

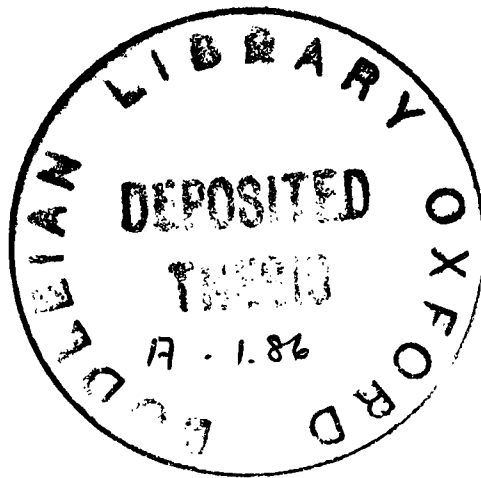
Rural settlement within the hinterland
of conurbations: case studies from
Staffordshire and Hampshire.✓

by

Sarah Harper

St Catherines College

Oxford



A Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1985

Rural settlement within the hinterland of conurbations:
case studies from Staffordshire and Hampshire

Sarah Harper

St. Catherine's College

D.Phil.

Trinity Term 1985

The post war years have seen a steady flow of immigration into the rural hinterlands of conurbations, emanating both from the surrounding rural areas and from the urban complexes themselves. By 1981 over one fifth of Britain's population was resident in a rural district, the majority falling within zones close to urban centres. This study, based on one year's participant observation in seven settlements within southern Staffordshire, part of the rural hinterland of the West Midlands Conurbation, and southern Hampshire, adjacent to the Southampton - Portsmouth axis, the South Hampshire Conurbation, assesses this process. Using the technique of Cluster Analysis, three broad groupings of settlement are identified: the small agricultural settlement, the urbanised commuter village, and settlements in a process of transition between the two. The development of the case settlements, representatives of these three groupings, is assessed in relation to their historical and geographical context, with emphasis being placed on land tenure and local planning policy. An analysis is undertaken of the "hinterland population", the diverse populations now resident within the rural hinterlands. Nine broad groupings emerge from this population, identifiable with reference to socio-economic characteristics and ways of life, and these are examined in relation to their use, their environments, social networks and patterns of behaviour, and perceptions of their place of residence. These groups are represented in various proportions within each settlement type, in relation to the dominant housing class found there. As a result a variety of community forms are seen to be developing, with a polarisation of settlements along class lines. Running concurrently with this, two theoretical concepts are introduced based on the approach of Symbolic Interactionism. These are the Triadic Relationship, and Place Centredness, which provide a more humanistic framework for the analysis. The inclusion of these concepts enables an assessment to be made of the notions of "rurality" and "truly rural population".

Rural settlement within the hinterland of conurbations:
case studies from Staffordshire and Hampshire

Sarah Harper

St. Catherine's College

D.Phil.

Trinity Term 1985

The post war years have seen a steady flow of immigration into the rural hinterlands of conurbations, emanating both from the surrounding rural areas and from the urban complexes themselves. By 1981 over one fifth of Britain's population was resident in a rural district, the majority falling within zones close to urban centres. The adventitious population, however, differs markedly from the indigenous people, in the case of their environment, their social relationships, and their attitudes towards their surroundings. This study, based on one year's participant observation in seven settlements within southern Staffordshire, part of the rural hinterland of the West Midlands Conurbation, and southern Hampshire, adjacent to the Southampton - Portsmouth axis, the South Hampshire conurbation, assess this process, the resultant population mix and the emerging settlement types. Using the technique of Cluster Analysis, three broad groupings of settlement are identified based on settlement size, property tenure and the age profile of the population: the small agricultural settlement, the urbanised commuter village, and settlements in a process of transition between the two. The development of the case settlements, representatives of these three groupings, is assessed in relation to their historical and geographical context, with particular emphasis being placed on the influence of land tenure and local planning policy. An analysis is undertaken of the "hinterland population", a clarification of the characteristics of the diverse populations now resident within the rural hinterlands, stemming from factors of housing employment and social motives. Nine broad groupings emerge from this population, identifiable with reference to socio-economic characteristics and ways of life, and these are examined in relation to their environments, social networks and patterns of behaviour, and perceptions of their place of residence. These groups are represented in various proportions within each settlement type, in relation to the dominant housing class found there. As a result a variety of community forms are seen to be developing, with polarisation of settlements along class lines. The resultant communities are assessed in relation to status allocation, inter and intra group interaction, and the shift in power from one landlord to the community itself. Running concurrently with this, two theoretical concepts are introduced based on the approach of Symbolic Interactionism. These are the Triadic Relationship, and Place Centredness, which provide a more humanistic

