate that the increase in the 'permanently sick or retired' category is the main factor behind the decline in the proportion of migrants in employment, even within the working age migrant population, there is significant movement out of the labour market, with between 20 and 30% of male migrants becoming inactive before reaching statutory retirement age, and an even higher proportion of women. Although the cohort tables provide also data indicating migrants' 'involuntary inactivity' status after moving to Cornwall, reflected in more unemployment after the move but a recovery in economic activity rates in the following decade, the trend towards retirement and early retirement was much more prominent and consistent among all cohorts of in-migrants.

Despite the substantial proportion of migrants retiring after their move, the majority of working age migrants remained in work and experienced the conditions of the Cornish labour market. This shows that economic considerations were relevant for the majority of migrants even if they did not primarily influence their decisions about migration. Looking

at occupational status after migration helps to understand whether the moves were connected with opportunities or required trading down in terms of occupational class.

The analysis of social class based on occupation, which presents a very broad categorisation of occupations according to social status, shows no evidence of migrants accepting less skilled employment in Cornwall. The proportion of those in the highest social classes stayed the same for men, and even increased for women (however, caution about this statistic should be taken because of changing population numbers). There are no grounds for challenging the explanation that part of this migration flow represented managers being attracted to Cornwall to branch plants, and other professionals transferring to more preferable locations, especially given that the majority of migrants came from urban areas in the South East. The occupational position of migrants does not indicate either trading down in employment terms or migrating for employment opportunities. However, it should be noted that the Registrar General's classification of occupations includes only 6 categories and actually migrants might have accepted lower status positions in Cornwall which were paid less but which were classified in the same way in the Censuses. On the whole, though the LS data demonstrates that there were no substantial changes to overall social status based on the occupations of the working age migrants after their migration to Cornwall compared to the position of migrants who were in the working age population before migration.

In the analysis of the labour market position of out-migrants the focus was not just on economic activity rates but even more on the changes to various forms of inactivity. It is believed that a lack of higher education institutions and poor opportunities in the labour market in combination with soaring house prices are pushing young people away (Stockdale, 2004; Stockdale, 2006). The analysis looked at the evidence of the influence of these conditions.

The LS data show that the trends in out-migration changed over time. Two periods can be distinguished in recent decades of out-migration. The 1970s and 1980s were characterised by a rather young profile of individuals, very often being employed (most females, however, were inactive and most stayed inactive after the move). In the 1990s out-migrants were almost exclusively below the age of 30 and were more likely to be inactive and in education. There is a clear indication that in the 1990s educational

aspirations became a more significant reason to migrate outside Cornwall for a very substantial proportion of the out-migrants, and with the government's efforts to encourage higher rates of school leavers to continue education, this is likely to play an even more important role in the future. The significance of educational aspirations among out-migrants from rural areas was also reported by Stockdale (2004). In her research 70% of out-migrants from Scotland reported educational motivation for their move.

However, the data presenting participation in the labour market suggests that it was a significant factor for the majority of male out-migrants in the 1970s and 1980s and remained so for a substantial proportion of the latest cohort of male out-migrants, although probably to a lesser extent than in previous decades. The analysis of the social class position of out-migrants reveals that after migration they achieved more often than on average in England and Wales a higher social status based on occupation, indicating their success in the labour market.

The analyses in this chapter also included two other flows of migrants: return and repeat migrants. They represent more complex patterns of mobility and point towards other factors influencing migration. Return migrants stress the importance of family connections and the environment. Repeat migrants include sub-groups of migrants with the most significant distinction being between those who were children of in-migrants to Cornwall, and those who moved to Cornwall as adults. They are distinguished by their socio-economic characteristics, indicating successful positions in the labour market which seems to play a more important role for them than for in-migrants to Cornwall.

On the whole the labour market inevitably influenced many migration decisions, as it is assumed that for those who worked before the move and remained economically active after migration it is a critical consideration, however the unemployment rates and their changes as related to migration have little explanatory power. The data indicates several other aspects determining migration. The labour market explanation is insufficient in explaining the moves of the large proportion of migrants.

Chapter 6: Residential patterns according to area type classification

This chapter investigates issues related to the environmental preferences of in-migrants to Cornwall by following their residential patterns according to an area type classification which was developed specifically for this project. The classification is a combination of urban and rural with a coastal and inland dimension as both have significant influence on settlement developments in Cornwall and represent different environmental characteristics. Spatial representation of the classification using 2001 Census wards is shown in figure 6.1. The LS is used to investigate residential patterns because of its unique facility to link area type classification to individual level data, which allows the profile of in-migrants to particular area types to be considered.

Through using area type as a proxy for the environmental preferences of in-migrants, it is possible to address two important theories of migration that incorporate an environmental dimension: counterurbanisation and the lifestyle migration thesis. Counterurbanisation theory stresses the importance of preferences towards rural areas in recent migration trends, and the lifestyle migration thesis points out the significance of environment for lifestyle choices and argues that its importance in migration decisions has increased. In the area type classification coastal and estuarial areas are distinguished as particularly attractive due to their environment. They are characterised not solely by their proximity to the sea but also by being places most significantly affected by the development of tourism which as an effect developed a specific image of the place.

Another application of the area type classification comes from its potential to look at the impact of migration on different types of communities. The hypothesis that in-migration varies significantly within Cornwall appeared a couple of decades ago (Calder, 1979; Perry et al, 1986). It was investigated also by Burley (2007) who looked at differences in the areas chosen by the most and least economically dynamic in-migrants. This project addresses the question of the extent and form of transformation of local communities in Cornwall in the context of high rates of in-migration.

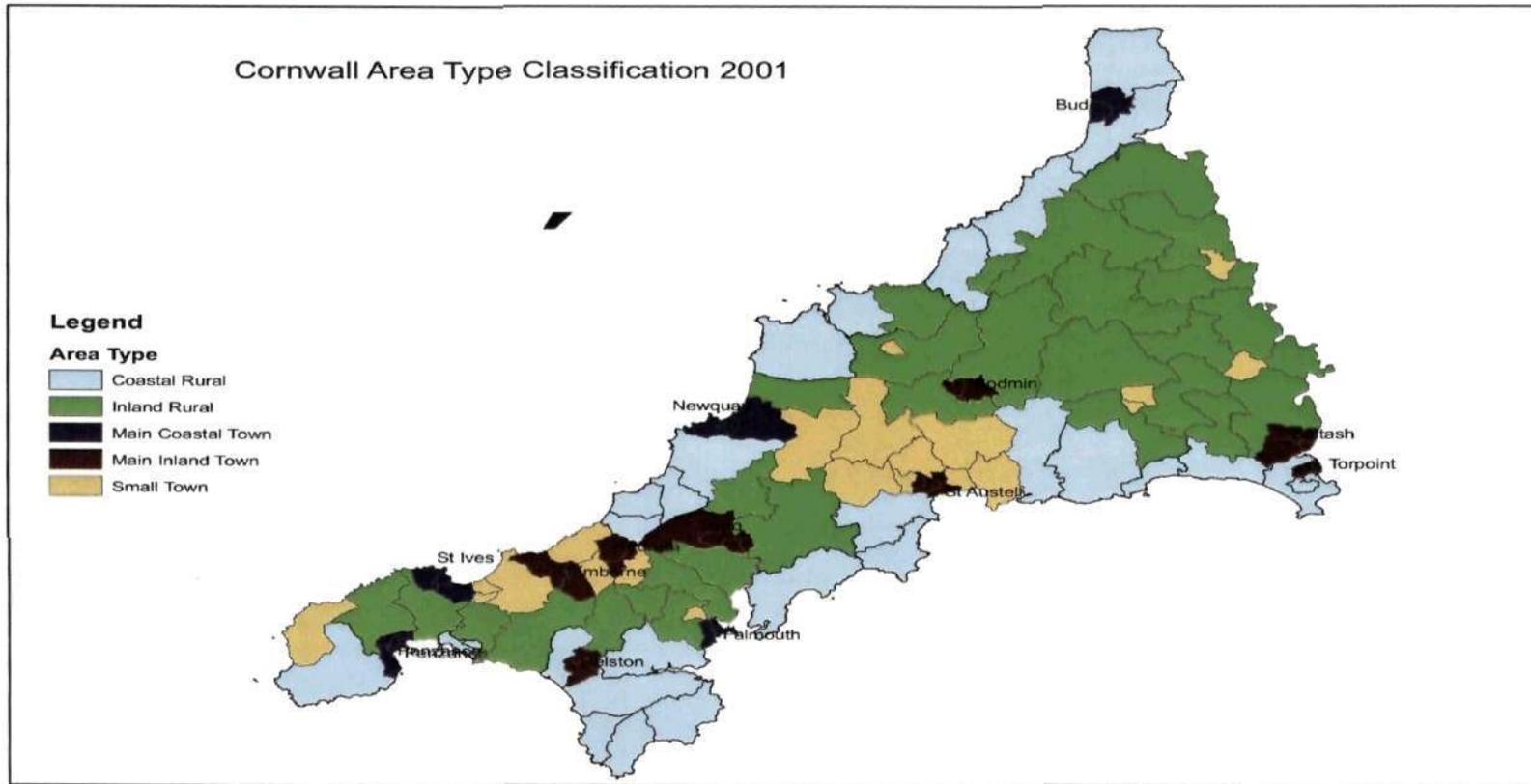
The focus of this chapter is on the significance of environment as a pull factor, and hence the analysis is limited to in-migrants. It again refers to the concept of cohorts.

Account is taken of the residential patterns of consecutive cohorts of in-migrants, particularly in the first decade after their migration to their first location in Cornwall as enumerated in a Census. In the analysis of residential patterns three cohorts of in-migrants are distinguished. Although in earlier chapters long-term migrants were divided into late 1960s and 1970s, here they are considered as one group. This is appropriate because the distinction between before and after migration is not used, which eliminates the problem encountered in cohort analysis explained earlier in this thesis.

The first part of this chapter addresses the question of the similarities and differences in the residential patterns of consecutive cohorts of in-migrants and the non-migrant population. It seeks to test the hypothesis of the significance of environmental preferences of in-migrants to Cornwall. The significance of independent patterns of residence among each cohort of in-migrants and the non-migrant population is tested using *chi-square statistic*. Further analysis is concerned with more in-depth exploration of residential preferences of in-migrants.

The second part presents profiles of the population of each area type and the changes in the profiles of residents of various types of communities experienced in the period 1971-2001. The analysis attempts to estimate the extent to which these changes can be attributed to migration.

Figure 6.1. Area type classification- Cornwall 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Statistical Ward Boundaries

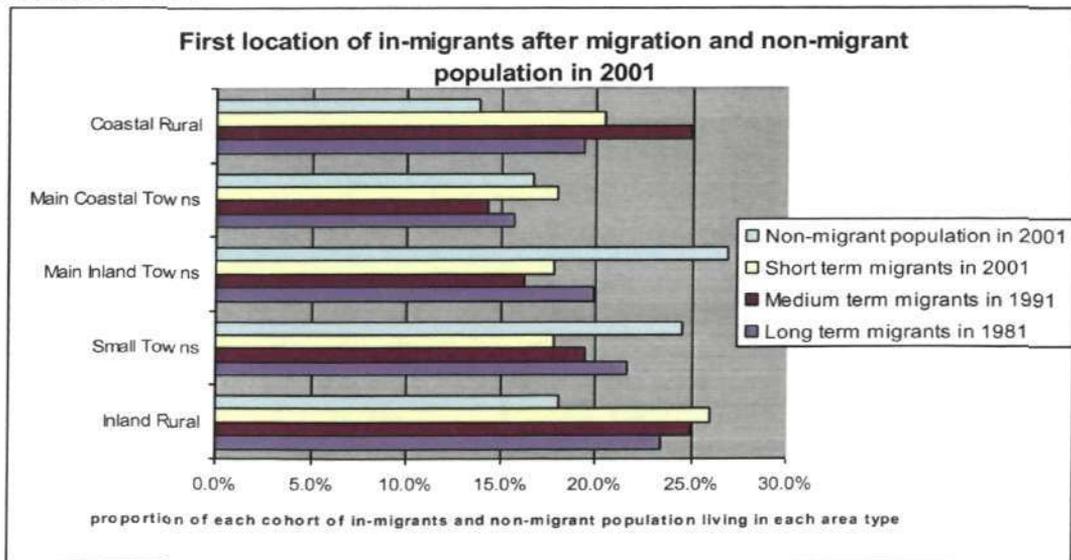
6.1 Residential patterns of in-migrants and the non-migrant population in Cornwall

6.1.1. Environmental preferences according to residential patterns

This section focuses on the residential patterns of in-migrants when they were first enumerated in Cornwall. The aim is to test the hypothesis that there is a common pattern between consecutive cohorts of in-migrants which reflects the non-economic factors underlying the migration process.

Figure 6.2 represents the percentages of each cohort of in-migrants in the first decade after migration and of the non-migrant population in 2001 living in each of the area types defined in the classification. It shows clear differences in the proportions of the non-migrant and migrant population groups being residents of various area types. Over a quarter of the non-migrant population lived in the main inland Cornish towns and almost the same percentage in small Cornish towns. At the same time less than 20% of in-migrants were residents of the main inland towns and just slightly more of them lived in small towns. On the other hand, almost a quarter of all in-migrants lived in inland Cornish villages while less than 20% of the non-migrant population lived there. About 20% of long and short-term migrants and 25% of medium-term migrants were residents of coastal villages but less than 15% of the non-migrant population lived in these locations.

Figure 6.2 Residential patterns – first location of in-migrants to Cornwall and the non-migrant population in 2001



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The significance of these differences is tested by calculation of the chi-square statistic for independent samples (Pagano, 2004). First the residential patterns of cohorts of in-migrants are compared to test whether there is a constant residential pattern and whether it can be said that in-migrants to Cornwall in the thirty years under study show the same residential preferences. The relationship between residential patterns and residential preferences is addressed in further analysis.

The chi-square statistic requires the null hypothesis to be tested that there are no differences in residential patterns among these sub-groups. The theoretical model that there is no association between cohorts is expressed by expected frequencies. Rejection of the null hypothesis enables acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that these patterns are independent (there are differences in the residential patterns of these sub-groups of residents of Cornwall). The procedure followed when the test fails to reject the null hypothesis is discussed later.

Table 6.1 presents the observed and expected frequencies of migrant residents from consecutive cohorts in each type of location. The observed frequencies show how many individuals were actually residents of each area type when first enumerated in Cornwall, and the expected frequencies were calculated on the basis of marginal frequencies showing how many individuals would be expected if the residential patterns of each cohort were not independent, which would mean that they were not significantly different from one another.

The difference between observed and expected frequencies shows which cells in particular differ from the common pattern. Table 6.1 shows that such a unique characteristic was an unusually high preference of medium-term migrants for coastal rural locations. Other cells differ to a much lesser extent.

Table 6.1 Observed and expected frequencies of migrants preferences by area types – first location in Cornwall

First location in Cornwall		Inland Rural	Small Towns	Inland Towns	Coastal Towns	Coastal Rural	Totals
Long-term migrants in 1981	<i>observed freq</i>	168	156	143	113	139	719
	<i>expected freq</i>	178	142	130	115	154	
Medium-term migrants in 1991	<i>observed freq</i>	157	122	102	90	157	628
	<i>expected freq</i>	155	124	114	100	135	
Short-term migrants in 2001	<i>observed freq</i>	160	110	110	111	126	617
	<i>expected freq</i>	152	122	112	99	133	
Totals		485	388	355	314	422	1964

Source. ONS Longitudinal Study, author's analysis

The chi-square test makes it possible to check whether the differences are statistically significant. Table 6.2 presents the results of the chi-square test calculated for the table presenting the residences of three cohorts of in-migrants when first enumerated in Cornwall. It shows that differences in migrants' preferences for various area types are not statistically significant. Since the obtained chi-square (χ^2_{obt}) is smaller than the critical chi-square (χ^2_{crit}), the null hypothesis, which says that there are no significant differences in the residential patterns of consecutive cohorts of in-migrants, cannot be rejected (to be significant χ^2_{obt} has to be equal to or higher than χ^2_{crit}).

Table 6.2 Chi-square for the table of residential preferences among consecutive cohorts of in-migrant

Significance test	not significant
χ^2_{obt} (obtained Chi-square)	14.05
df (degrees of freedom)	8
χ^2_{crit} (for 8 df) at 0.05 level	15.507

Source. ONS Longitudinal Study, author's analysis

The procedure following the failure to reject the null hypothesis usually involves only reporting that fact, however some authors argue the importance of the possibility of accepting the null hypothesis when it is not rejected (Frick, 1995, Harcum, 1990). Following their argument and the convincing outcome, the null hypothesis that residential patterns of migrants to Cornwall in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s are an expression of a common trend is retained.

The test suggests that there is a common pattern among all cohorts of in-migrants; however to argue that it is an expression of environmental preferences among migrants to Cornwall since the 1970s requires more support. Residential patterns can be explained by differences in preferences or availability of housing in each area type as availability restricts choices of possible locations to live. To test whether the pattern of residence among in-migrants is an expression of preferences rather than the availability of housing, the residences of in-migrants are compared to the non-migrant population.

It is assumed that the residential patterns of the non-migrant population reflect the availability of housing as a response to house prices and rental differentials resulting from the demand. Naturally the residential patterns of the non-migrant population also reflect their preferences; however they are facilitated by the availability of housing related to house prices which have a stronger influence on the non-migrant population, as illustrated in Chapter 7. Different residential patterns between the migrant and non-migrant population would reflect not the availability of housing, which would have the same impact on both groups, but actual residential preferences of in-comers.

Table 6.3 again presents observed and expected frequencies for residents in each area type. This time, however, all in-migrants are treated as one group and their residences in 2001 are compared to the residences of the non-migrant population in 2001. The table shows large differences between these two groups, supporting the hypothesis about different patterns of residence of the migrant and non-migrant population. The exception is coastal towns which show no differences between the actual numbers of residents and numbers expected on the assumption of no difference in residential patterns between these two groups.

The largest differences are related to residential patterns regarding the rural-urban divide. The migrant population was much more likely to live in rural locations and much less so in urban areas (i.e. in inland and small towns) than expected, and the non-migrant population lived much less often than expected in rural locations and much more often in towns, especially the main inland towns.

Table 6.3 Observed and expected frequencies for migrants and the non-migrant population by area type- Cornwall 2001

Cornwall 2001		Inland Rural	Small Towns	Inland Towns	Coastal Towns	Coastal Rural	Total
Migrant population	<i>observed freq</i>	392	333	331	274	309	1639
	<i>expected freq</i>	335	373	396	274	261	
Non-migrant population	<i>observed freq</i>	438	593	651	406	337	2425
	<i>expected freq</i>	495	553	586	406	385	
Totals		830	926	982	680	646	4064

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study, author's analysis

To test the independence, the chi-square statistic was calculated for the above table. Table 6.4 presents the results which show that differences are statistically significant even at $p < .001$ which is a more conservative measure (the obtained chi-square is much higher than the critical one). Therefore there is a higher confidence regarding these results.