framework for the analysis. The Triadic Relationship suggests that each individual possesses three reciprocal relationships with his/her surroundings. The physical relationship, the settlement as a place of work, rest and residence, the individual's environment; the social relationship, the settlement as a place of friend and kinship networks, and social interaction, the individual's Milieu; and the symbolic relationship, the empathic, interpretative relationship, an individual's Ambience. Owing to the maintenance of these relationships within, or the dispersal from, the place of residence, the rural settlement will reveal varying degrees of "centredness". The spectrum of hinterland settlements here identified is placed within this framework in relation to their degree of centredness and assessed as centred, non centred, or partially centred places. The inclusion of these concepts enables an assessment to be made of the notions of "rurality" and "truly rural population".

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgements	i
List of Tables	ii
List of Figures	iii
List of Maps	iv
PART ONE	THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT
Chapter 1	The Biography of the landscape of the rural community;: an overview of various perspectives 1
Chapter 2	A Humanistic Approach to the Rural Community 73
2.1	Humanistic Geography 76
2.2	The practise of participant-observation and extended interviewing as field research 81
2.2.1	The field work 83
2.2.2	Participant observation in practice 88
PART TWO	THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT
Chapter 3	A spectrum of settlements in urbanizing hinterlands 101
3.1	Introduction of the two case areas: South Staffordshire and South Hampshire 101
3.2	The selection of the case study settlements 110
3.3	Cluster Analysis of rural settlements 114
3.3.1	The Variables 115
3.3.2	The Technique 118
3.3.3	The Resultant Clusters 123
Chapter 4	The Demographic and Planning framework 139
4.1	The growth of the suburbs and the suburbanization of rural settlements 139
4.2	Demographic growth and planning objectives: a contextual framework 145
4.2.1	Southern Staffordshire 147
4.2.2	Southern Hampshire 159

		<u>Page</u>
PART THREE	THE PLACE	
Chapter 5	The case study settlements	181
5.1	The Development of the Case Study Villages	182
5.1.1	The Estate Villages	182
5.1.2	The Growth Villages	192
5.1.3	The Metropolitan Villages	200
5.2	The residential growth of closed and open villages	213
Chapter 6	A framework of Typologies	223
6.1	The Typology of housing	224
6.2	The Typology of residents	234
6.3	Settlement selection by Group	240
PART FOUR	THE PEOPLE	
Chapter 7	The emergence of the residential groups	247
7.1	The emergence and verification of the nine groups	248
7.2	Characteristics of the groups	253
Chapter 8	The context of immigration	264
8.1	Residential mobility	264
8.2	The decision process of the incomers	269
8.2.1	The Mobile Incomers	272
8.2.2	The Restricted Incomers	298
8.3	The relocation pattern of the Incomers	305
PART FIVE	PEOPLE WITHIN PLACE	
Chapter 9	A theoretical framework	320
9.1	The approach of symbolic interactionism	321
9.2	The Triadic Relationship of People and Place	326
Chapter 10	The Physical Relationship	332
10.1	Employment patterns within and beyond Place	333
10.1.1	The occupation and work place of the male residents	333
10.1.2	The occupation and work place of the female residents	339

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I should like to thank the SSRC for financial support for this research.

I am grateful to the Office of Population Census and Statistics at Fareham, in particular to Celia Curtis. My particular thanks to Dr. Peter Donnelly, for his advice and encouragement concerning the Cluster Analysis of Chapter 3; and to Kate Barnard, Senior Planning Officer, Hampshire County Council, and John Perry, Chief Planning Officer, South Staffordshire District Planning Office, for their comments and advice on Chapter 4.

My special thanks go to the typists, Daphne Harper, who typed most of the thesis, with Brenda Willowby and Jenny Whareham.

I must also thank the residents of East Tisted, Weston under Lizard, Cheriton, Bradley, Rowlands Castle, Wheaton Aston and Acton Trussell, for their warm response to my investigations. In particular my gratitude goes to Bobby Shakelton for her hospitality, and to Freddie, for his insights into Hampshire life.

Finally I should like to thank my supervisors, Dr Michael Williams and the late Professor John House, for their encouragement, inspiration and advice.

List of Tables

2.1	Breakdown of interviewing schedule per settlement p.85
3.1	Principal components for Staffordshire p.120
3.2	Principal components for Hampshire p.121
3.3	Cluster averages for Staffordshire p.125
3.4	Cluster averages for Hampshire p.128
3.5	Characteristics of case study villages p.131
6.1	House type preference by group p.238
6.2	Breakdown of the population mix of each settlement type p.241
6.3	Breakdown of each settlement with respect of its population mix p.242
6.4	Percentage of each group within each case settlement p.243
7.1	The nine groups by age structure p.255
7.2	The nine groups by social classes p.256
7.3	The nine groups by length of residence p.257
8.1	Distance moved from past place of residence p.306
8.2	Urban/rural background of Incomers p.308
8.3	Number of moves made by household since its formation p.309
10.1	Distance travelled to work by economically active males by group p.334
10.2	Occupation of males by group p.335
10.3	Occupation of females by group p.340
10.4	Full-time/part-time employment of economically active females by group p.341
10.5	Distance travelled to work by economically active females by group p.342
10.6	Distance travelled to work by employed males and females p.346
10.7	Usage of village consumer facilities
10.8	Distance in miles travelled for main shop
10.9	Percentage of households with at least one member regularly using a public bus service p.352
10.10	Attendance at village school p.261
10.11	Patterns of church attendance p.268
11.1	Area of main friendship contact for male householders p.283
11.2	Area of main friendship contact for female householders p.284
11.3	Tenant kinship network p.415
11.4	Council kinship network p.417
11.5	Local kinship network p.421
11.6	PRG kinship network p.425
11.7	Spiralist kinship network p.432
11.8	Origens kinship network p.436
11.9	Long term kinship network p.439
11.10	RLA kinship network p.443
11.11	Retired kinship network p.446
11.12	Place where leisure time is generally passed p.453
11.13	Activity typically perceived as leisure p.454

List of Figures

- 3.1 Broad categorisation of rural settlements p.113
- 3.2 Metropolitan II villages p.113
- 3.3 Characteristics of Clusters for Staffordshire p.124
- 3.4 Characteristics of Clusters for Hampshire p.127
- 3.5 Scatter diagram for Staffordshire p.132
- 3.6 Scatter diagram for Hampshire p.133
- 5.1 The residential growth of closed and open rural settlements p.215
- 6.1 Classification of settlement property p.226
- 6.2 Property distribution for each settlement type p.227
- 6.3 Property distribution in the two Estate villages p.230
- 6.4 Property distribution in the two Growth villages p.230
- 6.5 Property distribution in the two Metropolitan villages p.232
- 6.6 Property distribution in the Metropolitan I village p.232
- 6.7 Breakdown of population p.235
- 6.8 Numerical breakdown of population p.235
- 7.1 Degree of internal and external identification of the nine groups p.254
- 8.1 The decision process of the Incomers p.271
- 8.2 The decision process of the PRG p.276
- 8.3 The decision process of the Spiralist p.280
- 8.4 The decision process of the Origens p.283
- 8.5 The decision process of the Long Term p.287-288
- 8.6 The decision process of the RLA p.292
- 8.7 The decision process of the Retired p.295-296
- 11.1 Definition of friendship p.380
- 13.1 The Triadic Relationship I p.525
- 13.2 The Triadic Relationship II p. 525
- 13.3 Place Centredness p.528