Table 6.4 Chi-square for the table of residential patterns among non-migrant and migrant population

Significance test	significant
χ^2 obt (obtained chi square)	56.73
df (degrees of freedom)	4
χ^2 crit (for 4 df) at .005 level	9.488
χ^2 crit (for 4 df) at .001 level	13.277

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study, author's analysis

The analysis of residential patterns characterised by area type classification demonstrates similarities of residential preferences among consecutive cohorts of in-migrants, and very different patterns among the migrant and non-migrant populations.

In summary, area type classification was used as a proxy for environmental preferences. As a result the analyses of residential preferences of in-migrants are treated as an expression of their environmental preferences. The data supports that thesis, showing that in-migrants choose rural locations (coastal and inland) much more often than might be expected upon analysing residential patterns in Cornwall (highlighted cells in table 6.3). Rural locations are characterised by a higher quality natural environment, hence the analysis supports the hypothesis of the importance of environmental factors for migrants to Cornwall.

6.1.2. Profiles of migrant residents in various area types

Area type classification also makes it possible to analyse other aspects of residence and environmental preferences. Further analysis allows more in-depth exploration of the characteristics of migrants to various types of locations. It aims to explain how the preferences depend on other socio-economic characteristics. The analysis relates to the characteristics of migrants when they were first enumerated in Cornwall.

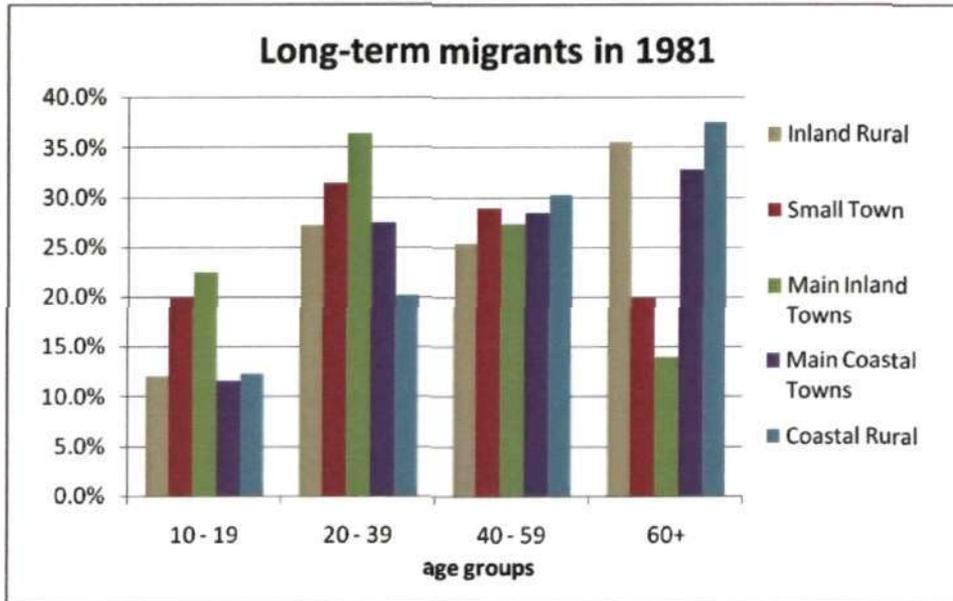
6.1.2.1 Age structure of migrants to different types of communities

The elaboration of the relationship between cohorts and area types controlled by the age of migrants demonstrates that age is a significant explanatory factor of preferences towards particular types of locations. Figure 6.3 presents data for long-term migrants in 1981. It shows the proportion of migrants in each of the broad age groups living in different area types. The graph shows that the largest differences in the proportion of migrants in various area types relate to young adults (aged 20-39) and retired migrants (aged 60 and over).

In 1981 in inland towns over a third of all migrants can be described as young adults but in coastal villages they reached only 20% of migrant residents. The proportion in the oldest age category was also polarised by area type. Long-term migrants above the age of 60 accounted for over 35% of in-migrants in rural areas (both inland and coastal) but below 20% in the main inland towns and small towns. The percentage of over 60s choosing coastal towns was close to the higher rates of rural areas.

The graph shows that among migrants who moved to Cornwall in the late 1960s and 1970s, i.e. long-term migrants who had moved to Cornwall by 1981, there was a trend of young migrants choosing mainly inland towns and small towns, and older migrants choosing rural areas and coastal towns.

Figure 6.3 Age distribution of long-term migrants by area type

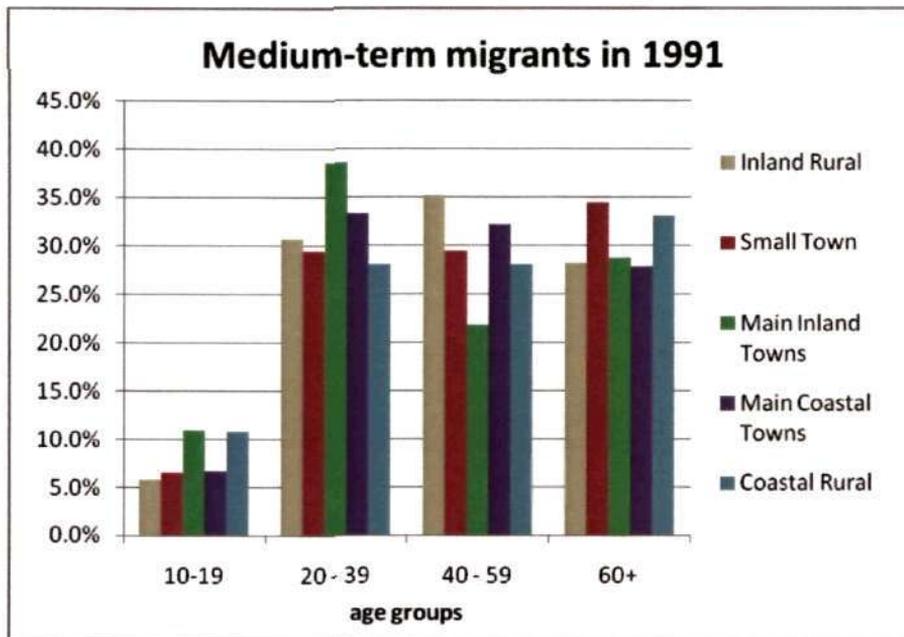


Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Figure 6.4 shows the age distribution of medium-term migrant residents in each area type in 1991. The differences in the proportions of migrants in various age groups in this cohort are smaller and the percentage over 60 is around 30% in all area types. Even in coastal rural areas the proportion of the oldest migrants was almost the same as in small towns.

However, among medium-term migrants a much stronger effect can be noticed regarding the late working career migrant category (40-59 years old). In 1991 only about 20% of the latest migrants to small towns were late working career migrants, and over 35% of migrants to inland villages were in that category. The main inland towns were again chosen most often by young adults (almost 40%), and their proportion was the smallest in the coastal villages.

Figure 6.4 Age distribution of medium-term migrants by area type

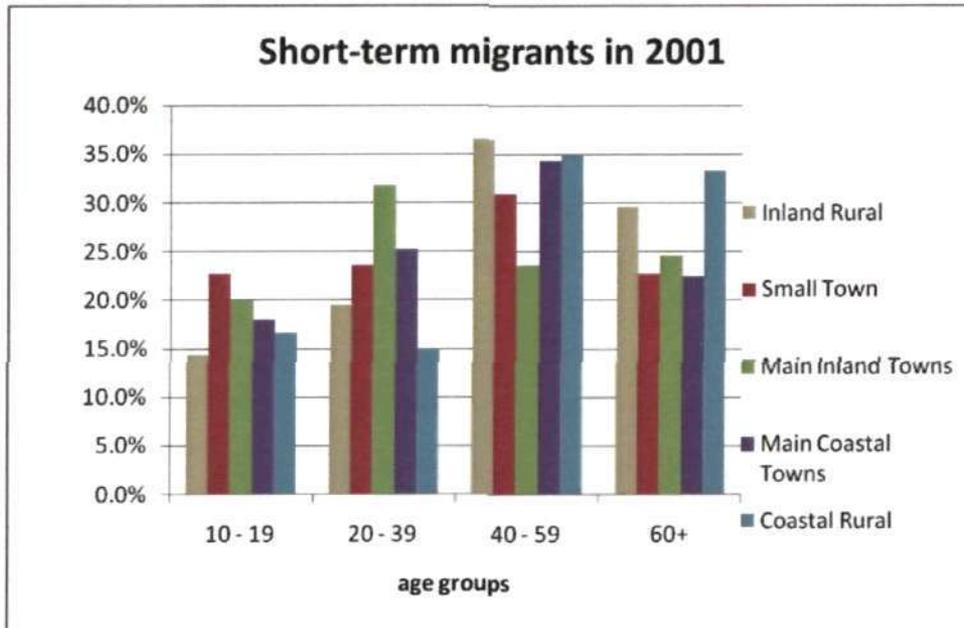


Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

In the latest cohort, whose age distribution is presented in figure 6.5, the differences in the proportions of older migrants by area type rise slightly again. More than above 30% of migrants to rural areas are above the age of 60, but below 25% in other areas. It seems that coastal towns lose their appeal for older residents in the later cohorts and in the 1990s in-migrants to these locations had the lowest proportion of over 60 year olds.

Among short-term migrants, as in the previous decade, larger differences are seen in the proportions of late working career migrants to different area types than retired migrants, and the differences in the proportion of young adults widened. Figure 6.5 also shows that migrants aged 20-39 years old account for about a third of in-migrants to inland towns but only about 15% to coastal villages.

Figure 6.5 Age distribution of short-term migrants by area type



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The relationship between age and residential preferences of migrants was constant throughout the period 1971-2001. The largest differences in the proportions of residents in various area types apply to young adults (20-39 years old), retired migrants in the 1970s and late working career migrants in the two most recent cohorts.

It can be concluded that migrants to rural and urban areas in Cornwall are characterised by two very different age profiles. Urban areas pull far more young migrants while migrants to rural areas are much more often older. In combination with other data such as that presented earlier showing the higher proportion of older people migrating to Cornwall, and the greater tendency of migrants to relocate to rural communities, it is possible to stress the volume of migration of older individuals (even if not necessarily already retired) into rural communities in Cornwall.

The above results also illustrate the potential of the typology in presenting how migrants are constrained in their residential choices. The fact that the highest proportion of young adult migrants (20-39 years old) who are at the start of their housing careers move to the main inland towns and the lowest to coastal villages is likely to be dependent on rental levels and house prices.

6.1.2.2 The labour market position of migrants in different types of communities

Migrant residents in various area types differ not only by their age characteristics, but also by their social position. Table 6.5 presents the proportion of migrant and non-migrant working age residents in professional and managerial occupations in each area type. The table presents only the proportion of residents in the highest social classes as they are often identified with the process of gentrification (Phillips, 1993). The focus on the working age population aimed to limit the problems associated with the significantly different age structures of migrants and non-migrants in comparing the two groups.

The data demonstrates large differences in the residential preferences of higher social class migrants and the impact of this on social class distribution in various types of communities in Cornwall even after the impact of retirement migration is excluded. Table 6.5 illustrates the significance of an urban - rural distinction in the social class profiles of migrants to these areas. In all three decades rural areas were characterised by a high proportion of migrant residents in professional and managerial occupations which contrasts with migrants to other area types, especially urban areas, who were much less likely to work in these kinds of occupations.

In 1991 small towns (which in the classification also include industrialised areas and former industrial areas in Cornwall) experienced a significant transformation in the social class profile of migrants choosing to live there. From the 1980s a much higher than previous proportion of migrants to these communities were working in occupations providing high social status. This matched the proportion of those choosing to live in rural areas, which since the 1970s have been characterised by the gentrification phenomenon.

Among non-migrant residents it can also be observed that on average a higher proportion of residents in higher social classes live in rural areas than in other areas; however the differences are much smaller than among migrant residents. This emphasises further the significance of differences in the profiles of migrants to different types of communities. For example, generally migrants in all three decades had a higher proportion in professional and managerial occupation than non-migrant population; however migrants to main coastal towns differed to a much lesser extent in that respect from non-migrant residents, and in 1991 even had a smaller proportion of individuals in such occupations than non-migrants.

Table 6.5 Proportion of migrant residents in professional and managerial occupations by area type – working age population

I & II Social Class	Non-migrants in 1981	Long-term migrants in 1981 n=129	Non-migrants in 1991	Medium-term migrants in 1991 n=149	Non-migrants in 2001	Short-term migrants in 2001 n=168
Inland Rural	28.9%	44.3%	24.8%	37.8%	24.4%	48.9%
Coastal Rural	28.7%	44.0%	26.7%	38.2%	24.3%	46.2%
Small Towns	16.7%	17.6%	23.0%	38.9%	15.7%	40.3%
Main Inland Towns	19.0%	26.0%	18.5%	32.0%	25.1%	30.6%
Main Coastal Towns	23.2%	24.4%	21.1%	16.4%	17.7%	30.4%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.6 Economic activity rates of MALE migrant residents by area types – working age population

Percentages of residents being in employment- Males	Non-migrants in 1981	Long-term migrants in 1981 n=212	Non-migrants in 1991	Medium-term migrants in 1991 n=211	Non-migrants in 2001	Short-term migrants in 2001 n=193
Inland Rural	91.7%	78.6%	82.8%	84.9%	74.5%	63.9%
Coastal Rural	89.4%	71.9%	88.5%	72.9%	76.2%	51.5%
Small Towns	77.4%	78.4%	81.2%	61.1%	71.3%	63.6%
Main Inland Towns	81.5%	88.6%	73.5%	70.0%	71.5%	54.5%
Main Coastal Towns	72.9%	79.3%	78.2%	79.4%	67.4%	60.6%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.7 Economic activity rates of FEMALE migrant residents by area types – working age population

Percentages of residents being in employment- Females	Non-migrants in 1981	Long-term migrants in 1981 n=248	Non-migrants in 1991	Medium-term migrants in 1991 n=211	Non-migrants in 2001	Short-term migrants in 2001 n=190
Inland Rural	42.7%	37.5%	48.3%	41.1%	59.5%	54.8%
Coastal Rural	43.2%	42.6%	46.7%	49.0%	64.6%	51.3%
Small Towns	49.6%	50.9%	61.1%	65.9%	62.0%	45.5%
Main Inland Towns	48.5%	51.7%	56.6%	48.4%	58.0%	57.1%
Main Coastal Towns	40.6%	45.0%	65.5%	62.1%	65.2%	61.0%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 present the percentages of residents in different area types who were in employment. Looking at economic activity rates and area types does not assume the impact of work opportunities in these localities on the labour market participation of its residents. Rural residents in Cornwall live close to urban centres and in most cases their place of residence should not constrain working opportunities significantly. The analysis considers whether choice of residence, used as a proxy for environmental preferences and having the potential to indicate lifestyle motivation, can explain differences in the economic activity rates of migrants to Cornwall. The analysis is limited to the working age population so to exclude the impact of retirement migration.

The picture of economic activity of working age residents in various types of communities in Cornwall is more complex and varies to a large extent between cohorts. Table 6.6 presents data for male migrants and shows that in 1981 the earliest cohort of male migrants who moved to the more urbanised areas in Cornwall was at least as economically active as the non-migrant population and in some localities was participating in the labour market even more. In rural areas, however, economic activity was much lower than for the non-migrant population. In 1991 particularly low labour market participation among male medium-term migrants was recorded in small towns. These towns included places characterised by branch factories and the low rates could reflect the impact of the economic recession of the time even though there does not seem to have been a similar influence on the non-migrant residents. A further contributory factor could be the likelihood that a larger proportion of this cohort of in-migrants was influenced by price differentials in the housing market. Medium-term migrants moving to small towns would include some who had made particularly large surpluses from selling property elsewhere in the country and relocated. This would make it easier for them to live on their assets. Migrant residents in other area types had comparable economic activity rates to those of non-migrant residents, except migrants in coastal villages who had considerably lower labour market participation. In 2001 the latest cohort of in-migrants had much lower economic activity rates than non-migrant residents in all area types. It coincides with the global trend of growing role of out-of-work sources of income which influence economic activity rates.

Comparing economic activity rates of male migrant residents in various area types (table 6.6) reveals that in coastal villages a much lower proportion were in employment than in

inland villages in all three decades. In general male migrant residents in inland rural areas had some of the highest economic activity rates among migrants (the highest in 1991 and 2001) and male migrant residents in coastal rural areas had persistently one of the lowest labour market participation rates. Therefore it seems that the choice of residence in coastal villages is associated with leaving the labour market for a higher proportion of migrants to such areas even after retirement migration has been excluded. This relationship is, however, less clear when the patterns of labour market participation of women are taken into account.

Table 6.7 presents economic activity rates for female residents by area types. Female labour market participation is much more difficult to interpret and is distinguished mainly so as not to distort the distribution for men. However, it is particularly noteworthy that in contrast to male economic activity rates, female migrant residents among the first two cohorts in coastal villages were more often in employment than female migrant residents in inland villages. On the whole, however, analysis of economic activity rates does not show the same clear and consistent differences between migrants choosing urban and rural areas for re-location, which were found when considering age and social class.

In conclusion, the data of age structure and social class of in-migrants suggests similarities in the profiles of migrants to rural areas (both inland and coastal) and clear differences between migrants to urban and rural areas in Cornwall. It demonstrates the particular importance of the urban-rural dimension for migrants.

However, there are some important differences between migrants to coastal and inland communities which suggest that this dimension does have a potential to reveal much about the complexity of migration to Cornwall. First of all, the above analysis shows a clear distinction between the characteristics of migrants to coastal towns and other urban areas. Coastal towns are a separate category requiring attention due to the specific characteristics of their residents. The age structure of migrants to coastal towns often deviates from patterns in other urban areas and in all three decades it was the area type with the lowest or one of the lowest proportions of migrants in professional and managerial occupations (often significantly lower even than in inland towns). This indicates that migrants to urban areas in Cornwall are less homogenous than rural

migrants. Secondly, the inland and coastal distinction appears to be important also in revealing differences in the economic activity rates of male migrant residents.

The analysis of socio-economic characteristics of migrant and non-migrant residents in various types of communities not only shows its potential to increase understanding of the migration process but also indicates that the distinct residential preferences of various types of migrants had substantial implications for the transformation of local communities in Cornwall. That aspect is discussed further in the following section.

6.2 Area Types- profiles of residents

6.2.1. Migration and local communities in Cornwall

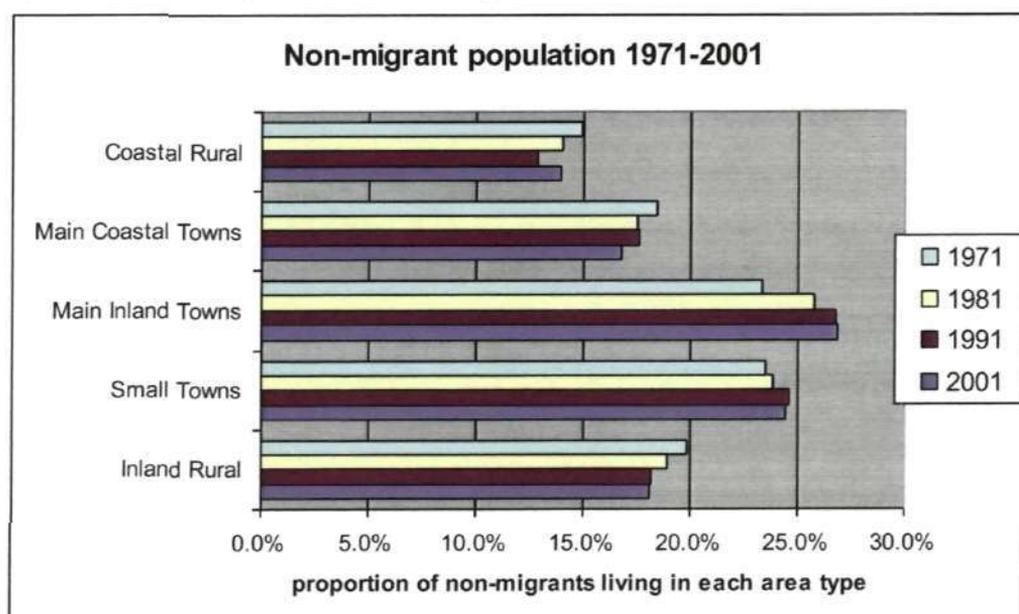
The second part of this chapter is focused on local communities characterised by their area type classification and the extent to which the socio-economic profiles of their residents have changed through time. The aim is to account for the influence that the period of population growth in Cornwall has had on the demographic structure of different types of local communities. Monitoring these demographic changes is important for work on forecasting the need for services and has recently played an important role in the debate about sustainable communities. The profiles of communities are built on the characteristics of all residents (migrant and non-migrant population) from the LS sample.

The change within communities is an effect of migration as well as changes to the socio-economic profile of the non-migrant population. In Cornwall the extent to which migration plays a role in these transformations differs depending on the type of communities as they attract different numbers and types of new residents. In the first part of this chapter it has been shown that various communities receive unequal shares of newcomers and that there are considerable differences in the socio-economic characteristics of migrants to various area types.

This section looks at the changes in the residential patterns of the non-migrant population throughout the period 1971-2001, and in the proportion of the non-migrant to migrant population in each area type to estimate the extent of the changes that can be attributed to migration.

Figure 6.6 presents the proportion of the non-migrant population living in each area type in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001. It shows that there have been some changes to the proportion of the non-migrant population in each area type between 1971 and 2001 with slight drops in rural areas and coastal towns but increases in inland towns and small towns (with the strongest increase in the main inland towns). However, it shows that the changes everywhere were relatively small and that local communities in all area types retain stable proportions of the non-migrant population.

Figure 6.6 Residential patterns of the non-migrant population (1971-2001)



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

On the other hand, in 2001 after three decades of consistent, high levels of in-migration favouring particular types of communities, the extent to which these communities changed during this period differs between area types. The impact of migrants' characteristics on the profile of residents of various communities in Cornwall also varies.

Table 6.8 presents the proportion of the non-migrant to migrant population in each area type expressed as odds and demonstrates how the odds changed between 1981 and 2001. For example, in 1981 residents of all urbanised areas in Cornwall were over three times more likely to be non-migrants than migrants and in inland towns even over three

and a half times more likely, while in rural areas residents were just over twice more likely to be non-migrants than migrants.

By 2001, due to continued in-migration, the odds had changed and even in the main inland towns, which kept the highest ratio of non-migrant population, the odds dropped to just below two. This means that in 2001 residents of these towns were about twice more likely to be non-migrants than migrants. On the other hand, in rural areas residents were almost as likely to be migrants as non-migrants (odds of 1). This means that in 2001 half of all the residents in rural areas were migrants who had moved to Cornwall since 1966. As a result the changes in rural communities in Cornwall depend to a much higher extent on migration than is the case in urban areas, especially as the analysis has shown that migrants to rural communities in Cornwall in all three decades can be characterised by a specific socio-economic profile.

However, the change in odds should not be treated as a simple measure of the number of new in-comers between the decades. The inter-censal change was also affected by changes to the residential patterns of the non-migrant population (influenced by fertility and mobility), relocations and deaths of earlier migrants and the arrival of new cohorts of migrants into these communities. As a result the odds should just be treated as a measure of the proportions of the migrant and non-migrant population at particular points in time.

Table 6.8 Odds of non-migrant to migrant population by area type

	Main Inland Town	Main Coastal Town	Small Town	Inland Rural	Coastal Rural
1981	3.62	3.12	3.08	2.26	2.03
1991	2.51	1.96	1.84	1.45	1.1
2001	1.96	1.48	1.78	1.11	1.09

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study, author's analysis

6.2.2. Population profiles of area types

Migrants to different types of communities in Cornwall vary significantly in their socio-economic characteristics. This section focuses on the total populations of these communities, regardless of their migrant/ non-migrant status and looks at the differences in the demographic structures of the distinct types of neighbourhoods. It investigates the

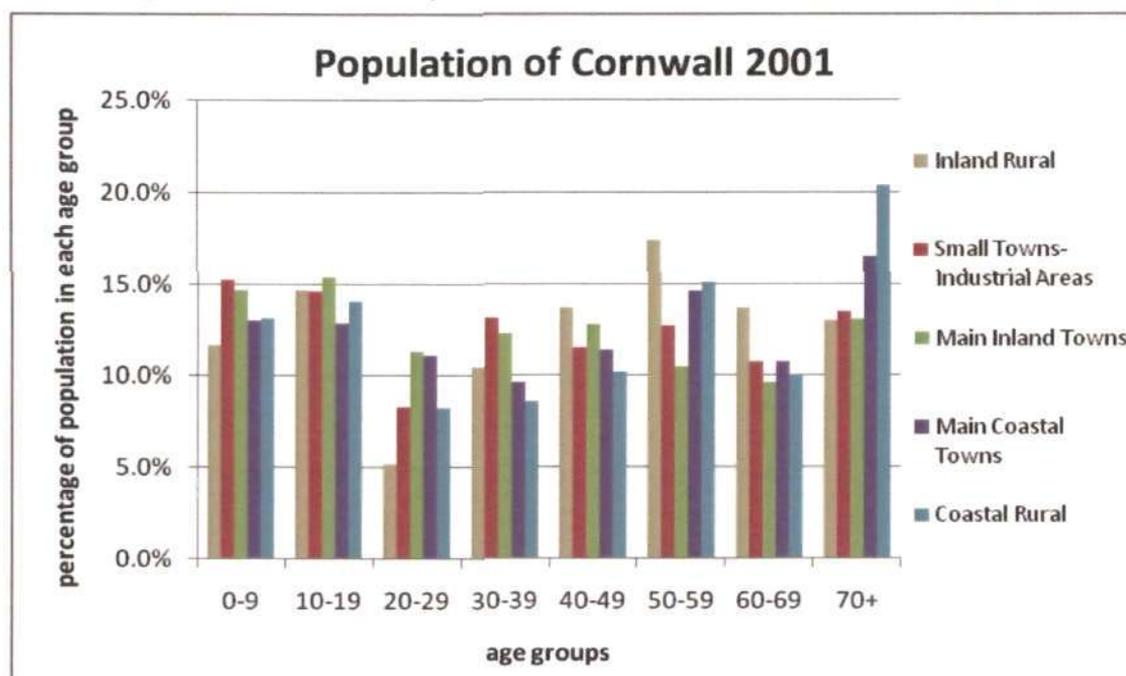
age structure, economic activity and the social position of residents of different types of neighbourhoods in Cornwall in order to help to understand their different needs.

The analyses of the resident population are still based on the LS data because this allows comparable statistics to be produced for each area type for all Census years between 1971 and 2001. This is not possible using the full Census data because detailed tables for wards were not available for 1971 and so appropriate statistics could not be generated. It is recognised that the fuller Census tables provide more accurate numbers and so the age distribution of residents in each area type in 2001 was compared on the basis of Census and LS data, as presented in Appendix 3. This demonstrates that there can be confidence that conclusions based on the LS data are valid.

Figure 6.7 illustrates the degree of the age diversity in different types of communities. It shows slight differences between various types of neighbourhoods with regard to the proportion of children and young people up to the age of 20. However, the proportion of residents in older age groups differs very significantly between area types, especially between rural areas and the main inland towns and small towns. The largest differences are in the proportions of residents over 50 years old and in young adults aged 20-29.

Two extreme illustrations of the differences in the age structure of residents can be observed in rural areas. In 2001 over 20% of all residents in coastal rural areas were above the age of 70 (while there were only 13% in inland villages) and in inland rural areas only 5% of residents were between the age of 20 and 30 (while there were over 11% in main inland towns).

Figure 6.7 Age profile of all residents by area type in 2001



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The extent to which the particular age profiles of different types of areas are persistent demographic features of categories of Cornish communities and to which they are an effect of specific changes in the period of population growth are illustrated in table 6.9 which shows the change in the age structure of residents of these communities in the period 1971 – 2001.

Table 6.9 Age profile of all residents by area type, percentage change between 1971-2001

% change between 1971 and 2001	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Inland Rural	0.6%	5.9%	-8.8%	-1.9%	2.3%	2.3%	-1.9%	1.5%
Coastal Rural	0.4%	2.5%	-0.8%	-2.4%	-4.8%	3.5%	-6.5%	7.9%
Small Towns – Industrial Areas	0.4%	2.2%	-2.0%	2.3%	-1.4%	1.0%	-3.4%	0.9%
Main Inland Towns	1.1%	4.9%	-1.9%	-0.2%	0.7%	-3.3%	-3.4%	2.2%
Main Coastal Towns	3.5%	3.1%	-0.4%	-1.1%	-4.3%	1.9%	-6.5%	3.9%
Cornwall	1.1%	3.8%	-2.8%	-0.5%	-1.2%	0.7%	-4.2%	2.9%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.9 suggests that there are two particularly significant changes to the age structure of various communities in Cornwall. Firstly, the strongest increase was recorded in the proportion of teenagers. All area types experienced an increase in that group but to a different extent; the differences were greatest between inland and coastal rural areas with the highest growth in this age group in inland villages and the lowest in coastal villages. Secondly, by 2001 there was also a very strong increase in the proportion of residents who were 70 and over. This indicates ageing of the communities and emphasises the extent of this change in coastal rural communities. Contradicting this trend was a rather surprising large decrease in the proportion of the population in their 60s, which might be an effect of lower rates of births in 1930s and at the beginning of the World War II (Hicks and Allen, 1999). On the whole, however, all types of communities in Cornwall experienced drops in the proportions of the population in almost all working age groups, except for the older working age population (50-59 years old).

The table also shows the most extreme growth and decline figures. The magnitude of the changes was the greatest in rural communities. In inland rural areas the population of young people in their 20s decreased by almost 9% between 1971 and 2001, and in coastal villages the proportion of residents over the age of 70 rose by almost 8%. The decrease in the proportion of young people in inland rural areas is very likely an effect of out-migration. On one hand, the number of teenagers in inland villages grew, on the other hand they experienced the highest loss of people in their 20s. It is the wider rural phenomenon that such localities are seen as a good place to bring up children but a bad place for young people who want to have access to urban amenities and career opportunities.

The changes in the demographic structures of rural communities led to growing differences between urban and rural areas in Cornwall, reflected in the strongest increase in the proportion of children and young people in Cornish towns (both inland and coastal), whereas change was moderate to low in the less urbanised areas. However some significant differences also appeared in coastal areas. On the one hand coastal towns like coastal villages experienced growth above the Cornish average in the proportion of residents over 70. On the other hand, coastal villages experienced a slight increase in the youngest groups and coastal towns experienced much higher growth.

The proportions of residents in employment also differ by area type. Table 6.10 presents the percentage of residents of all age groups living in various area types and in employment. It also demonstrates the percentage change in employment rates between 1971 and 2001. Cornwall in general experienced a drop in the proportion of its residents being in employment, which is not surprising taking into account the decrease in the working age population in the county and national trends in labour market participation. The data suggests that coastal rural communities had the lowest rates of employment in 1971 and the difference in economic activity rates between residents in this area type and other areas even widened by 2001.

In the period 1971-2001 the inland rural areas were the only type to record an increase in the percentage of the population participating in the labour market but it was only an increase below one percentage point. However, the data shows that in 2001 residents of inland rural areas had the highest proportion in employment.

Table 6.10 Percentage point change of residents in employment 1971-2001- all population

All resident population	1971	2001	% change
Inland Rural	38.1%	38.8%	0.7%
Coastal Rural	36.4%	32.5%	-3.9%
Small Towns – Industrial Areas	37.6%	35.9%	-1.7%
Main Inland Towns	39.9%	36.4%	-3.5%
Main Coastal Towns	37.9%	37.2%	-0.7%
Cornwall	38.1%	36.3%	-1.8%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The discrepancies in age structure between residents of these various areas might be responsible to some extent for these differences. For this reason further analysis of economic position focuses on the working age population which gives a better picture of the labour market conditions faced by members of various types of communities.

Analysis of the economic activity of migrants to different area types was limited due to the small sub-samples. However, looking at all working age residents regardless of their migrant/ non-migrant status allows more detailed investigation of differences in the economic activity of residents in various types of communities. It was also important to disaggregate the statistics for males and females as economic activity rates for women

differ between urban and rural areas, and can conceal significant differences in labour market opportunities for residents of different types of communities

Tables 6.11 and 6.12 present the proportion of working age residents of various area types being in employment in 1971 and in 2001, and the percentage change in the employment rate in that period. The data is presented separately for men and women who are characterised by very different labour market participation patterns

Table 6.11 Percentage point change of residents in employment 1971-2001 – working age males

Male working age population	1971	2001	% change
Inland Rural	89.8%	79.7%	-10.1%
Coastal Rural	82.9%	75.2%	-7.7%
Small Towns – Industrial Areas	84.0%	77.0%	-7.0%
Main Inland Towns	88.6%	76.5%	-12.1%
Main Coastal Towns	83.9%	73.9%	-10.0%
Cornwall	86.1%	76.8%	-9.3%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.12 Percentage point change of residents in employment 1971-2001 –working age females

Female working age population	1971	2001	% change
Inland Rural	31.3%	63.2%	31.9%
Coastal Rural	33.3%	61.9%	28.6%
Small Towns – Industrial Areas	46.7%	64.9%	18.2%
Main Inland Towns	42.9%	61.5%	18.6%
Main Coastal Towns	37.6%	67.9%	30.3%
Cornwall	39.0%	63.8%	24.8%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.11 shows that in 1971 differences between inland and coastal areas were significant factors in explaining economic activity rates for men. Men living in inland villages and inland towns had the highest rates of working age residents being in employment but men living in coastal villages and towns had the lowest rates. In 2001 the inland - coastal dimension of settlement remained important for explaining variations in the economic activity rates of men. Inland settlements (urban as well as rural) had higher rates of working age male residents in employment than coastal settlements. The differences might be due to the higher proportion of seasonal jobs in coastal areas and

the fact that the Census is conducted in April which is before the holiday season starts. These differences, however, are smaller in 2001 when employment in the tourist industry was larger than in 1971.

For female residents in 1971, as shown in table 6.12, the rural-urban aspect of settlement helps to explain their labour market participation; women in rural areas had lower rates of economic activity than those in more urbanised areas. By 2001 the economic activity rates of female residents in rural areas had doubled compared with the levels in the 1970s and on the whole the labour market participation of female residents of various area types had evened out as a result of the smaller increase in the labour market participation of women living in inland towns and small towns which previously had the highest rates.

The areas which changed the most in the period 1971-2001 were coastal towns. Their residents in 2001 showed the lowest economic activity rates among men but the highest among women. The tourism industry, which prevails in these locations, has often been accused of providing mainly female, low-paid jobs. The LS data indicate that this can influence significantly the labour market participation in coastal towns.

Another socio-economic characteristic of residents which shows significant differences between area types is social class. Table 6.13 shows that already in 1971 there were very large differences between the occupational structure of residents of urban and rural areas. In rural areas the population structure was more polarised with about a third of the population being in professional and managerial jobs (I & II) but also about a third working in partly skilled and non-skilled jobs (IV & V). The class structure in more urbanised areas showed more variability. It suggests that already in 1971 the preferences for rural locations among the higher social class were shaping the rural communities.

Table 6.13 Social class distribution of residents in 1971 by area type - working age population

1971	I & II	IIIN	IIIM	IV & V
Inland Rural	36.0%	14.0%	19.3%	30.7%
Coastal Rural	32.5%	14.9%	22.0%	30.6%
Small Towns	18.8%	21.4%	25.8%	34.0%
Main Inland Towns	18.9%	28.7%	26.2%	26.2%
Main Coastal Towns	25.3%	22.1%	29.9%	22.8%
Cornwall	28.5%	24.0%	22.9%	24.6%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.14 demonstrates how the social class distribution of residents of different types of communities in Cornwall has changed in the period 1971-2001. The proportion of the population in the lowest social classes has dropped nationally since 1971 but in Cornwall the extent of the change differs between types of communities. Rural communities have changed further with the most striking feature being the reduction in residents from the lower social classes. In rural areas the proportion of residents in the least skilled occupations decreased by almost 10% and in small towns it also dropped significantly (7.43%).

On the other hand coastal towns are the only areas in Cornwall where the proportion of residents in partly and non-skilled occupations has risen since 1971. This might be an effect of the development of the tourism industry which requires many non-skilled workers. The study of British seaside resorts confirms that this is a widespread effect (Beatty and Forthergill, 2004).

Table 6.14 Percentage point change in social class distribution of residents in various area types, 1971-2001

% change between 1971-2001	I & II	IIIN	IIIM	IV & V
Inland Rural	3.7%	4.7%	1.3%	-9.7%
Coastal Rural	2.1%	8.3%	-0.9%	-9.5%
Small Towns	5.9%	5.5%	-4.0%	-7.4%
Inland Town	8.4%	-2.9%	-3.7%	-1.7%
Coastal Town	-2.4%	6.7%	-9.6%	5.3%
Cornwall	4.4%	0.5%	-3.2%	-1.7%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6.14 supports the hypothesis of the gentrification of rural areas in Cornwall. It is represented by a strong increase in the proportion of residents who are professional (I & II) and white collar workers (IIIN) in rural areas and small towns, and a decrease in the proportion of residents of low social position. On the other hand, in urban areas the percentage of residents in partly and non-skilled occupations rose or dropped very slightly. Although inland towns experienced the strongest increase in the proportion of residents who were professional and managerial workers, this was mainly an effect of a drop in the proportion of residents who were skilled workers (non-manual and manual). Moreover inland towns had the lowest proportion of such residents in 1971 and despite this increase they did not reach the proportions of professional and managerial workers found in rural areas.

Another striking fact is a clear change to the social class structure of residents of small towns with a shift of over 11% from partly / non-skilled and manual skilled workers to professional, managerial and non-manual skilled workers. The analysis in section 6.2.2 shows that small towns attracted a high proportion of higher social class migrants in the 1980s and 1990s which marks the period of gentrification of these communities.