List of maps

- 3.1 The local government districts in Staffordshire prior to 1974 p.103
- 3.2 The case-area of Staffordshire in relation to post 1974 local government districts p.105
- 3.3 The Staffordshire fieldwork area p.106
- 3.4 The local government districts in Hampshire prior to 1974 p.107
- 3.5 The case area of Hampshire in relation to post 1974 local government districts p.108
- 3.6 The Hampshire fieldwork area p.109
- 3.7 The distribution of the Hampshire Clusters p.135
- 3.8 The distribution of the Staffordshire Clusters p.136
- 4.1 Green Belts, Britain p.142
- 4.2 Settlements selected for development in 1967 p.152
- 4.3 The 'Corridor' p.165
- 4.4 Structure plan areas in Hampshire p.169
- 5.1 The settlement of East Tisted p.183
- 5.2 The settlement of Weston under Lizard p.184
- 5.3 The development of East Tisted p.188
- 5.4 The development of Weston under Lizard p.191
- 5.5 The settlement of Cheriton p.193
- 5.6 The development of Cheriton p.195
- 5.7 The settlement of Bradley p.197
- 5.8 The development of Bradley p.199
- 5.9 The settlement of Rowlands Castle p.201
- 5.10 The development of Rowlands Castle p.203
- 5.11 The settlement of Wheaton Aston p.206
- 5.12 The development of Wheaton Aston p.207
- 5.13 The settlement of Acton Trussell p.210
- 5.14 The development of Acton Trussell p.212
- 8.1 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of East Tisted p.310
- 8.2 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of Weston under Lizard p.311
- 8.3 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of Cheriton p.312
- 8.4 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of Bradley p.313
- 8.5 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of Rowlands Castle p.314
- 8.6 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of Wheaton Aston p.315
- 8.7 Last place of residence of the inhabitants of Acton Trussell p.326
- 10.1 Place of work, Tenants Hampshire Between pages 346-347
- 10.2 Place of work, Tenants Staffordshire
- 10.3 Place of work, Council Hampshire
- 10.4 Place of work, Council Staffordshire
- 10.5 Place of work, Locals Hampshire
- 10.6 Place of work, Locals Staffordshire
- 10.7 Place of work, PRG Hampshire
- 10.8 Place of work, PRG Staffordshire
- 10.9 Place of work, Spiralists Hampshire
- 10.10 Place of work, Spiralists Staffordshire
- 10.11 Place of work, Origens Hampshire
- 10.12 Place of work, Origens Staffordshire
- 10.13 Place of work, Long Term Hampshire
- 10.14 Place of work, Long Term Staffordshire
- 10.15 Place of work, RLA Hampshire
- 10.16 Place of work, RLA Staffordshire

P A R T O N E

THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1

The biography of the landscape of the rural community: an overview of various perspectives.

Every landscape has a biography; thus

every 'geography' reveals the often hidden reference points meaningful to its geographer. Just as maps entail the bias of projection, so too are 'geographies' made in the wake of 'an upsurge in a determined point of view'.

M.S.Samuels (1)

Such geographies and their associated points of view form the material for this synopsis. Its approach is historical. Overviews can be thematic, bound by space or time, evolved through individual authors or geographical area; but it was an historical approach which itself emerged from the literature. The implicit theme is the development of awareness and the influence of contemporary concepts surrounding the analysis for

everyones' landscape is a reference to a geography already given. (2)

Controlled by the confines of the study the overview is restricted to British research (including southern Ireland) and to the study of the rural community and the effects of urbanisation upon that community. As such, a substantial literature on the remote rural area and rural depopulation is largely ignored. Similarly studies beyond Britain are referred to only as adjuncts to the main subjects of concern, or where they are perceived as having an important contextual influence within the British analysis.

With reference to more than one vantage point, the overview forms a biography of the landscape of the rural community.

The analysis of that biography may be either backward from an already given landscape to

particular individuals or groups, or forward from the latter toward landscape articulation. In both cases, the concern is to identify the sources of a landscape and the meanings that landscape conveys (3).

Mindful that the biography of a landscape may tell us as much about its author as about the place itself we turn to

one of the first community studies of a complex west European rural society (4).

A model of rural equilibrium

Our commencing point is the study by Arensburg and Kimball of small scale subsistence farming in Co. Clare, Ireland, during the 1930s (5). Whether deserving the title 'pioneering study' (6) it was indeed the first time anthropologists had attempted to analyse a British community using the functionalist approach developed in primitive Southern hemisphere communities (7). Explicitly placing the ethnographic analysis within the structural-functionalist school, Arensburg and Kimball set out to discover

what they could learn to help them to an explanation of the uniformities of human action by following the influence of one kind of human culture upon another (8),

and with this theme in mind located a culture which was likely to respond to their approach. Though strongly criticised since for its limited scope (9), the contribution of this monograph was substantial: it established the structural-functionalist school as a forerunner of British community studies, and more significantly, it introduced a model of rural equilibrium which was to remain unquestioned for thirty years. It is the formation and structure of this model which will form the focus of attention.

A main aim of the analysis was to contradict a current

sociological thesis that human action was directed by the pursuance of economic goals:

whatever makes the country people act as they do it is not poverty alone (10),

rather economic activity was bound up with kin networks and obligations. Country people were thus portrayed as different, exhibiting characteristics and relationships unidentified among urban dwellers. (We shall return to this theme later in greater detail) (11). To substantiate this hypothesis an intensive observation of three small rural communities was combined with statistical information from agricultural returns and census, which in itself provides a valuable contribution. Detailed description of the small farm economy and division of labour stand alongside accounts of the occupational structure and market economy, all intrinsically intertwined with kinship relations and descent patterns, and bound together by emotional sentiment, unaltering over time:

the small farm economy is a family situation in which economic effort, individual and co-operative, is controlled by the social forces operative within the family....enforced through obligations reciprocal in nature and maintained by sentiments and sanctions in a traditional setting (12).

It is these obligations, sentiments and sanctions which form the keystone to the concept of equilibrium.

In examining their perceptions of a stable community the authors describe three main threats to such stability:

emigration, marriage and inheritance. Yet those migrating:

do not leave the family, they stay within the bonds of kinship.... confined within the web of interest and sentiment (13),

and marriage, through its association with a complex system of land transference, performs

a definite function of reorganisation and recrystallization in the group (14).

Furthermore the stable state not only survives such premises but is the very cause and response to them. Depopulation for instance is but

a movement arising from the effect of all the causes economic distress and political disturbance upon a family system whose very nature predisposed it to disperse population and which could therefore, accommodate itself to that dispersal when it occurred (15).

Thus Arenberg and Kimball concluded that this system

implies a state of equilibrium in which elements are in mutual dependence.... since the elements are woven into a common whole, the effect of the change is soon dissipated. The system reverts to its former state. It may be said to have thus an equilibrium which it regains after each disturbance (16).

It is this concept of equilibrium which, having been 'rigorously tested' within the confines of its creators' study, was to be almost unquestioningly adopted by British community ethnographers, with the result that for nearly thirty years community life was to be perceived as operating within a framework of stable, corrective influences:

The forces operative within that structure are of such a nature as to allow the society of which they are a part to continue to function in essentially similar fashion through the welter of economic, political and other events which have impinged upon the human beings who have successively filled the structure. Likewise the structure is capable of continued and virile existence in the present, governing the lives of the component individual and modifying itself to take in new influences (17).

That such a model should remain untested is less surprising when one considers that for nearly a century students of the community failed to query (18) the second major influence of the time: Tönnies concept of Gemeinschaft and Gessellschaft (19), which, though undoubtedly a significant theme within the work of Arensburg and Kimball, has so far been only implicit in our

analysis. Introducing equilibrium into our own work to this we now turn.

Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft.

Though the notion of Tönnies as the founding father of rural sociology (20) has recently been questioned (21), his dichotomy of Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft was undoubtedly responsible for shaping the mould from which early rural community monographs emerged (22). It is thus important to briefly consider Tönnies' concepts. Gemeinschaft (we shall adopt the translation Community) (23) is built on close human relationships developed through kinship, linked to place through a common habitat, and sharing co-operation and co-ordinated action for a common good. These three elements Gemeinschaft, by blood, of locality, and of mind create

the truly human and supreme form of community and are expressed through kinship, neighbourhood and friendship, all three being closely related in space as well as time (24). Within this state, status is ascriptive, roles are specific and constant, culture is homogenous and the people bound to place through mutual understanding, sentimentality, hopes, aspirations, beliefs and emotions (25). In contrast, in its polar opposite, Gesellschaft (translated as Society or Association), which arises as populations industrialise (26),

we find no actions that can be derived from an 'a priori' and necessarily existing unity; no actions therefore, which manifest the will and the spirit of the unity even if performed by the individual; no actions which, in so far as they are performed by the individual, take place on behalf of those united with him (27).