Analysis of age, social class and economic activity show that rural and urban communities differ significantly in respect of the socio-economic profiles of their residents. They have experienced significant transformations since the 1970s and these changes have affected them in different ways. For example, the changes in the socio-economic profiles of residents in rural communities can be linked to the profiles of migrants attracted to them.

6.3 Conclusions

The LS data supports the thesis that lifestyle considerations reflected in residential patterns, distinguished on the basis of environmental characteristics, were important to migrants to Cornwall. It is argued that the residential patterns of consecutive cohorts of in-migrants are a reflection of consistent residential preferences among in-migrants who more often than the non-migrant population in Cornwall achieved a higher social position, which can be correlated with income and gives them more freedom in exercising their residential choice. Hence their particular pattern of residence (captured by area type classification), which is very different from that of the non-migrant

population, is used to demonstrate the importance of lifestyle considerations and environmental preferences for migrants to Cornwall.

The urban – rural distinction sheds light on some of the more striking features in the profile of migrants, as well as the extent of the resulting changes to the communities, than coastal – inland distinction. The data presents important similarities in the characteristics of in-migrants to rural areas (both inland and coastal) and a very clear distinction between migrants' profiles to rural and urban areas in Cornwall. At the same time coastal and inland rural areas in Cornwall have experienced very similar changes in population structure in the period of population growth.

Nevertheless the coastal – inland distinction also reveals some interesting specific aspects of the changes in the characteristics of residents in these areas. The coastal dimension plays a much more important role in distinguishing the features of the population when urban areas are considered. Coastal towns seem to be a specific category in terms of population structure. They look like a middle category between inland urban and rural areas in terms of age structure. They have also experienced different economic activity and social class trends than inland towns in Cornwall. Profiles of residents of coastal towns are also very different from those of coastal rural residents.

The particular problems of coastal towns, demonstrated by a disadvantaged social class structure based on the occupations of residents, are also emphasised by Beatty and Forthergill (2004) in the context of the importance of the tourist industry in the local labour markets. Another explanation for very different distribution of social class among residents of coastal towns can be a 'surf culture' which encourages young people to settle down in coastal locations and sacrifice their job prospects for lifestyle choices.

Chapter 7: Housing and in-migration in Cornwall

The aim of this chapter is to explore the links between migration and housing. There are several pressing housing issues in Cornwall including the affordability and availability of housing (CoSERG, 2007; Campaign for Affordable Homes Cornwall, 2008; Taylor Review, 2008). Knowles' research (2006) about the experience of living in Cornwall discovered, following unstructured interviews and focus groups, that the most significant problem for Cornish residents was the cost of housing. Limited availability of social housing and high house prices in comparison to income levels meant the residents felt disadvantaged in terms of housing.

Some research has pointed out that migration is partly responsible for the growing housing need in Cornwall. Migration to Cornwall fuelled by home owners benefiting from regional house price differentials was emphasised by Mitchell (1993) and Williams (1997). Migrants moving to Cornwall were often able to buy their property and obtain some economic cushion, which is why they were described by Williams (1997) as 'equity rich, income poor migrants'.

This chapter aims to investigate the potential of longitudinal census data in explaining the housing dimension of migration and exploring the accessibility of owner occupation to different populations (migrant and non-migrant) in Cornwall. It also analyses the housing issues in different types of communities defined by the area type classification, which was described in Chapter 3.

7.1 Availability and affordability of housing in Cornwall

The Housing Report of the Campaign for Affordable Homes (2008) points out two problems contributing to the problems of availability of housing in Cornwall: loss of homes to second homes and holiday lets, and loss of social housing through the government's Right to Buy policy.

The Countryside Agency (2002) points out that second homes are concentrated in coastal areas; however 'even within the areas containing relatively high number of second homes, there tended to be further concentration in particular villages, sometimes creating 'micro-crises' in the local housing market'. The Countryside Agency report states also that in general in terms of the proportion of second homes

Cornwall is the area above the English average. This was calculated for all local authorities in England and classified all Cornish districts above the country's mean

Table 7.1 supports the Countryside Agency (2002) statement illustrating the incidence of second houses in Cornwall in the context of the area type classification designed for this project. Using parish data on second homes (LINC, 2004), it shows that although Cornwall on the whole is an area with a high proportion of second homes, this issue is of much greater importance in coastal and estuarial villages where the proportion of second homes reaches almost 15% while the Cornish average is about 5%. In particular villages it accounts for an even higher proportion of the housing stock.

In general the coastal dimension is highly important and the area type having the second highest proportion of second homes out of the total housing stock is coastal towns; however this rate is only half of that found in coastal villages (about 7%). Coastal areas are also the areas with the highest proportion of holiday lets which further shape the structure of the housing market there.

In 2004 the lowest rate of second homes was not surprisingly in inland towns with only about 1% of total housing stock. Inland towns in Cornwall had a much lower proportion of second homes than other settlements, despite the fact that they are non-metropolitan urban areas and none are more than 20 miles from the coast.

Table 7.1 Proportion of second homes out of the total housing stock in each area type

Percentage of second homes to total stock of dwellings 2004	Data for Cornwall	Data for Cornwall without North Cornwall district
Coastal Rural	14.9%	13.0%
Inland Rural	5.7%	4.2%
Small Towns	4.5%	4.7%
Inland Towns	1.1%	1.0%
Coastal Towns	6.8%	6.9%
Cornwall	5.9%	4.8%

Source: South West Intelligence Database, LINC (2004), author's analysis

Using administrative areas North Cornwall was illustrated as having the highest proportion of second homes in Cornwall (Countryside Agency, 2002). However in the LINC dataset (LINC, 2004) the data for North Cornwall is slightly inflated because it also includes vacant dwellings. For that reason table 7.1 presents the percentage of

second homes by area types calculated both for the whole of Cornwall, and also excluding North Cornwall district to control for this effect. It is not possible to estimate how much of the difference between the two sets of figures should be attributed to inconsistencies with the data and how much to the fact that North Cornwall is the area with the highest proportion of second homes. However, table 7.1 shows that excluding North Cornwall does not change substantially the picture of differences between area types.

Another aspect of availability of housing is accessibility of social housing. With the decline of the private renting sector, social housing is seen as the main alternative to owner occupation. Local authority housing and more recently housing association properties are regarded as a response to the need for not for profit housing (Murie, 1997). On that basis this type of housing is seen as an essential element of the housing market helping to address the basic goal of housing policy which is providing 'decent homes for all families at a price within their means' (Bramley et al, 2004). Therefore, the weakness of the social housing sector is seen as disadvantaging the less well-off residents and in Cornwall, which experienced an affordability crisis and large inequalities in access to owner occupation, places long-term residents in a particularly disadvantaged position (Williams, 1997).

Somerville (1998), exploring how housing can lead to social exclusion, demonstrated that one of the dangers is through house prices placing housing beyond the reach of certain types of households. Council housing, where rents are not determined by the market, is more inclusive. Although there is an issue of rising rents in the social housing sector, Murie (1997) argues that the rise is not as fast as in assured tenancies and combined with higher security, local authority housing remains attractive for many renters.

However from the 1980s the role of social housing provision has been marginalised (Milbourne, 1998; Defra, 2006) and the effect of the Right to Buy policy on the social housing sector has been particularly detrimental in 'popular' areas of the countryside. It led to growing differences between local authority provision in rural and urban areas (residualization of social housing sector particularly in rural areas). Furthermore urbanisation of the residual social stock took place. As a result 'households resident in many of the smaller villages [...faces...] limited opportunities for entering a social housing sector' (Milbourne, 1998: 183).

Table 7 2 presents the proportion of residents living in social housing in various types of communities in Cornwall. It illustrates the constraints on availability of social housing in rural locations in comparison to the more urbanised areas in Cornwall, and to England and Wales. It confirms that in the more rural areas fewer residents have access to social housing. In 2001 about 20% of the population of inland Cornish towns were in social housing (with a slightly lower proportion in coastal towns) while in rural areas it was only about 10% of residents.

Between 1971 and 2001 in Cornwall the highest drop in the proportion of residents living in social housing was recorded in coastal towns and small towns, and although the proportion of residents in social housing in these localities remained higher than in rural areas, it stayed significantly below the rates in inland towns. This suggests that the popularity of these locations played a role in the availability of social housing in these communities.

Table 7 2 shows also that in 2001 Cornwall had on average a lower proportion of residents in social housing than in England and Wales (13% in Cornwall compared to 17.3% in England and Wales). The disproportion in the social housing sector between Cornwall and England & Wales existed in 1971 and remained in 2001.

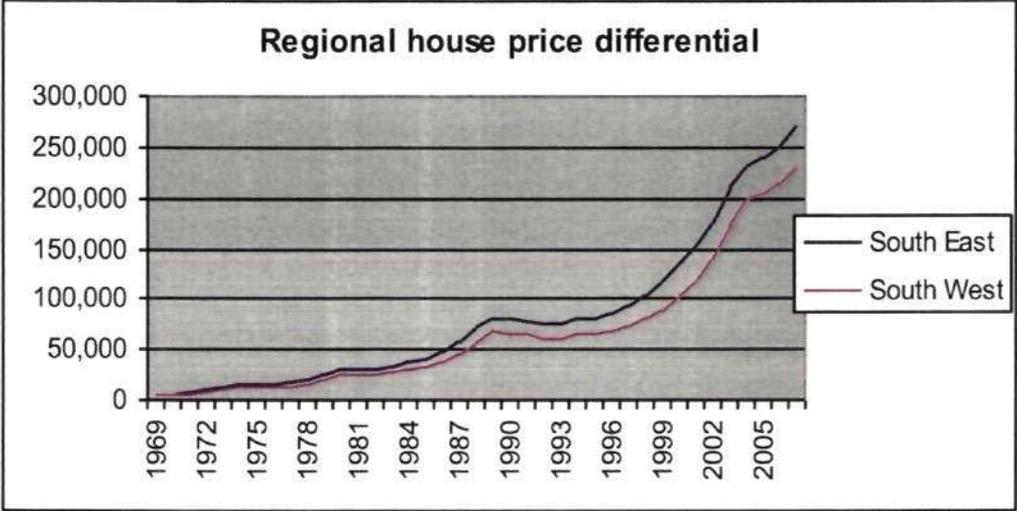
Table 7 2 Proportion of residents living in social housing by area type

Social Rent	1971	2001	1971-2001
Inland Rural	14.6%	10.1%	-4.5%
Coastal Rural	17.7%	11.8%	-5.9%
Small Towns	21.7%	14.6%	-7.1%
Main Inland Town	24.8%	19.3%	-5.5%
Main Coastal Town	26.0%	17.0%	-9.0%
Cornwall	21.5%	13.0%	-8.5%
England and Wales	31.2%	17.3%	-13.9%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Affordability of housing is another frequently raised concern in Cornwall. The Communities and Local Government house price data for earlier decades are not available for local authorities. Figure 7 1 presents regional data which illustrates the trend of a growing house price gap between the South East and the South West in the 1970s and successive decades.

Figure 7.1 Average house prices 1969-2007

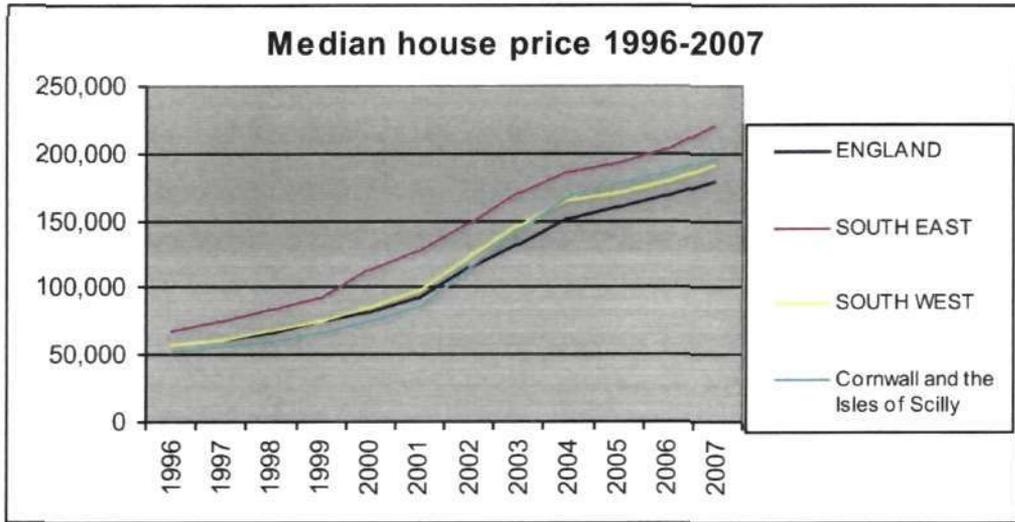


Source: Table 515, Communities and Local Government (2008)

Figure 7.2 presents house prices for the period 1996-2007 which allows a comparison between prices in Cornwall and regional figures. It shows that house prices in Cornwall before the year 2000 were lower than prices in the South West which is likely to have also been the case in earlier decades.

The graph shows that house prices in Cornwall rose rapidly in that period and exceeded prices in England and the South West; nevertheless they stayed behind the prices in the South East from where most of the in-migrants came (figure 5.3). Although the dynamic of house prices in Cornwall was faster than in other parts of England, for the migrants from the South East they were still more affordable even at the peak of house prices in 2007.

Figure 7.2 Median house prices 1996-2007



Source: Table 586 Communities and Local Government (2008)

Table 7.3 presents the ratio of median house prices to median earnings and shows that although house prices in the South East were higher than in Cornwall, the ratio to earnings was lower. It further suggests that house prices in Cornwall could have been perceived then and still might be seen as a bargain for migrants from the South East. It also indicates that Cornwall's economy depends more than other regions on unearned income.

Although the crisis of 2008 led to a fall in house prices, the trend of the early 21st century accelerated the gap between house prices and earnings to an extent which meant that a much stronger correction would have been needed before the housing could have been perceived as affordable. Between 2001 and 2007 the ratio of house prices to earnings in Cornwall rose from five times (5.16) to ten times (10.01).

Table 7.3 Ratio of median house price to median earnings

	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007
England	3.54	3.86	4.47	5.83	6.81	7.26
South East	4.14	4.65	5.82	7.16	8.09	8.47
South West	3.78	4.14	5.00	6.92	8.03	8.38
Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly	4.14	4.49	5.16	7.80	9.84	10.01

Source: Table 577 Communities and Local Government (2008), calculations by CLG

Accessibility of home ownership in Cornwall is presented in another way in table 7.4 which shows how the levels of owner occupation differed between various types of communities in Cornwall and how they changed between 1971 and 2001. It shows that in 1971 the levels of owner occupation in Cornwall were higher than in England

and Wales (57.8% in Cornwall and 51.6% in E&W); however this difference does not account for all of the discrepancies in levels of social housing (table 7.2) which means that despite this a higher proportion of residents in Cornwall depended on private rented accommodation than in England and Wales.

Within Cornwall in 1971, despite large differences between urban and rural areas in the distribution of social housing, owner occupation seems to show fairly similar trends, with the exception of coastal villages which already then showed a much lower proportion of their residents being home owners.

In 2001 the level of owner occupation remained slightly higher in Cornwall than in England and Wales (75.4% compared to 73.3%) and it also remained lower in coastal villages, especially when compared to other rural areas in Cornwall. Home ownership in coastal villages in the period 1971-2001 increased faster than in the more urbanised areas (all rural areas had higher rates of increase) but it remained below the Cornish average. Lower rates of owner occupation in coastal villages might have resulted from the higher rates of second homes in these areas.

Table 7.4 Owner occupation by area type

Owner occupation by area type	1971	2001	% change 1971-2001
Inland Rural	57.6%	79.5%	21.9%
Coastal Rural	53.9%	73.6%	19.7%
Small Towns	59.6%	75.1%	15.5%
Main Inland Town	59.0%	71.1%	12.1%
Main Coastal Town	57.0%	72.3%	15.3%
Cornwall	57.8%	75.4%	17.6%
England and Wales	51.6%	73.3%	21.7%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The data regarding second homes, social housing and owner occupation singles out coastal villages as facing particular availability problems. Low rates of social housing and relatively low rates of owner occupation suggest the importance of the private rented sector for residents of these areas. However, the proportion of second homes in coastal rural areas is greater and there is a higher proportion of housing stock being used as holiday lets. This means that private rented accommodation in coastal villages is not just more scarce but also more often available only out of season.

The Cornish MP Matthew Taylor (2008) in his report on rural communities warns against the further development of unsustainable communities. He concluded that

unsustainability is a result of 'the high cost of homes coupled with the low wages of rural workers' which makes some places unaffordable for many residents. The LS data supports the argument that some communities are at particular risk of becoming 'exclusive enclaves' and that the limited availability of housing in coastal villages causes particular concern.

7.2. Migration and housing

The previous section analysed the structure of the housing market in various types of communities in Cornwall. Further analysis focuses on the respective positions of the migrant and non-migrant population in the housing market. It analyses different aspects of owner occupation in order to explore the challenges faced by both migrants and locals.

Owner occupation has also been recognised as the most desired and often best (providing better quality) accommodation by the government (Boleat, 1997, Barker, 2004). Government policies have encouraged home ownership since the 1970s as a result of their recognising the preferences for this, the decline in the private rented sector and constraints on consumer choice in social housing (Boleat, 1997).

The Australian Institute of Family Studies presented home ownership as 'a social institution that narrows economic inequalities arising from the job market's uneven distribution of rewards' through access to capital gains (Winter and Stone, 1998). The idea of increasing home ownership as a tool bringing benefits to all society was supported in Britain by Saunders (1990). He pointed out that it could reduce the differences in the redistribution of wealth in the society through access to gains in equity. Saunders argued that the growing differences between the position of home owners and renters blur social class divisions and set up new divisions in society between those who own their homes and those who do not. However, he overlooked the problem of poor home owners who are not able to afford and maintain their properties and experience difficulties rather than opportunities. His work proved controversial and has been criticised also on methodological grounds (Devine and Heath, 1999).

However the ideas that growth in owner occupation brings some new dangers for social justice because lack of affordable housing may make possible capital gains from a property unavailable for some groups in society and become a new source of inequality has been widely considered. The Institute for Public Policy Research

pointed out growing divides between the home owning majority and the minority who rent and showed that due to growth in equity it is 'a single greatest cause of the growth in inequality' (Holmes, 2003: i). It also pointed to housing poverty as one of the most worrying social inequalities in Britain. From the same standpoint, Thomas and Dorling (2005) analysed the progressive growth in the divide between home owners and those renting in terms of wealth and opportunities. The inequalities in the housing market in Cornwall have been researched by Williams (1997) who pointed out differences in the housing histories of the migrant and long-term populations and illustrated the disadvantaged position of the latter.

Another issue is differentiation of home owners. With the growth of home ownership this group became increasingly mixed also including some 'marginal and vulnerable owners' (Bramley et al, 2004). However, at the same time 'owner occupation has been 'normalised'' and become 'part of attaining 'normal' citizenship' (Bramley et al, 2004: 137).

Analysis of the levels of owner occupation among migrants and the non-migrant population has the potential to reveal broader differences than just those related to housing in terms of opportunities and constraints in society. Figure 7.3 presents the proportion of owner occupiers in the period 1971-2001 in England and Wales and compares it with migrant and non-migrant residents in Cornwall. This part focuses on the changes in the levels of owner occupation over time.

Table 7.4 showed that owner occupation in Cornwall was higher than in England and Wales in 1971 and remained so in 2001. However figure 7.3 illustrates that in 1971 it was due to higher rates of owner occupation among the non-migrant population (migrants are distinguished as individuals moving to Cornwall after 1966 and in earlier periods in-migration was much less significant) who by 2001 had a slightly lower rate of home ownership than the England and Wales average. The fact that rates of owner occupation in Cornwall were higher in 2001 was an effect of the large increase in the proportion of migrants being home owners.

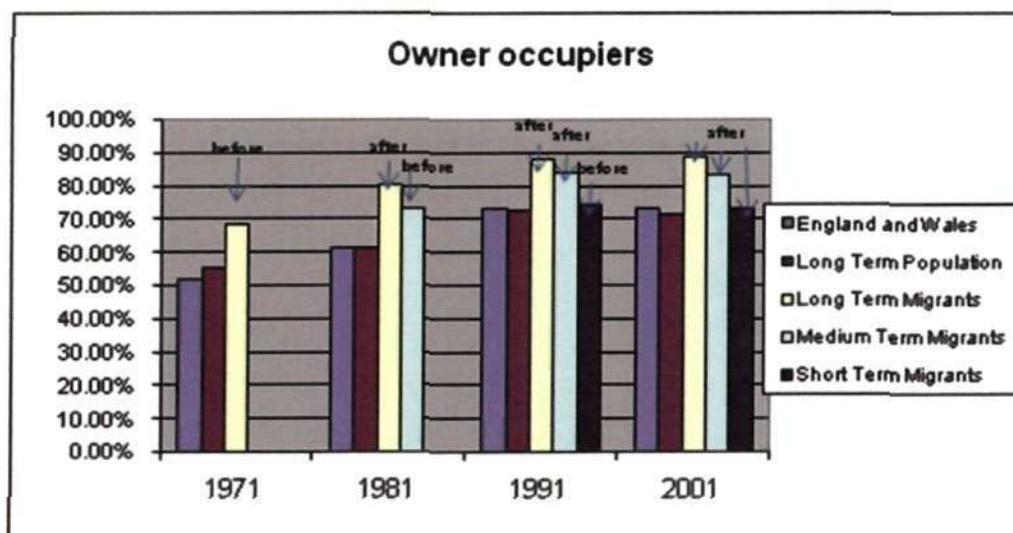
Figure 7.3 shows the changes in the proportion of owner occupiers among the non-migrant population and each cohort of migrants in the last three decades of the 20th century. It also allows for comparison of the changes in owner occupation among migrants before and after migration. The proportion of each cohort of migrants living

in owned accommodation before migration is represented by the bar for long-term migrants in 1971, medium-term migrants in 1981 and short-term migrants in 1991.

Figure 7.3 demonstrates that among the non-migrant population the proportion of home owners was close to that in England and Wales, although in 1971 it was a few percentage points higher and since 1981 it has been slightly below. On the other hand, migrants had higher levels of home ownership before they migrated than the England and Wales rate, and they benefited from increasing the number of home owners after migration even further. The exceptions were short-term migrants whose proportion of home owners before migration was the same as in England & Wales and there is no evidence that it increased after migration.

The higher rates of owner occupiers among migrants can be correlated with their social position; however if this is correct the data for short-term migrants might seem deviant, since the proportion of professional and managerial individuals in that cohort is also above the England and Wales average (table 5.6 and 5.7).

Figure 7.3 Levels of home ownership



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Analysis of the age structure in Chapter 5 showed the differences between the migrant and non-migrant population. Table 7.5 makes it possible to verify whether age differences can explain differences in home ownership. Elaboration of the tables by the inclusion of an age variable to control for its effect provides a powerful insight into the position of various groups of Cornish residents in the local housing market. Cohorts of migrants are analysed when first enumerated in Cornwall which allows

comparison between each cohort of migrants and the non-migrant population before the effect of the ageing of a cohort influences its age distribution.

The age bands used in the analysis relate to life cycle stages and distinguish three broad age groups: 0-29, 30-59 and 60 and over. The most problematic group to interpret is the first which includes children and teenagers living with their parents but also young adults starting their independent housing careers which is often in the rented sector. This category is particularly complex for migrants because it combines two very different categories: the youngest members are probably children and teenagers in migrating households and their tenure reflects the position of their parents and carers in the housing market, while the older members are young migrants to Cornwall who are different from a typical migrant presented as mostly in the later stages of their working careers and as a result often better off.

For that reason interpretation of the housing market position of this group has been done with particular caution. Despite this using the three age group categorisation allows for better distinction between the first time buyers and other working age individuals from young adults just starting their housing careers and probably not entering the owner occupation at that stage. Hence it allows better demonstration of the chances of becoming owner occupiers for the migrant and non-migrant population.

Table 7.5 Owner occupation by age – proportion of the non-migrant population and each cohort of migrants in the first decade after migration

Proportion of owner occupiers	0-29	30-59	60+	Total
Non-migrants 1981	57.2%	62.7%	62.6%	61.0%
Long-term migrants 1981	63.0%	80.8%	83.8%	76.8%
Non-migrants 1991	73.3%	78.0%	65.8%	72.8%
Medium-term migrants 1991	69.5%	88.1%	87.2%	83.9%
Non-migrants 2001	67.3%	79.4%	74.4%	71.7%
Short-term migrants 2001	59.8%	74.5%	85.3%	73.1%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The housing circumstances of children and young adults differed greatly depending on the decade and in the case of migrants also depending on the cohort. It is possible that some of the variations among the migrant population might be attributed to different proportions of children and young adults in consecutive cohorts.

Table 7.5 demonstrates that among the youngest age group (0-29) in 1981 migrants were more often living in owned accommodation than non-migrants. However in 1991 and 2001 a higher proportion of home owners was recorded among non-migrants (age 0-29) than the most recent migrants. This is most likely an effect and evidence of a higher proportion of young adults among the non-migrant population living with their parents even if they wished to live independently, due to difficulties in finding appropriate, affordable accommodation. This phenomenon was reported in the research discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.3).

However the most interesting group for which to compare the position of local people and in-migrants in the housing market are individuals aged 30-59. That group includes some first-time buyers as well as other later working career individuals who are usually at the peak of their housing careers. It makes it possible to demonstrate the differences resulting from different social positions, mainly in the labour market.

The first two cohorts of migrants aged 30-59 had a much higher proportions of owner occupiers than locals in the same age groups (62.7% of non-migrants compared to 80.8% of recent migrants in 1981, and 78.0% of non-migrants compared to 88.1% of recent migrants in 1991). However there is a striking change in 2001. The recent migrants in 2001 had a somewhat lower proportion of middle-age owner occupiers than among the local population, accounting for 74.5% of short-term migrants compared to 79.4% of non-migrants.

In the oldest age category (60+) substantial differences in levels of owner occupation can be observed between the migrant and non-migrant population throughout the period. In all three decades migrants in Cornwall who were 60 years old or more in the first decade after their move were much more likely to be home owners than their local counterparts. This shows that retirement migration has an important housing dimension. It further supports the thesis that housing wealth is closely related to migration, which is one of the factors explaining its uneven distribution in Cornwall.

Table 7.5 reveals several additional interesting points. The higher rates of owner occupation among local people below the age of 30 in 1991 and 2001 indicate longer periods of staying with parents which as demonstrated in other studies (Williams, 1997) was very often involuntarily.

Another noteworthy finding was that the housing situation of the latest cohort of migrants to Cornwall seemed to be different from that of earlier migrants. In 2001 young and middle-age short-term migrants (below the age of 60) were much less likely to live in owned occupied accommodation even than the non-migrant population in Cornwall. Only migrants aged 60 and over had a higher proportion of owner occupiers than non-migrants from the same age group.

7.3 Housing circumstances of migrants and non-migrants in 2001

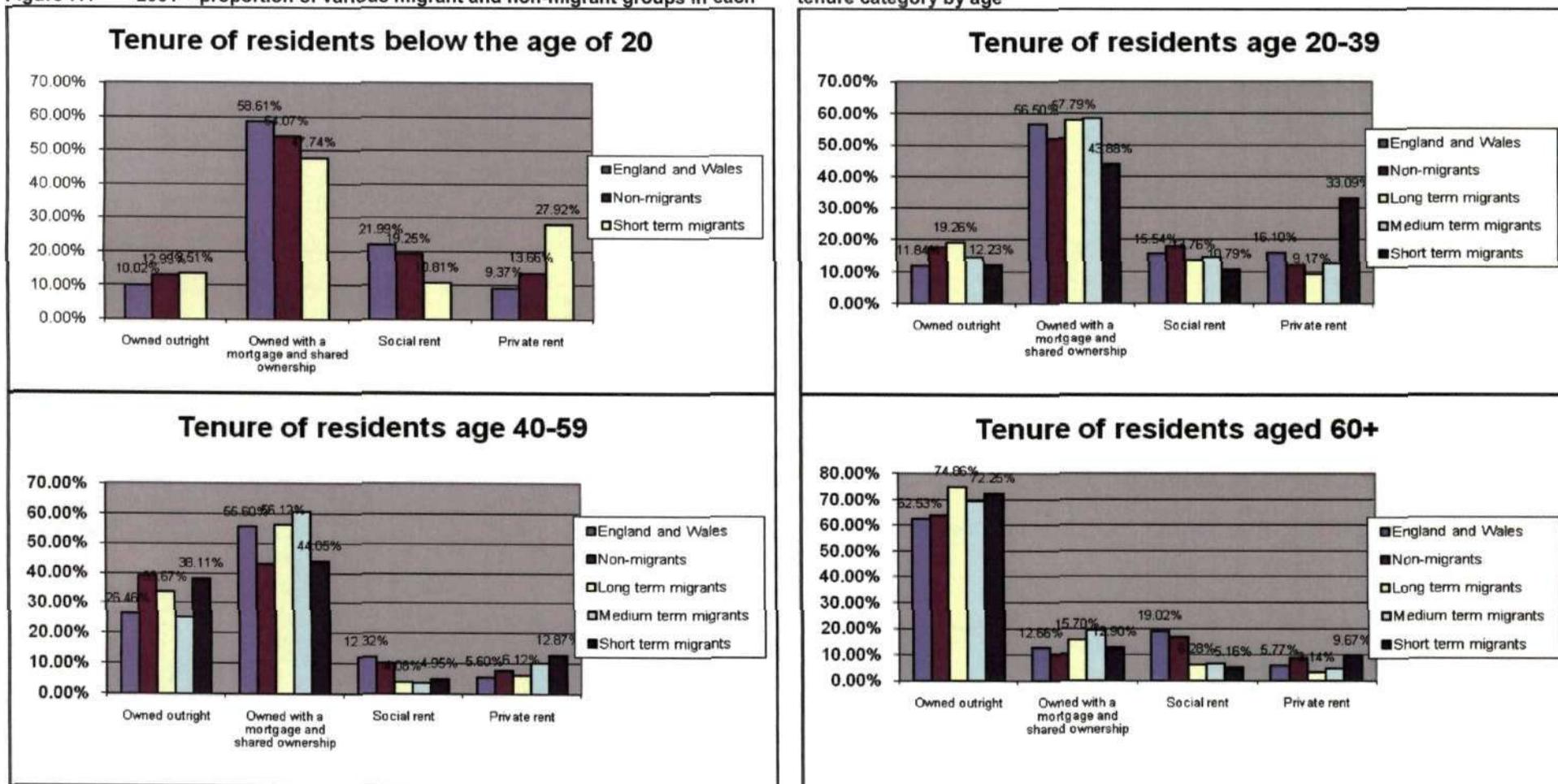
The analysis above focused on comparison through time and considered the housing wealth of migrants when they first moved to Cornwall. The last part of this section analyses the tenure structure captured by the most recent Census in 2001. It allows for a more detailed comparison of housing circumstances and illustrates the differences in position within the housing market of different groups of residents in Cornwall after the period of strong population growth which resulted from high immigration, in the context of the tenure structure of the population in England and Wales.

Figure 7.4 presents the tenure of the non-migrant population and three consecutive cohorts of migrants in 2001 when the Census allowed for the first time a distinction between owners who owned their property outright and those who owned them with a mortgage or as a shared ownership³¹. This distinction is used in an effort to differentiate the circumstances of the home owners. The owning outright category indicates people possessing considerable housing wealth either through inheritance or having been able to buy a property outright. Mortgages are a considerable financial burden and are associated with residents who are most likely to be participating in the labour market and less inclined to early retirement.

However, due to the ageing of cohorts, in 2001 the age structure of the earlier cohorts of migrants was skewed towards the older age categories; hence the tenure is analysed for separate age groups to present a clearer picture of the position of various groups of Cornish residents in the housing market.

³¹ Shared ownership represented such a small proportion of a sample that it needed to be combined with another owner category. It has been combined with owners who owned their properties with a mortgage.

Figure 7.4 2001 – proportion of various migrant and non-migrant groups in each



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

For this analysis slightly different age categories have been used, allowing the distinction of a second generation of the earliest in-migrants (who moved to Cornwall before 1981) captured in the age group 20-39 years old. Four broad age bands used in the analysis refer to life cycle stages: 0-19 years old, 20-39, 40-59 and 60 and over. The majority of individuals below the age of 20 is in full-time education and lives with their parents which means that their tenure represents in the vast majority of cases the tenure of their parents, indicating their background rather than their own position in the housing ladder. The next category of individuals aged 20 – 39 represents early career workers and the life cycle stage of setting up new households and starting families. The category 40 -59 represents later career workers including pre-retirement workers and those approaching the empty nest stage of the family life cycle. Finally individuals aged 60 and over include mainly individuals in retirement.

Age and migration status reveal considerable differences in tenure of Cornish residents as presented in figure 7.4. There is a straightforward relationship between age and whether a property is owned outright or with a mortgage; older residents dominate in the first category (as most of them paid back their mortgages in the period of their employment) whereas younger residents prevail in the latter category.

Within the youngest age group non-migrants can only be compared with the latest cohort of in-migrants. It is impossible to compare the youngest migrants (0-19) in all three cohorts in 2001 because the earlier cohorts had been in Cornwall for so long that they did not include individuals young enough to be in this age group. However, as pointed out already, last cohort differs significantly from previous cohorts of migrants and should not be used to represent the trend among all migrants to Cornwall.

Figure 7.4 illustrates that in 2001 the youngest migrants (0-19) were significantly less likely to be living in owned occupation or social housing and significantly more likely to live in private rented accommodation. The difference in the proportion of owner occupiers between migrants and non-migrants stemmed from the lower level of owners with a mortgage among migrants (48% compared to 54% among non-migrant residents). Owning with a mortgage was a more significant category in this age group than outright owners who for both population groups accounted for only about 13%. This suggest that families with children moving to Cornwall in the 1990s were less likely to buy with a

mortgage and it may also indicate the large proportion of young migrants in their late teens living in private rented accommodation. This high proportion of private renters might be also a sign of staying in transition tenure and looking for appropriate place to live.

The tenure of Cornish residents (for definition of Cornish residents see Appendix 1) in the middle age categories (20-39 and 40-59 years old) reveals particularly large and consistent differences depending on their migration status and cohort. Non-migrants and each cohort of migrants had substantially different proportions in each tenure category, posing the question of availability and accessibility of various types of accommodation to working age Cornish residents.

Young adults (20-39) who were non-migrants or from the earliest cohort of in-migrants were the most likely to live in properties owned outright (18% and 19% respectively) while 12-14% of later migrants were outright owners in 2001. This is an interesting age category for long-term migrants because it signifies the second-generation of migrants to Cornwall. The similarities in the proportions of these young adults and non-migrants in the owning outright category might indicate the similarities in the proportions of young people living with their parents. However, young long-term migrants more often than their non-migrant counterparts lived in properties owned with a mortgage and less often in rented accommodation. This may indicate that mortgages were more accessible to them.

The highest proportion of owners with a mortgage among young adults (20-39 years old) was in long and medium-term migrant groups (about 58%). At the same time about half of young non-migrants had purchased their properties with a mortgage (52%) and only 44% of short-term migrants. Young adult short-term migrants differed greatly in their housing circumstances from all other Cornish residents. They lived much less often in owned accommodation but far more often in private rented accommodation. It might be again an indication of transition period before moving to owner occupation. The proportion of all young adult migrants in the social rented sector was fairly similar (10-14%) and much lower than the non-migrant population (18%).

In 2001 later working career residents (40-59) also seemed to differ in their position on the housing market depending on whether they were non-migrants and from the latest cohort of migrants or earlier migrants. About 38-39% of non-migrants and short-term migrants in this age group owned their property outright and about 43-44% owned them with a mortgage, while among earlier migrants in this age group between 25% and 34% owned the houses outright whilst 56-61% owned them with a mortgage. However, the lower rates of owning outright and higher rates of owning with a mortgage even out and show that later working career residents in Cornwall did not have a very different proportion of home owners whatever their migration status (although non-migrants and short-term migrants had somewhat lower – about 82%, and earlier migrants 86-90%).

Figure 7.5 shows that migrants over 60 were definitely more likely to be owners of their homes than other Cornish residents. Among all cohorts of migrants those over 60 were more likely not just to be owners but also to own their homes outright in most cases. Their age suggests that some of them could have depended on a mortgage in the past but were able to pay it back. However, it also shows that migrants were more often in such a position than non-migrant population (about 70-75% of migrants and about 65% of non-migrant population). The non-migrant elderly population in 2001 lived in rented accommodation (social and private) more often than the migrant population, with the exception of the latest cohort of elderly in-migrants who were slightly more likely to live in private rented accommodation than locals.

In summary, Figure 7.4 demonstrates the persistent differences in the position of the migrant and non-migrant population regardless of the age factor. It suggests that in Cornwall migrants are considerably wealthier than non-migrants, which determines their different housing situations. On the whole the smaller proportion of owner occupiers among the non-migrant population was offset by the larger proportion of social renters. In 2001 a much smaller proportion of migrants in all age groups lived in social housing compared to the local population. The proportion of social renters among non-migrants was very close to the England and Wales average. As the social rented sector provided more fully for the most disadvantaged part of the population (Murie, 1983; Murie 1997) it can serve as another indication of the inequalities between the migrant and non-migrant population groups. On the other hand, the proportion of private renters varied more among migrants than distinguishing migrants and non-migrants. Dependence on the

private rented accommodation among migrants seemed to relate to the time they had spent in Cornwall and was the lowest in all age groups among long-term migrants and the highest among all age groups of short-term migrants. It is likely a result of delayed home ownership while searching for a house as private renting is a transition tenure.