This results in impersonal ties and relationships based on formal exchange and contract (28).

Though these concepts provide a valuable paradigm for research, it is their subsequent distortion which has aroused substantial criticism. For while Tönnies presented themes for analysis, their later identification with particular forms of settlement resulted in the concepts being generally perceived as actual social structures. Tönnies himself, can be held partly responsible for this identification as he did indeed suggest that the rural village most fully embodied Gemeinschaft (29) while Gesellschaft emerged strongest in the city (30). However he fundamentally regarded the concepts as a dichotomous association, present in varying degrees in all types of social structures. It was the later analysts who completed the indoctrination (31) process by firmly positioning Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft within a strict rural-urban continuum; primarily Simmel (32) and Wirth (33) at the urban end, Sorokin and Zimmerman (34) and Redfield (35) at the rural end. Once these broad social ideals had been accepted a plethora of community studies emerged, their general intention to verify the climate of individual communities in relation to the established criteria. As Olson (36) points out, very few concerned themselves with examining these theoretical propositions themselves; rather they accepted that rural populations were different from other groups (37), producing sometimes convoluted explanations to account for unsuspected discrepancies in their data (38). As we shall see, early British monographs were not immune from such behaviour.

It is however, suggested that this preoccupation of rural researchers in establishing the Gemeinschaft of their community, can prove a valuable tool for analysis, thus bystepping the inherent problem of these early rural monographs of specificity and lack of comparability (39). This tool will be used to synthesise three major works, generally perceived as providing

a basis for British rural community analysis, for it is argued that as the Arensburg and Kimball study, Rees' work on the parish of Llanfihangel yng Nghwynfa in Montgomeryshire (40), and Williams's analysis of a Cumberland parish, Gosforth (41) were all substantially influenced by the work of Tönnies (42), such elements of Gemeinschaft which explicitly emerge throughout these monographs can be exploited as a focus for analysis and comparison.

All three authors firmly grounded their assessment on the concept of the family as the primary social and economic unit:

The form of community and the lives of its members could not be understood apart from the lives of relations among persons bound by blood which country people exhibit. (Arensburg and Kimball) (43).

The high degree of physical consanguinity which is characteristic of Gosforth provides a biological basis for a complete and important network of social relationships. (Williams) (44).

An analysis of the structure of a community of this kind must begin with the family, which is not only the primary social group but also the unit of economic production. (Rees) (45);

thus while both Williams and Rees acknowledge the presence of some form of status system beyond the family, Williams, examining his in great detail (46), the classes at Gosforth are described as interactional rather than ascriptive (47), and dissected by the network of kinship, and Rees perceives class distinction as being

comparatively weak in Llanfihangel and it never interferes with free intercourse between individuals and families (48)

The internal components of this kinship system are examined in detail. Both Arensburg and Williams produce accounts of inheritance by keeping the 'name on the land' in County Clare (49) and 'the retention of the holding within the family' in Gosforth (50). These patterns, with their emphasis on paternal

authority, strongly reflected Tönnies assertion that

the first-born has a natural preference; he(51) is closest to the father and will occupy the place which the ageing father leaves.... Thus the idea of an ever renewed vital force finds its expression in the continuous succession of fathers and sons (52).

Thus in both County Clare and Cumberland marriage is delayed and parental authority dominant until death (53) and in Llanfihangel the spirit of the old tribal society

lives on in the cohesion and paternalism of the present-day family. This survival has been ensured by the hereditary nature of the farmers' craft (54),

and in all cases kinship acts as a mode of social control (55).

Similarly, migration from rural areas in Ireland, as previously described, does not break the bonds of kinship (56) for as Tönnies describes

the will and spirit of kinship is not confined within the walls of the house, nor bound up with physical proximity.... it can live on by itself, thrive on memory alone and overcome any distance by its feeling and its imagination and of nearness and common activity (57).