The graphs illustrate that housing wealth is related to age and explains some of the differences in tenure; however not all the differences in levels of owner occupation between non-migrants and consecutive cohorts of in-migrants can be attributed to age and migration status. Table 7.5 reveals that high rates of private rented accommodation among short-term migrants were an effect of the very different housing circumstances of all age group migrants to Cornwall except those aged 60 and more. In particular very large numbers of migrants in their teens, 20s and 30s living in private rented accommodation were responsible for the rates of private renting among the latest cohort of migrants to Cornwall being so high. It is possible that the latest cohort of in-migrants was in a transition and still searching for appropriate accommodation. However earlier cohorts of migrants, even in the first decade after migration, were characterised by a better position on the housing market compared to the non-migrant population. It might be also an indication that the housing market in Cornwall became less accessible even for in-migrants.

Another explanation might be differences in the attitudes of the latest cohort of in-migrants and particularly young migrants, which might be reflected in their housing circumstances. Elzey (1998) researching in-migrants to Newquay working in the tourist industry found that the vast majority of these in-migrants were young people in their 20s. His research is helpful in depicting the profile of young migrants and indicates that it is very different from the profile of an average migrant to Cornwall. He emphasised that their socio-economic position was lower than other migrants and that lifestyle played an important role in their move. Although his research was not particularly concerned with migrants' housing circumstances, it might indicate the phenomenon of 'new age travellers' often living in caravans. The findings cannot be generalised for all recent migrants but they are indicative of the variability within migration flows. It suggests that some of the young migrants to Cornwall might also be lifestyle driven and choose an exceptional living environment over career opportunities at that stage of their life. That in turn impacts upon their position within the housing market.

7.4 Housing careers

The last section of this chapter uses the concept of housing careers. Pickles and Davies (1991) saw this concept as an opportunity to synthesise many themes and interests of housing research. In the literature housing careers are used as a metaphor illustrating the steps 'which individuals and households take as they go through the process of improving their housing' (Clark et al, 2003: 145). The concept was formalized in the 1980s and includes an assumption that home ownership is the peak of a housing career. The step from renting to owning is regarded as a decisive event in a housing career (Pickles and Davies, 1985; Clark et al, 2003) which is connected with the perception of owner occupation discussed earlier in the chapter.

In the analysis that follows, housing careers are operationalised as a transition from rented accommodation to owner occupation in order to present the chances of Cornish residents in so-called 'stepping up the property ladder'. The analysis still focuses on comparison between the opportunities available to the migrant and non-migrant populations in the housing market.

Those who are home owners (migrants as well as the non-migrant population) benefit from high house prices; however these are seen as an obstacle by first-time buyers. Not surprisingly the LS data shows that individuals who are home owners are several times more likely to stay home owners in the following decade, and that migrants from areas of higher house prices can benefit from regional differences.

Table 7.6 presents the odds for individuals who were renters at the beginning of each decade to become owner occupiers for the non-migrant population and each cohort of in-migrants. Using cohorts makes it possible to take into account the period effect and to control for aging. Advantages of using cohort longitudinal analysis were emphasized by Myers (1999) and although the analysis below does not involve birth cohorts, which better account for life cycle factors, it helps in estimating the change more reliably.

The columns of table 7.6 refer to consecutive decades and cells represent the change in tenure between two Census years. The odds of becoming an owner occupier is the proportion of those who lived in rented accommodation at the beginning of the decade

and moved to home ownership 10 years later in relation to those who were renters and stayed in rented accommodation. Odds of 1 would mean that individuals were equally as likely to move to home occupation as to stay in rented accommodation. Odds below 1 mean that they were more likely to stay in rented accommodation. Odds above 1 mean that they were more likely to move to home ownership even though they had lived in rented accommodation 10 years earlier

Table 7.6 Odds of becoming an owner occupier for renters in Cornwall

	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
Non-migrant population <small>n₁=786, n₂=634, n₃=459</small>	0.29	0.61	0.43
Long-term migrants- late 1960s <small>n₁=103, n₂=73, n₃=41</small>	0.45	0.73	0.86
Long-term migrants- 1970s <small>n₁=135, n₂=85, n₃=30</small>	1.93	1.24	0.42
Medium-term migrants <small>n₁=156, n₂=82</small>		2.31	1
Short-term migrants <small>n₁=155</small>			0.91

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study, author's analysis

n_i = number of individuals in rented accommodation at the beginning of the decade

i = decade of migration

Table 7.6 illustrates the chances of the non-migrant population and consecutive cohorts of in-migrants of becoming home owners if they had rented beforehand. The table presents data for four cohorts of migrants, and for long-term migrants - 1970s, medium and short-term migrants representing the change in their tenure in the decade of their migration (cells shaded grey). Long-term migrants - late 1960s and long term migrants-1970s are presented separately in order to distinguish between the chances of becoming home owners for migrants in the decade of their migration (1970s) from the chances of migrants who lived in rented accommodation after moving to Cornwall and moved to owner occupation before 1981 (late 1960s)

The table illustrates that the non-migrant population was persistently more likely to continue renting than to become home owners if they had lived in rented accommodation before (odds much below 1 in all three decades). In the 1980s there was an increase in the proportion of those moving to owner occupation (probably as an effect of the Right to Buy policy) but it dropped again in the 1990s

Long term migrants - late 1960s already lived in Cornwall by 1971 and the odds given in the table present their housing careers after their move. As the non-migrant population they were more likely to stay in rented accommodation if that was where they lived at the beginning of the decade but their probability of moving to owner occupation was higher than for the non-migrant population (odds closer to 1).

On the other hand migrants who moved to Cornwall after 1971 and lived in rented accommodation before migration were more likely than the non-migrant population or earlier migrants to Cornwall to 'step up the property ladder'. Migrants in the 1970s and 1980s were about twice more likely to be home owners in Cornwall than renters although they had rented before migrating. However, there is a very significant difference between these cohorts of migrants and those who migrated in the 1990s (short-term migrants). Although 1990s migrants were almost as likely to move to home occupation as to stay in rented accommodation, the probability of stepping up the property ladder was much lower than with the two previous cohorts. In combination with the more in-depth data about owner occupation, it can be said that this is a result of the lower proportion of individuals buying properties with a mortgage among these migrants. Nevertheless this cohort of migrants also remained much more likely to become home owners than the non-migrant population.

The LS data proves that migrants to Cornwall were not only more likely to live in owned accommodation before and after the move (with the exception of short-term migrants), they also had higher chances of becoming owner occupiers even if they lived in rented accommodation before migrating. Unequal accessibility to owner occupation for migrant and non-migrant residents contributes to social and economic divides in Cornwall. The divide between home owners and those who cannot afford to buy a house overlap with the divide between locals and incomers, demonstrating that locally expressed concerns about the impact of migration on the housing market is justified, and that housing schemes focusing on providing accommodation for the local population are very timely social programmes.

7.5 Conclusions

Cornwall, like many other rural areas, faces serious availability and affordability problems regarding housing. Availability is constrained by such factors as increasing

demand from rising population numbers (due to in-migration), second homes and holiday lets, and affordability as an effect of low wages and rising house prices which have made Cornwall one of the least affordable areas in the country (Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Economic Forum, 2006, Wilcox, 2005)

However, different communities in Cornwall face the problems of availability and affordability of housing to a different degree Monk et al (2006) emphasised that the affordability problem affects especially severely areas of special environmental attractiveness which in Cornwall account for 49% of the land (Griffin, 1993). Environmental attractiveness was accounted for in the area type classification designed for this project which was used in the analysis of second homes data in Cornwall and showed that it is an important factor in the consideration of housing issues in Cornwall. It demonstrated that housing options are most limited for residents of coastal villages

The chapter focused predominantly on comparison between the non-migrant and migrant populations in Cornwall and demonstrated that migration explains some of the differences in housing circumstances of Cornish residents. The LS data showed that owner occupation in Cornwall was higher than in England and Wales in 1971 and remained so in 2001. However, in 1971 the difference was largely due to the higher rates of owner occupation among the non-migrant population but in 2001 the non-migrant population actually had a slightly lower proportion of residents being home owners than in England and Wales. It demonstrates that the higher rates of owner occupation in Cornwall in 2001 can be considered an effect of the much higher proportion of migrants being home owners

Variations in the proportions of owner occupiers among the migrant and non-migrant population indicate greater housing wealth of migrants who moved to Cornwall in the 1980s and 1990s, which cannot be explained simply by the older age structure of migrants. Surprisingly, however, the tenure mix of the latest cohort of in-migrants after settling in Cornwall differed greatly from other residents in the county. In 2001 the levels of owner occupiers among short-term migrants were not just lower than levels of earlier cohorts but also than the non-migrant population. When controlled by age the tenure structure shows lower levels of owner occupiers in all age groups except for those aged 60 and over. It is not totally clear though whether this is an effect of differences in the

profile of migrants and their attitudes towards owner occupation or of conditions in the local housing market.

Higher housing wealth of migrants is also suggested by the levels of transition to owner occupation which was more common among migrants moving to Cornwall and renting before migration than the local population living in rented accommodation. Even the latest migrants, despite having a lower propensity 'to move on the property ladder' than other migrants, were still much more likely to become home owners than locals.

In general the rate of the house price rise in Cornwall allowed people owning property to benefit from the rising assets of home owners; however it made housing even less affordable for those who did not own a property. In combination with poor provision of social housing in Cornwall and a relatively large proportion of the private rented housing stock being used as holiday homes, the issue of affordability of housing has become even more pressing in Cornwall. The LS data illustrates that those in rented accommodation have very small chances of moving to home ownership if they are local.

These processes led to the view that some areas are becoming 'exclusive enclaves of the elderly and wealthy' and it is essential to look for solutions for local people (Taylor, 2008). Provision of amenities and housing are important elements in developing sustainable communities, affordable for a range of social groups.

Chapter 8: Discussion

This final chapter briefly summarises the findings of the thesis and discusses the areas in respect of which it can contribute to existing knowledge about the process of population change in non- metropolitan areas. The first section presents the main conclusions reached regarding the research questions. This is followed by a section discussing various aspects of migration theory and how the thesis deepens our understanding of that process in non-metropolitan counties in England and Wales. It addresses some aspects of the explanatory frameworks of migration which were discussed in the theoretical part, what is known about the effects of migration and what was found about them in work on the thesis. The chapter is closed by consideration of potential directions for further, fruitful research.

8.1 Research questions

- 1) *Are changes in population structure linked to economic performance in the counties experiencing population growth due to migration?*

As reported by the Commission of the European Communities (2008) 'demographic change is [] likely to reinforce regional disparities in economic growth potential, as well as increasing social polarisation and pressure on the environment in certain areas' (pp. 11). In the period of population growth in rural and non-metropolitan areas Cornwall and Wiltshire are presented as examples of two different scenarios of economic development in counties experiencing high net migration rates. They are examples of respectively disadvantaged and prosperous economies. On one hand differences in economic development, largely as a result of its geographical location, may encourage different types of migrants to both counties. On the other hand economic activity and levels of entrepreneurship of these migrants may influence economic development of destination areas. The analyses of economic activity rates of migrants show that labour market behaviour of later career migrants may be partly influencing economic growth in Cornwall and Wiltshire. In Wiltshire migrants in their 40s and 50s are as active as younger migrants while in Cornwall their economic activity rates are much lower than those of younger migrants and locals, and suggests greater dependence on unearned income. It is argued that this might be a result of differences in motivation to migrate. It is

theoretically convincing that there might be a relationship between determinants and consequences, causes and effects of migration.

On the whole, however, the comparison of the non-migrant and resident population does not indicate a negative, long-term effect of population growth through migration on economic activity rates, even though migrants participated much less often in the labour market in the first decade after their move. The overall effect of migration on economic activity was very small but it left Cornwall with low and Wiltshire with high participation of its residents in the labour market.

2) *How do economic activity patterns and other socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants to Cornwall and out-migrants from the county explain the role of the labour market in internal migration?*

The thesis demonstrates that the labour market histories of consecutive cohorts of in-migrants in the period of increased in-migration to Cornwall show many consistent features. Among those who were in employment before moving to Cornwall about 15% retired after the move; however about 20-30% of men and 30-45% of women (depending on the decade) became inactive in Cornwall. It has been suggested that since 1971 a substantial proportion of migrants to Cornwall have become inactive after the move due to choice. This does not reject the thesis of the work related motivation of some migrants, e.g. transferred with a job or migrating to start their own business³². The thesis demonstrates that economic activity is dependent on age; however a more sensitive distinction than just that between working age and retired migrants needs to be made. In Cornwall the labour market plays a more important role for early and middle career migrants than later career migrants.

The labour market also plays a significant role in the process of out-migration. The data suggests that especially since 1991 educational ambitions have been a major consideration of people moving out of Cornwall. However, it is very likely that decisions to continue education elsewhere also reflect the greater career opportunities outside the county.

³² More details on self-employment can be found in Burley (2007).

3) *How do residential patterns explain the role of environmental preferences of in-migrants to Cornwall?*

Environmental preferences have been treated in the thesis as an aspect of lifestyle choices. They refer to preferences regarding living environment as opposed to work opportunities. They were captured by the area type classification which accounts for two very important characteristics of neighbourhoods, i.e. level of urbanisation and unique natural amenities in coastal areas.

The thesis aimed to answer the question of the role of residential preferences as a pull factor in migration. The analysis demonstrates consistency in residential patterns among migrants to Cornwall and large differences between the migrant and non-migrant population. In-migrants choose rural locations (coastal and inland) much more often than expected, analysing residential patterns in Cornwall regardless of lower availability and higher prices in these locations (especially in coastal villages) than in most towns. Rural locations are characterised by a higher quality natural environment, hence the analysis supports the hypothesis of the importance of environmental factors for migrants to Cornwall, which is used as an indication of the significance of lifestyle motivation for migration.

4) *How has migration changed the population structure in Cornwall?*

The thesis demonstrates that the profile of the resident population in Cornwall often masks the extent of the differences between the migrant and non-migrant population (especially in respect of their social position). As a result, it shows that some of the changes, e.g. a positive change regarding social mobility, are totally the result of migration.

In terms of demographic influence, although migrants to Cornwall have a higher proportion of individuals above the age of 30 than in England and Wales and a lower proportion of younger migrants, migration helped to preserve the age profile of Cornish residents. Cornwall is not becoming a retirement county as a direct result of migration, but it does develop retirement pockets, and instead of retired people estates, it is in danger of developing parishes or wards demographically dominated by retired people.

These are often remoter areas and particularly coastal villages. The question of the impact of this trend on the economic prosperity of the county and local communities is significant.

5) *Do migrants have better access to owner occupation than non-migrant population?*

The thesis gives a very clear answer to that last question. Migrants and non-migrants differ not only in the proportion of home owners in each group but also in their chances of 'stepping up the property ladder'. The probability of becoming home owners if previously renting is much higher for migrants than non-migrants (chapter 7, table 7.6). This supports Williams (1997) findings that housing and migration are related.

8.2 Explanation of migration

This section aims to discuss some aspects of the explanatory frameworks of migration into non-metropolitan areas. It presents some issues studied in this thesis which bring deeper understanding of that phenomenon.

8.2.1 Various types of non-metropolitan areas

In the thesis it is argued that the population redistribution pattern in Cornwall has some unique characteristics and although it was considered in the counterurbanisation framework, a lot of attention was given to some specific aspects of this process in Cornwall. This has demonstrated the need to distinguish various types of non-metropolitan areas.

In the existing literature examples can be found of research analysing migration patterns in non-metropolitan and rural areas based mainly on a distinction between various types of rurality and focusing on the differences between rural areas and their migration experiences rather than the urban – rural population redistribution pattern. Lowe and Ward (2007) emphasised that 'counterurbanisation has created very different income and class structure in differing rural areas' (p 12). Their typology of rural areas classifies local authorities and distinguishes those attracting commuters, entrepreneurs or retirees. However, the analysis of migrants to Cornwall suggests that more categories should be distinguished. Commuters account for a very low proportion of all migrants to Cornwall

as presented in Chapter 2, section 2.1. Retired migrants account for a substantial part of the total in-migration flow but are still a minority. Classifying all the remaining migrants to Cornwall as entrepreneurs would be too great a simplification. The thesis suggests that the category described by Fielding (1992a) as those who 'step off the escalator' but not into retirement is a very significant group of incomers to Cornwall. They might be lifestyle migrants, however the term requires further conceptualisation. The thesis described the labour market strategies and residential patterns of migrants demonstrating that there is a substantial group who become inactive after their move which is partly an effect of the choice, and there are lower levels of economic activity among working age male in-migrants relocating to coastal villages which are the most environmentally attractive areas in Cornwall. Additionally there is a clear pattern of residential preferences among migrants in professional and managerial occupations who much more often choose rural locations. Although it is not possible to distinguish lifestyle migrants in this research using the LS, it is a step forward to capture this group of movers.

Another example of the typology which distinguishes various types of non-metropolitan areas is Dennett and Stillwell's classification (2009) of local authorities based on migration trends, which is presented in Chapter 1 (figure 1.1). It defines different area types on the basis of the characteristics of migration flows. Cornwall, due to the larger proportion of older people among migrants in comparison to migrants to other areas, is classified in this typology as a coastal and rural retirement migrants area. However, the description of the cluster says there is an overrepresentation of migrants age 45 and above. Treating that flow as retirement migration is to some extent a simplification. Although economic activity data for migrants to Cornwall indicates that a high proportion of this flow is in a retirement transition, a large number of pre-retirement migrants also remain active in the labour market after moving.

An advantage of these typologies is their emphasis on the diversity of rural areas; while Dennett and Stillwell's project illustrates that migration into non-metropolitan areas is also not a homogenous process. It distinguishes coastal fringes and areas such as the Lake District as experiencing particular types of population changes. It indicates that environmentally attractive areas, called 'high amenity areas' in American literature, experience a particular type of change as an effect of migration and this should be taken into account in the analysis, explanations and discussion about the impact of migration.

The similarities in the socio-economic characteristics of migrants to these areas suggest common underlying causes of migration. However, explanation of that pattern focusing on retirement brings limited understanding of the population change process in areas such as Cornwall.

Comparison of migration flows to Cornwall and Wiltshire confirms that the differences in the characteristics of in-migrants to various non-metropolitan areas are substantial and that the economic circumstances of both areas are so different that explaining that phenomenon in a single framework is unsatisfactory. It supports also the idea that areas which are to a high degree dependent on tourism require an environmental factor to be included in the explanation of the population change. Since the Perry et al (1986) *Counterurbanisation* report, migration patterns in Cornwall were analysed in that framework; however the thesis presents the limitations of such an approach and explores approaches which additionally take into account environmental dimension.

8.2.2 Age

The most important factor, which deserves careful study, for understanding migration into Cornwall is age. Its significance has been established and emphasised in many studies (Champion et al, 1998; Millington, 2000; Barcus, 2004). For example, Millington (2000) argued that 'analysis of migration flows can only be conducted meaningfully with age-disaggregated data' (p 530). The contribution of this thesis is in indicating the relationship between locality and age, and in demonstrating how the effect of age changes depends on the area type. The analyses of the labour market participation of migrants to Cornwall and Wiltshire presented in Chapter 4 show particularly striking differences in the labour market strategies of migrants over the age of 40 to the two counties. The analysis of the economic activity of early and middle career migrants and later career migrants in Wiltshire does not show any significant differences between these two groups. However, in Cornwall labour market participation among later career migrants was much lower than among those below the age of 40.

This explains partly why Champion et al (1998), reviewing the evidence from existing research regarding the variations of economic activity related to migration, concluded that 'those remaining retired make a small number of migrations and a small number of migrants move from employment to retirement' (p 75). They cited Owen and Green's

analysis of the Labour Force-Survey showing that a transition to retirement only affected about 1% of earlier employed migrants. This thesis demonstrates that national analysis hides local variations and that the relationship between age and location is more complex than presented in retirement migration theory or life-course theory. Later career migrants in Cornwall and Wiltshire are very different. Although both counties are non-metropolitan areas which have experienced population growth and have been described as experiencing counterurbanisation, the labour market strategies of later career migrants to the two destinations are the most striking differences characterising this process in these two areas.

The significance of the migration patterns of pre-elderly adults was also explored by Bures (1997) who noticed that 'little effort has been made to distinguish the migration behaviour of pre-elderly adults (aged 55-64) from that of younger and older age groups' (p. 109). She argued that pre-elderly adults are a unique group because they are at the height of their earnings potential and wealth accumulation, are in transition to the 'empty nest', and they are established in their careers, hence they are less likely to move for job-related reasons. She showed that 'county characteristics that are favourable for the in-migration of specific age groups vary over the life course' (p. 115) and that there is a relationship between 'patterns of pre-elderly net migration and the county characteristics' (p. 115). Bures' main argument was that migration among the pre-elderly represents a 'retirement transition'. However, the data from Cornwall shows that the labour market strategies of older working age migrants distinguish not only the migrants relatively close to reach retirement age but also a much wider group of later career migrants. Moreover, Bures' analysis does not explain why in some non-metropolitan areas later career migrants are not very different in their labour market behaviour from younger migrants while in others they show very distinct behaviour. This suggests that lifestyle factors explain local variations better than the retirement transition. These factors are explored in the following section.

8.2.3 Economic and lifestyle factors

Economics provides the main framework used in the literature to explain long distance migration and is also one of the major factors considered in the explanation of counterurbanisation. It was also used in explanation of migration trends in Cornwall in the 1960s and 1970s (Perry et al, 1986). The thesis, however, focused not only on the

labour market context but also on residential preferences of migrants, and considered economic and lifestyle incentives for migration.

The thesis considered economic circumstances of migration discussing the labour market position of the migrant and non-migrant population. Using longitudinal data for such an extended period of time it made it possible to discuss the hypothesis that decentralisation of industry in the 1970s was the major factor explaining migration to Cornwall in that period and that continuing in-migration in the 1980s and 1990s had a different character. Furthermore, following the labour market histories of consecutive cohorts of migrants, it allowed consideration of the role of the labour market in the process of in-migration to Cornwall.

The LS data demonstrates the complexity of the economic circumstances related to migration. The fact that the majority of male migrants who were employed before migration continued to work in Cornwall (about 60% in all three cohorts) shows that the labour market had to be a significant factor in the decisions about migration. On the other hand, however, more than every fifth male migrant (between 20 and 30%) in employment before the move became inactive after migration without having reached statutory retirement age. Only some of this phenomenon was a result of the increase in unemployment. The thesis shows that changing economic conditions in the thirty years period in Cornwall had little impact on the profile or number of in-migrants. It suggests that from the 1970s onwards people migrating to Cornwall were often not pulled by economic incentives but rather by their residential preferences. Although economic circumstances are an important aspect of making decisions and migration is a selective process, the migrants seem to be little responsive to changing economic conditions in their migration strategies. The degree of diversity within the cohorts and the similarity between the cohorts play down the economic factors which differ between the decades, but also emphasise the complexity of this phenomenon and the fact that the flow of in-migrants may also include economic migrants. The influence of the labour market on motivation is inevitable but limited in explaining migration decisions.

Although economic migration is often identified with long distance migration and residential migration with short distance migration, the data shows that there is a residential dimension to the process of inflow of new residents to Cornwall which largely

arises from long distance migration. Residential preferences for various area types (urban and rural, coastal and inland) of migrants were significantly different from the residential patterns of the non-migrant population. Strong preferences towards rural locations confirm the significance of one of the factors highlighted by Champion (1998) as influencing counterurbanisation i.e. the change in residential preferences of working age people.

Residential preferences were explored in the thesis through the typology developed for this project, distinguishing not only an urban-rural but also a coastal-inland dimension which gave a unique opportunity to take into account the influence of the environmental factor because coastal areas were distinguished on the basis of their dependence on tourism rather than physical features. The analysis of economic activity rates among working age in-migrants revealed that male migrants to coastal villages consistently had the lowest rates of economic activity compared to migrants relocating to other area types in Cornwall, indicating that the typology may reflect residential preferences and lifestyle choices.

8.2.4 House price differentials

Another explanation of the counterurbanisation trend in Cornwall was seen in the functioning of the housing market (Mitchell, 1993, Williams, 1997, Burley, 2007). In the 1980s, large regional house price differentials created substantial incentives for home owners selling their houses in the South East and buying them in Cornwall. Mitchell (1993) suggested that this was an additional factor fuelling in-migration.

Earlier research and this thesis confirm a higher proportion of home owners among earlier cohorts of migrants (long-term and medium-term migrants). However, the housing circumstances of the most recent migrants to Cornwall (those who migrated after 1991) were very different from earlier cohorts. It seems that housing could have been an additional factor in the 1970s and 1980s, however the situation changed in the 1990s. Migrants moving to Cornwall after 1991 were not more likely to be home owners than residents of England and Wales on average, and the odds of becoming owner occupiers in the decade of migration were much lower for short-term migrants than for earlier migrants to Cornwall. Tenure of migrants disaggregated by age shows that the differences in the position in the housing market between the earlier and most recent

cohorts of in-migrants are due to a much lower proportion of home owners among migrants below the age of 40. The position of retirement migrants remained as strong as among earlier cohorts. On the other hand, the odds of becoming owner occupiers in the decade of migrating for all cohorts of migrants, including the latest one, were much higher than for non-migrants which confirm an overall improvement in the position of migrants in the housing market.

On the whole, the narrowing of the house price gap between Cornwall and the South East (where most migrants come from) is probably the most important factor influencing the change in the housing position of the latest migrants to Cornwall. Nevertheless Cornwall remains attractive to migrants regardless of the labour market conditions being less favourable than in other parts of England and Wales, and the difficulties in accessing the housing market due to rapidly rising house prices. Indeed it shows that there are other factors attracting migrants to Cornwall.

8.2.5 Heterogeneity of migrants

Halfacree (2008) in his review of the state of counterurbanisation studies advocated that it should be 'capable of embracing a broader range of people and experiences than is typically the case' (p. 479). The thesis shows that it is possible to distinguish a variety of types of in-migrants to Cornwall including retired migrants, working age migrants who moved to Cornwall due to ill health or to retire early, but also working age migrants who moved and continued to work (often finding a job which matched their previous social position). However, it also shows that there is considerable consistency in the characteristics of all three cohorts of migrants to Cornwall. They come mainly from the South East England, moving to Cornwall later in their lives and relatively often moving after their children formed independent households. This suggests that the factors influencing migration are varied and complex.

Burley's thesis (2007) that counterurbanisation is temporally complex and that population growth in the 1970s had a different character than later in-migration cannot be confirmed on the basis of this project. The migration strategies in respect of the labour market and residential preferences of all three cohorts of migrants do not show significant differences. The thesis confirmed however spatial complexity and it is argued that using another approach (ward level classification instead of local authority) allowed for a better

explanation of that variability. Profiles of migrant residents in urban and rural destinations in Cornwall show fundamental differences. Although the socio-economic profile of migrants to Cornwall show that it is a selective process and that migrants are older and of a higher social status than the population in England and Wales, the profiles of migrants to various types of local communities show further diversification. Migrants relocating to rural communities include a higher proportion of retired individuals and among the working age population a much higher proportion of individuals in professional and managerial occupations than even an average migrant to Cornwall.

8.2.6 Out-migration

The thesis also analysed the out-migration from Cornwall as part of the process of population change in the county, an approach advocated by for example Stockdale (2004). Earlier studies demonstrated the significance of this phenomenon which can be overlooked in counties with positive net migration rates. They demonstrated that the profile of out-migrants is very different from that of in-migrants so those who leave non-metropolitan areas are not simply replaced by similar newcomers. The thesis not only illustrated the extent of the differences between in-migrants and out-migrants in Cornwall but also showed the change in the profile of out-migrants. It demonstrated that since 1991 those who moved out of Cornwall were almost exclusively under the age of 30 and a large proportion of them left the county after completing compulsory education, suggesting the importance of educational motives. However, the labour market remains an important determinant of out-migration even if it is significant for a lower proportion of out-migrants than in previous decades.

Although as emphasised by the Commission for Rural Communities (2008) the policies encouraging people who left rural areas to return are more important than those which discourage them to leave the area in the first place, a good understanding of the process of out-migration is important to inform the actions addressing that issue. Evidence about the rising role of educational needs in the process of out-migration provides support for improving educational opportunities in Cornwall and also points out that opportunities for graduates may help to encourage young people to remain in the county.

8.3 Impact of migration

Phillips (2009) considering the potential of the concepts of gentrification and counterurbanisation, pointed out the lack of a political dimension of the term counterurbanisation and its lack of potential to illustrate how the creation of winners is often at the expense of creating losers. However, in studies of counterurbanisation the issue of its impact on local communities has not been left unresearched. Nevertheless, very rarely has much attention been given to the fact that counterurbanisation has different effects on various types of communities. Spencer (1995) in his study of South Oxfordshire pointed out the uneven development of rural localities. He argued that 'clearly, attention needs to be switched to the local rural dimension in order to develop a firmer understanding of counterurbanisation' (pp 154). The findings on the influence of migration on population structure, the extent and geographical dimension of deprivation and particularly the problem of housing need in Cornwall can be seen as a response to that call.

8.3.1 Migration as a challenge for social cohesion

One of the key issues discussed in the thesis relates to social mobility in Cornwall and its effects on equal opportunities and access to amenities. The analysis of the changes in social class based on occupation in the period of increased in-migration show that since 1971, when in England and Wales the proportion of residents in professional and managerial occupations rose rapidly, in Cornwall the social class structure of the non-migrant population hardly changed at all. However, analyses of the extent of the social mobility of the resident population, which includes migrants, show a substantial change in the same direction as in England and Wales. It indicates that, while data for the resident population in Cornwall shows the social class structure with a higher proportion of the population in the top social classes, it hides the fact that the non-migrant population more often represents residents in the lower social classes.

Social class can be seen as a proxy for comparative wealth and access to some amenities (e.g. transport and health services). As a result it indicates growing inequalities in Cornwall which to a large extent are related to the place of birth of particular residents (which is associated with their parents' background) and even more often the place where their working career started. There is an increased risk of being affected by some form of deprivation for the non-migrant population. The differences in

the social class structure are the largest in rural communities in Cornwall. In the 1990s almost half of all working age in-migrants to Cornish villages were in professional and managerial social classes (in other decades it was also much higher than among migrants to the main urban areas) and rural areas experienced the most significant gentrification characterised by the largest decrease in the proportion of residents in partly or non-skilled social classes. This all indicates social polarisation in Cornish villages. Various types of deprivation of some of their residents can be totally overlooked in the aggregated statistics.

The qualitative study by Knowles (2006) demonstrated that problems expressed as the most important for Cornish residents are ranked low on the scales of the Multiple Deprivation Index and some problematic issues are not taken into account at all which makes it an unsatisfactory indicator of deprivation in Cornwall. He also suggested that the perception of the area by 'visitors, second home owners and affluent retirees [. . . which . . .] has to comply with the romantic idyll [. . .] stands as a potential barrier to changing national level official approaches to deprivation in areas perceived as attractively rural'.

8.3.2 Area specific effects of migration

Migrants to various types of non-metropolitan areas differ and the effects of migration on local communities also differ. Schmied (2005b) in her conclusion on the impact of in-migration on rural areas admitted that 'the combination of positive and negative elements, and therefore the overall balance, is area-specific as well as group- or even person-specific and needs careful analysis' (pp 160). Findlay et al (2000), in their study of migration to Scotland, found considerable support for the thesis that migration is beneficial to the rural economic growth, however they also found significant regional variations in the rate of job creation by migrants, which reflected not only differences in the ratio of retired to economically active but also variations within these groups. They again emphasised that there are some local geographical factors influencing the impact of migration on labour markets.

The variations in the volume of migration to different types of communities in Cornwall resulted in differences in the degree to which such migration influenced local population structures. After more than three decades of increased in-migration to Cornwall in main

inland towns, which experienced the highest growth relative to the non-migrant population, residents of these towns were about twice more likely to be non-migrants than migrants. However, in rural areas residents were almost as likely to be migrants as non-migrants. This means that in 2001 half of all the residents of rural areas were migrants who had moved to Cornwall since 1966. Therefore the changes in rural communities in Cornwall depend to a much higher extent on migration than in urban areas, especially as the analysis has shown that migrants to rural communities were characterised by a specific socio-economic profile.

The thesis presents evidence of area-specific effects in various contexts including social mobility. For example, it indicates that although in Cornwall, in general, the social class structure shows an increase in the number of residents in higher social classes and a decrease in the proportion of residents in partly and unskilled occupations (mainly as a result of migration as presented in Chapter 5), the social class profiles of residents in coastal towns show a very different picture. The proportion of residents in the lowest social classes in these locations has been increasing since 1971. Throughout that period migrants to coastal towns had the lowest (or one of the lowest in 1981) proportion of individuals in professional and managerial occupations. That consistency in the social class structure of migrants contributed to the social composition in coastal towns. The social position of residents there also reflects the younger age structure of the population in urban areas (also among migrant residents) and the characteristics of the local labour market dominated by the tourist industry. It demonstrates, however, how large location specific differences can be and indicates the potential social problems in the coastal towns, which were described by Beatty and Forthergill (2004). The thesis shows that migration plays its part in contributing to the particular social composition of coastal resorts in Cornwall.

The main conclusion regarding the implications of migration is that the economic impacts of high population growth in rural 'amenity and recreation' areas are likely to be different from those to be found in other non-metropolitan communities. Due to the differences in the profile of migrants to the most attractive areas, the influence of migration also varies.

8.3.3 Relationship between housing and migration

The housing problem in rural areas is a well-researched issue. However, the thesis has contributed to a better understanding of the relationship between housing and migration, showing firstly that although according to Census data owner occupation in Cornwall since 1971 has been higher than in England and Wales, in 1971 the difference was due to the higher proportion of this tenure among the non-migrant population while in 2001 the non-migrant population had a lower proportion of home owners than in England and Wales, and thus the higher rates of owner occupation were an effect of migration. Secondly the argument that the effect of migration is location specific is also true in the context of housing. Older migrants in rural areas and their much greater housing wealth, even higher than the average migrant to Cornwall, aggravate the effect of migration on the housing situation in rural communities.

Housing need and affordability is a particularly sensitive issue and it can be a subject of governmental interventions. However, such developments as the Barker Review advising on changes in housing policies and emphasising the role of the supply side (which underestimate the influence of migration on the local housing markets) have caused local concerns over the effects of introducing such approaches. Fuller-Love et al (2006) argued that 'policies need to take account of the relations between society and economy, land use and housing, responding to community concerns' (p 147). These concerns in Cornwall often focus on growing population numbers, high number of in-migrants and continued out-migration of young people.

8.4 Local impact

The longitudinal analysis in the context of other information about the specific areas studied offer the potential to enhance local understanding of the impact and effects of migration. The thesis can deepen appreciation of the phenomenon of migration in and out of non-metropolitan environmentally attractive areas and can assist public sector institutions, notably Cornwall Council and the health authority, in their strategic planning and service provision. They understandably place considerable weight on population estimates and projections prepared by the Office for National Statistics but these do not draw on the LS. The evidence from this thesis shows that it may be complemented by longitudinal data.

After 1974 the county council assumed responsibility for preparing Structure Plans. More recently Regional Spatial Strategies have been introduced. Cornwall Council is consulted on these and the thesis may help in future work on that. It is also possible that county level strategic planning will return in future and the role of Cornwall Council will be strengthened. Local information will then become even more important.

Migration is such an important component of population change in Cornwall that more elaborated information about it can help to refine service planning. The thesis helps to explain changes to the demographic profiles of local communities in Cornwall. This is useful for planning services like housing and health care. Many of the most significant pressures on local services arise from aging of the population but these are also affected by specific local migration factors. The thesis shows that particular categories of migrants have significantly different age structures.

Another possible application regards to economic planning which has a major role for local and regional agencies including the South West Regional Development Agency. The thesis provides information on the long term effect of migration on economic activity rates. This includes comparison of the labour market participation rates of various groups of migrants. There may be potential to use the findings in the development of support for businesses in priority sectors that may be able to draw upon the skills pool of these migrants.

Moreover, Cornwall is one of the areas where an eco town is to be developed as a government initiative and planning for this is under way. The wider sustainable communities agenda of the government also encourages research into what the effects of population growth are likely to be.

Finally the fact that this thesis has been able to analyse out-migration is particularly important. Out-migrants are by definition more difficult to survey than in-migrants and information on their characteristics is very important. The changing profile of out-migrants, as analysed in the thesis, may help to indicate the economic policies that are needed, especially for young people if attempts are to be made to retain them.

8.5 Further research

There is a need for further exploration of the distinctive characteristics of population change in 'high amenity areas'. In this project a comparison of Cornwall and Cumbria, which was considered during the planning stages, was not proceeded with because Cumbria is so close to Scotland (migration to and from which cannot be captured by the LS) which could influence the definition of a migrant. However, further comparison between similar remote but highly attractive for tourism, rural counties would be beneficial in testing the hypothesis that environmental aspects influence the socio-economic characteristics of migrants to areas such as Cornwall. This comparison would be viable with the other sources of data, such as a possible future linking of the Scottish LS to that of England and Wales.

Another interesting issue is the role of the housing market in the process of migration, which is not yet fully understood. The housing market can influence lifestyle or economic motivation. A housing move can be a lifestyle choice or result from a decision to invest or release equity. Disentanglement of the elements of the choices in the housing market would enrich migration theory and is an interesting lead for further research.

A third area of interest which was not fully researched in this project is the histories of second-generation of in-migrants to Cornwall who left the county later in their lives. They form part of the out-migrants from Cornwall but it is believed that they form a distinct category. Particularly interesting are their housing histories and the influence of the inheritance of the housing wealth on their migration patterns. In this thesis an attempt was made to distinguish this group of migrants but it was not precise and the sample size was too small to justify more detailed analysis. The thesis includes some very limited information on that group in the section on repeat migrants (section 5.3.2).