This concept of the house as contributing the 'realm' and 'the body of kinship' (58) is duplicated throughout the monographs, resulting in graphic descriptions of the homestead, 'the social centre of the community' (59) which 'links existing members of the family with those of the past through the symbolism of heirlooms' (60).

However it is in the authors' analysis of change that the dichotomous concepts of Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft are most apparent. There can be few more appropriate illustrations of Tönnies perception of 'human relationships and associations' as 'living organisms' (61) than Rees' account of Llanfihangel where

every person counts as part of the social organism and when one dies or leaves the hamlet he is missed

by the whole community, a sense of incompleteness lingers on as though an organism has lost a limb (62).

Yet it is a community threatened by the encroaching world beyond, so that it is slowly creeping towards a state of *Gesellschaft*, which has arisen due to

The failure of the urban world to give its inhabitants status and significance in a functioning society and their consequent disintegration into formless masses of rootless nonentities (63).

For Williams, change and process are more implicit within his analysis. For example he introduces the concept of the dual social system and though his perception of territoriality is rigid and strictly bounded (64), he acknowledges the presence of outside influence, both within and without the community (65). However his conclusion is as distinctive as Rees'.

Every development that has taken place in parish affairs has emphasised and reflected an urban way of life in various ways. Against this the traditional way of life is static and can offer nothing to replace the loss of community feeling which is a result of these developments (66).

Arensburg and Kimball, however, place overriding emphasis on their concept of equilibrium which survives all incursions that might force it into a state of *Gesellschaft*, for despite conscious efforts of social change

The traditional custom of life persists and continues to wield its power in essentially similar fashion, decade after decade, and generation after generation.... the equilibrium of the system must not be forgotten. If it is forgotten, disaster would not follow in the ordinary case, the organism is very tough and can withstand a great deal of rough handling (67).

It was previously stated that these early rural monographs underwent criticism owing to their lack of comparability, and this brief review has attempted to illustrate that the reliance on *Gemeinschaft* as an explanatory framework can synthesize comparative themes. However these specific monographs, in

common with similar studies of their time (68), have also been attacked for this very reliance on Gemeinschaft as an explanatory concept, with all the associated, inherent inadequacies this produces (69). For as Newby suggests whereas it matters little that the characteristics of rural society thus produced were

A skilful blend of normative prescription and wishful thinking rather than empirical description

the situation is compounded by their use of such propositions as

an explanation of the nature of social organisation by reference to settlement patterns (70) (my emphasis)

Similarly a reliance on the structural-functional school of anthropology led to the perception of existing 'function' as having always continued and continuing to continue (71). For example, a later study of Irish rural life has suggested that despite claims by Arensburg and Kimball to have established a valuable historical perspective (72), the 'tradition' they discovered had scarcely existed one hundred years (73). It has also been suggested that throughout these monographs the intertwining of values and methodology was so severe that serious misinterpretation of the data resulted (74).

However, bearing in mind these limitations, it must still be acknowledged that such studies produced a wealth of data pertaining to rural life, and though, as each author admitted, such data was spacially and temporally bound, it has been continuously cited in later works to the present day. Furthermore the monographs provide the backcloth from which later British rural studies were to emerge, and for these reasons alone, they prove more than worthy of this inevitably brief review.

Abstracted empiricism.

These monographs were followed by a series of studies of rural Wales, clearly influenced by the work of Rees. His presence overtly manifests itself in a collection of cameo studies carried out by Welsh speaking natives of Wales: 'studies of a culture within' (75). Though such diverse analysis as the dichotomous social pattern between 'the believers' and 'the outside world' (76); the social structure of a small market town (77); the material culture of an agricultural region (78); and the role of the non-conformist chapel (79) is perhaps more relevant as insights into Welsh micro-culture than as a contribution to community studies as a whole.