It is also recognised that qualitative interviews with in-migrants could clarify further the hypotheses developed in this thesis on the basis of quantitative data. Such further work would help to distinguish between lifestyle and labour market factors related to migration and improve understanding of the labour market behaviour of in-migrants and the effect of their move on their social position.

Appendix 1 Glossary of terms related to population

LS sample - all LS members usually resident in Cornwall and Wiltshire in 1971, and/or 1981, and/or 1991, and/or 2001.

Resident population (Cornish residents) – those residents in Cornwall at some time in the study period. This would include both those who are ethnically Cornish and those that are not. It excludes visitors, armed forces and communal establishments except residential homes. (however staff in residential homes is excluded).

Non migrant population of Cornwall - individuals who were usually resident in 1971-2001 Censuses in Cornwall County, except the ones who in 1971 were recognised as migrants by the one year or five year migration indicator. AND Individuals age 1 day -10 years usually resident in Cornwall in 1981 who were not enumerated in the previous Census and were enumerated in Cornwall from that point. AND Individuals age 1 day -10 years usually resident in Cornwall in 1991 who were not enumerated in the previous Census and were enumerated in Cornwall from that point. AND Individuals age 1 day -10 years usually resident in Cornwall in 2001 who were not enumerated in the previous Census. AND Individuals who were usually resident in 1971 and 1981 Censuses in Cornwall county, except the ones who in 1971 were recognised as migrants by the one year or five year migration indicator and who were not enumerated from 1991 due to death. AND Individuals who were usually resident in 1971, 1981 and 1991 Censuses in Cornwall County, except the ones who in 1971 were recognised as migrants by the one year or five year migration indicator and who were not enumerated in Cornwall in 2001 due to death. AND Individuals who were usually resident in 1971 but died before 1981.

Long term migrants - individuals who were usually resident in 1971 in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were usually resident in 1981-2001 in Cornwall; and individuals who in 1971 were recognised as migrants by one year or five year migration indicator and were usually residents in 1971-2001 in Cornwall. AND Individuals who were usually resident in 1971 in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall (and individuals who in 1971 were recognised as migrants by one year or five year migration indicator), and were usually resident in 1981 in Cornwall; but were not enumerated in 1991 and 2001 due to death. AND Individuals who were usually resident in 1971 in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall (and individuals who in 1971 were recognised as migrants by one year or five year migration indicator), and were usually resident in 1981 and 1991 in Cornwall; but were not enumerated in 2001 due to death.

Medium term migrants - individuals who were usually resident in 1971 and/ or 1981 in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were usually resident in 1991 and 2001 in Cornwall AND Individuals who were usually resident in 1971 and/ or 1981 in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were usually resident in 1991 in Cornwall, but were not enumerated in 2001 due to death

Short term migrants - individuals who were usually resident in 1971 and/or 1981 and/or 1991 in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were usually resident in 2001 in Cornwall

Return migrants - individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971, but in 1981 were usually resident somewhere in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were again usually residents in 1991 and 2001 in Cornwall AND Individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971 and/or 1981, but 1991 were usually resident somewhere in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were again usually resident in 2001 in Cornwall AND Individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971, but in 1981 and 1991 were usually resident somewhere in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were again usually resident in 2001 in Cornwall AND Individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971, but in 1981 were usually resident somewhere in the United Kingdom but outside Cornwall, and were again usually residents in Cornwall in 1991, but were not enumerated in 2001 due to death

Out- migrants in the 1970s - individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971, and usually resident outside Cornwall in 1981- 2001 AND Individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971, and usually resident outside Cornwall in 1981, but were not enumerated in 1991 and 2001 due to death AND Individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971, and usually resident outside Cornwall in 1981 and 1991, but were not enumerated in 2001 due to death

Out-migrants in the 1980s - individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971 and/ or 1981, and usually resident outside Cornwall in 1991 and 2001. AND Individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971 and/ or 1981, and usually resident outside Cornwall in 1991, but were not enumerated in 2001 due to death

Out-migrants in the 1990s - individuals who were usually resident in Cornwall in 1971 and/ or 1981 and/ or 1991, and usually resident outside Cornwall in 2001

Repeat migrants - individuals who were usual residents outside Cornwall in 1971, in Cornwall in 1981, and out of Cornwall in 1991 and 2001 (or died by 2001) AND Individuals who were usual

residents outside Cornwall in 1971, in Cornwall in 1981 and 1991, and out of Cornwall in 2001.
 AND Individuals who were usual residents outside Cornwall in 1971 and/or 1981, in Cornwall in 1991 and out of Cornwall in 2001.

The mirror groups for sample 1-9 of non-migrants and migrants to/ from Wiltshire between 1971-2001.

Graphical representation of the definitions

IN – enumerated as usual resident in Cornwall/ Wiltshire

OUT - enumerated as usual resident outside Cornwall/ Wiltshire

Definitions of in-migrants				
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Long-term migrants- late 1960s	IN but identified as a migrant on the basis of 1 or 5-year migration question	IN	IN or died	IN or died
Long-term migrants- 1970s	OUT	IN	IN or died	IN or died
Medium-term migrants	OUT or not born	OUT	IN	IN or died
Short-term migrants	OUT or not born	OUT or not born	OUT	IN

Definitions of out-migrants				
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Out-migrants 1970s	IN	OUT	OUT or died	OUT or died
Out-migrants 1980s	IN or not born	IN	OUT	OUT or died
Out-migrants 1990s	IN or not born	IN or not born	IN	OUT

Definition of return migrants				
1971	1981	1991	2001	
IN	OUT	IN	IN or died	or
IN	OUT	OUT	IN	or
IN or not born	IN	OUT	IN	

Definition of repeat migrants				
1971	1981	1991	2001	
OUT	IN	OUT	OUT or died	or
OUT	IN	IN	OUT	or
OUT or not born	OUT	IN	OUT	

Appendix 2 Cornwall Area Type Classification – look-up table

Legend

IR- inland rural

ST- small town and industrial areas

IT- main inland town

CT- main costal town

CR- costal rural

Dis- trict	Panish	Classified '01	Classified '91	Classified '81	Classified '71	Discrepancy
C	ANTONY	CR	CR	CR	CR	
A	BOCONNOC	CR	CR	CR	CR	
R	BOTUSFLEMING	IR	IR	IR	IR	
A	BROADOAK	CR	CR	CR	CR	
D	CALLINGTON	ST	ST	ST	ST	
O	CALSTOCK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
N	DEVIOCK	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	DOBWALLS AND TREWIDLAND	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	DULOE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LANDRAKE WITH ST ERNEY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LANDULPH	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LANREATH	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LANSALLOS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LANTEGLOS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LINKINHORNE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LISKEARD	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	LOOE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	MAKER WITH RAME	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	MENHENIOT	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	MILLBROOK	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	MORVAL	IR	CR	CR	CR	Population in 2001- 616 persons
	PELYNT	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PILLATON	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	QUETHIOCK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	SALTASH	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	SHEVIOCK	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST CLEER	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST DOMINICK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST GERMANS	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST IVE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST JOHN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST KEYNE	IR	CR	IR	IR	Population in 2001- 486 persons
	ST MARTIN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST MELLION	IR	IR	IR	IR	

	ST.NEOT	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.PINNOCK	IR	CR	CR	CR	Population in 2001-621 persons
	ST.VEEP	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.WINNOW	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	SOUTH HILL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TORPOINT	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	WARLEGGAN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
C	CHACEWATER	IT	IT	IT	IT	
A	CUBERT	CR	CR	CR	CR	
R	CUBY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
R	FALMOUTH	CT	CT	CT	CT	
I	FEOCK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
C	GERRANS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
K	GWENNAP	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	KEA	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	KENWYN	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	LADOCK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	MYLOR	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	NEWLYN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PENRYN	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	PERRANARWORTHAL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	PERRANZABULOE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PHILLEIGH	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PROBUS	IR	IR	IR	IR	
		CR	IR	IR	IR	Population in 2001-250 persons
	RUANLANIHORNE					
	ST AGNES	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST ALLEN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST CLEMENT	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST ERME	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST JUST IN ROSELAND	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST MICHAEL PENKEVIL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TREGONEY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TRURO	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	VERYAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
K	BREAGE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
E	BUDOCK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
R	CAMBORNE	IT	IT	IT	IT	
R	CARN BREA	ST	ST	ST	ST	
I	CARHARRACK	ST	ST	ST	ST	
E	CONSTANTINE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
R	CROWAN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	CURY	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	GERMOE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	GRADE-RUAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	GUNWALLOE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	GWEEK	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	HELSTON	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	ILLOGAN	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	LANDEWEDNACK	CR	CR	CR	CR	

	LANNER	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	MABE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	MANACCAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	MAWGAN-IN-MENEAGE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	MAWNAN	CR	IR	IR	IR	Population in 2001- 1454 persons
	MULLION	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PORTHLEVEN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PORTREATH	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	REDRUTH	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	ST ANTHONY-IN-MENEAGE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST DAY	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST GLUVIAS	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST KEVERNE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST MARTIN-IN-MENEAGE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	SITHNEY	CR	IR	IR	IR	Population in 2001- 767 persons
	STITHIANS	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	WENDRON	IR	IR	IR	IR	
N	ADVENT	IR	IR	IR	IR	
O	ALTARNUN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
R	BLISLAND	IR	IR	IR	IR	
T	BODMIN	IT	IT	IT	IT	
H	BOYTON	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	BUDE- STRATTON	CT	CT	CT	CT	
C	CAMELFORD	IR	IR	IR	IR	
O	CARDINHAM	IR	IR	IR	IR	
R	DAVIDSTOW	IR	CR	CR	CR	Population in 2001- 470 persons
N	EGLOSHAYLE	IR	ST	ST	ST	Population in 2001- 371 persons
W	EGLOSKERRY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
A	FORRABURY AND MINSTER	CR	CR	CR	CR	
L	HELLAND	IR	IR	IR	IR	
L	JACOBSTOW	IR	CR	CR	CR	Population in 2001- 421 persons
	KILKHAMPTON	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LANEAST	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LANHYDROCK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LANIVET	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LAWHITTON RURAL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LAUNCELLS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LAUNCESTON	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	LESNEWTH	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	LEWANNICK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	LEZANT	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	MARHAMCHURCH	CR	IR	IR	IR	Population in 2001- 754 persons
	MICHAELSTOW	CR	IR	IR	IR	Population in 2001- 199 persons
	MORWENSTOW	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	NORTH HILL	IR	IR	IR	IR	

	NORTH PETHERWIN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	NORTH TAMERTON	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	OTTERHAM	IR	CR	CR	CR	Population in 2001-228 persons
	PADSTOW	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	POUNDSTOCK	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.BREOCK	IR	ST	ST	ST	Population in 2001-703 persons
	ST.BREWARD	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.CLEATHER	IR	CR	CR	CR	Population in 2001-149 persons
	ST.ENDELLION	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.ERVAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.EVAL	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.GENNYNS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.ISSEY	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.JULIOT	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.KEW	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.MABYN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.MERRYIN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.MINVER HIGHLANDS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.MINVER LOWLANDS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.STEPHENS BY LAUNCESTON RURAL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.TEATH	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.THOMAS THE APOSTLE RURAL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST.TUDY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	SOUTH PETHERWIN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	STOKECLIMSLAND	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TINTAGEL	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	TREMAINE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TRENEGLOS	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TRESMEER	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	TREVALGA	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	TREWEN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	WADEBRIDGE	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	WARBSTOW	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	WEEK ST.MARY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	WERRINGTON	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	WHITSTONE	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	WITHIEL	IR	IR	IR	IR	
P	GWINEAR-GWITHIAN	ST	ST	ST	ST	
E	HAYLE	ST	ST	ST	ST	
N	LUDGVAN	IR	IR	IR	IR	
W	MADRON	IR	IR	IR	IR	
I	MARAZION	CR	CR	CR	CR	
T	MORVAH	ST	IR	IR	IR	
H	PAUL	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	PENZANCE	CT	CT	CT	CT	
	PERRANUTHNOE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.BURYAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST.ERTH	IR	IR	IR	IR	

	ST HILARY	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST IVES	CT	CT	CT	CT	
	ST JUST	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST LEVAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST MICHAEL'S MOUNT	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	SANCREED	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	SENNEN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	TOWEDNACK	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ZENNOR	IR	IR	IR	IR	
R	COLAN	CT	CT	IR	IR	
E	CRANTOCK	CT	CT	CT	CT	
S	FOWEY	ST	ST	ST	ST	
T	GRAMPOUND WITH CREED	CR	CR	CR	CR	
O	LANLIVERY	ST	ST	ST	ST	
R	LOSTWITHIEL	ST	ST	ST	ST	
M	LUXULYAN	ST	ST	ST	ST	
E	MAWGAN-IN-PYDAR	IR	IR	IR	IR	
L	MEVAGISSEY	CR	CR	ST	CR	
	NEWQUAY	CT	CT	CT	CT	
	ROCHE	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST AUSTELL unparished area	IT	IT	IT	IT	
	ST BLAISE	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST COLUMB MAJOR	IR	IR	IR	IR	
	ST DENNIS	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST ENODER	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST EWE	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST GORAN	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST MEWAN	ST/CR	ST	CR	ST	
	ST MICHAEL CAERHAYS	CR	CR	CR	CR	
	ST SAMPSON	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST STEPHEN-IN-BRANNEL	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	ST WENN	ST	IR	IR	IR	Population in 2001-335 persons
	TREVERBYN	ST	ST	ST	ST	
	TYWARDREATH WITH PAR	ST	ST	ST	ST	
I	BRYHER	CR	CR	CR	CR	
S	ST AGNES	CR	CR	CR	CR	
L	ST MARTIN'S	CR	CR	CR	CR	
E	ST MARY'S	CR	CR	CR	CR	
S	TRESCO	CR	CR	CR	CR	

Appendix 3: Comparison of Census and LS data - age distribution in 2001 in different area types

The data from the full Census show slightly smaller differences between the age profiles of residents in various types of communities in Cornwall. However, all of the propositions discussed in the thesis are supported which means that the argument based on the LS data is valid.

Age structure of residents of various area types calculated on the basis of Census data.

Census %	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
IR	11	12	7	13	14	17	12	14
ST	12	13	10	14	13	14	11	13
MIT	12	13	11	14	13	14	10	13
MCT	11	12	11	12	12	15	11	16
CR	10	11	8	11	12	17	13	18

Age structure of residents of various area types calculated on the basis of ONS Longitudinal Study, which is 1% of Census records.

LS %	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
IR	12	15	5	11	14	17	13	13
ST	15	15	8	13	12	13	11	13
MIT	15	15	11	12	13	11	10	13
MCT	13	13	11	10	11	15	11	16
CR	13	14	8	9	10	15	11	20

Appendix 4 Irregularities group

Irregularities group were individuals excluded from the sample due to unexplained missingness pattern.

Legend:

-9 – missing records at the particular Census

1 – present at the particular Census, records for the individual are available

Table 1 Patterns of missingness

'71	'81	'91	'01	Cornwall frequencies	Wiltshire frequencies
-9	-9	-9	1	172	297
-9	-9	1	-9	21	23
-9	1	-9	-9	55	45
-9	1	1	1	103	147
-9	1	1	-9	17	26
-9	-9	1	1	2	0

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 2 Summary of the patterns of missingness

Irregularities Group:	Cornwall	Wiltshire
present only at one census point	65.9%	67.8%
missing only in 1971	26.9%	26.9%
other irregularities	7.2%	5.2%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Some additional analyses were performed in order to learn more about individuals who were excluded from the sample, test the hypothesis that they are migrants from outside England and Wales and compare them with those who were included in the sample (Analysis Group). The results of these tests were not included in the main body of the thesis.

Table 3 Proportion of ethnic minorities in Cornwall

Cornwall	White British	Other Ethnic Groups
Irregularities Group		
present only at one census point	80%	20%
missing only in 1971	96.3%	3.7%
Analysis Group	98.1%	1.9%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 4 Proportion of ethnic minorities in Wiltshire

Wiltshire	White British	Other Ethnic Groups
Irregularities Group		
present only at one census point	69.4%	30.6%
missing only in 1971	89.5%	10.5%
Analysis Group	96.9%	3.1%

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 5 Born outside England and Wales in Cornwall

Cornwall	Born England & Wales	Born elsewhere
Irregularities Group		
present only at one census point	67.6%	32.4%
missing only in 1971	89.8%	10.2%
Analysis Group	96.1%	3.9%

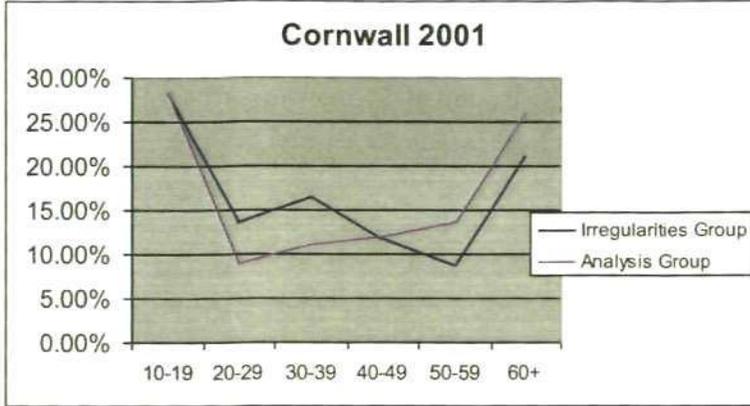
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Table 6 Born outside England and Wales in Irregularities Group in Wiltshire

Wiltshire	Born England & Wales	Born elsewhere
Irregularities Group		
present only at one census point	47.9%	52.1%
missing only in 1971	74.8%	25.2%
Analysis Group	93.8%	6.2%

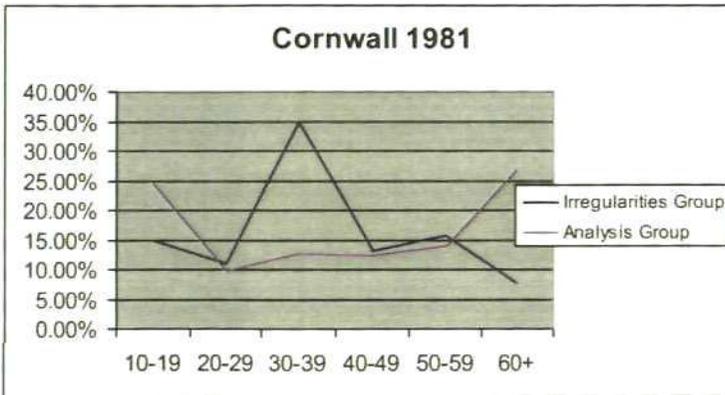
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Figure1. Enumerated only in 2001- age distribution in 2001 (Cornwall)



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Figure2. Not enumerated only in 1971- age distribution in 1981 (Cornwall)



Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

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