Similarly Emmett's assessment of the parish of Llan in Merionethshire, bears several of the characteristics of Rees' work. In an attempt to compare Welsh culture - rural, ordinary, dominated, and of the earth, with English society - urban, dominant, and middle-class (80) she makes frequent references to Rees' analysis of Llanfihangel (81). However, her research reveals the barest of theoretical framework and explicitly rejects methods leading to 'measurable facts' or 'cross comparable observations' (82). Indeed its analytical content is limited, Emmett preferring to follow Evans-Pritchard's code that

Explanations.... will be found embodied in my descriptive account and are not set forth independently of it (83).

and as

information is gathered primarily in the hope that it will lead to insight rather than for the purposes of comparison (84).

the study falls neatly into the category of 'abstracted empiricism' (85).

Though each individual study provides a valuable insight in itself, most of the criticisms applied to Rees apply to this collection. In addition there is a complete absence of common framework or theoretical position, indeed most of them lack an individual theoretical position, and this severely questions their contribution to the general theme of rural life. Unfortunately it was a format which was being repeated, and would continue to be repeated, throughout the British Isles. The publication of five regional studies covering Co.Fermanagh; Hilltown, Co. Down; Braid Valley, Co. Antrim; North Down, and North Antrim, was little more than a collection of descriptive articles, though Mogey did make some attempt to assess changing social life and localism (86). Scottish studies were being produced in a similar manner. A series of assessments of individual locales was undertaken, mainly by geographers, throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Though they fall neatly into two spacial groups, islands (87) and parishes (88), even within these groupings the individual studies have little comparative element, forming but cameos of cultures, captured in a spacial and temporal setting.

Indeed the only Scottish study of any depth at this time was Geddes' analysis of the Isle of Lewis and Harris (89). Though essentially influenced by the functional approach of Malinowski (90) it is an assessment with momentum, and though rooted in historical analysis, it is ever looking forward to the future (91).

The English cause was represented by the work of House in Northumberland (92), his synthesis of remote rural parishes contributing valuable small scale information, which supplemented the wider analysis of rural depopulation, but containing

little overall theoretical framework. However it provided an innovative assessment of attitudes towards village life, missing from some of these earlier studies (93).

Perceptions of an outsider.

Before we attempt an overall appraisal of the contribution of this period, we must briefly mention two monographs which stand aside from the general mass of descriptive material. Frankenburg's study of Pentredeiwaith (94) and Littlejohn's work on Westrigg (95).

Frankenburg's analysis marks a particularly significant development at this stage for, though still heavily veiled with the vestments of the structural-functionalist school, it was the first of the Welsh studies to be written by an 'outsider'. In the light of current concern, over the imposition of external cultural norms onto empirical interpretation (96), Frankenburg's analysis provides a useful illustration of the symphysis of values and explanation, not only within his work, but within the earlier Welsh studies as well. Two contemporary comments prove evidential, for while anthropologist Max Gluckman heralds Frankenburg's assessment as an illuminating development of 'recent analysis of community life and the role of ceremonial' (97) Rees maintains that it is no accident that studies undertaken by 'Welsh insiders' are preoccupied with chapel and religious values while

a recent study of a Welsh village by a social anthropologist who is not of the culture, devotes most attention to the football club, the carnival and local government (98).

There is more than the element of protectionism by both sides in such assessments. Indeed the absence of a 'cultural'

component at a time when all other studies were stressing this facet, may in itself contribute to the debate over newcomer perceptions and involvement(99). Frankenburg's analysis presents detailed illuminating information concerning the position and use of strangers within the community: strangers are manipulated to accept responsibility for decisions which split village opinion(100); strangers are isolated from kin networks, gossip and informal social contacts(101); and strangers are predisposed to run society(102). Moreover his assessment deals, for the first time, with a community which is not dominated by interactional role play.

Strangers in one situation are not necessarily strangers in another. The size of the village and other factors.... make it rare for villagers who meet in pursuit of a particular activity to know each other through that activity. Their attitudes towards each other and to attempts to assert leadership are conditioned by happenings outside the particular situation in which they are effective(103).

It is unfortunate that Frankenburg fails to pursue this theme in greater depth, by examining its spacial and temporal context. In fact awareness of space and time is sadly lacking from this account; though Pentre is presented as a 'village on the border' no historical exposition is developed, nor is there produced a spacial analysis of even the surrounding parish. Detailed group structures and dynamics, as perceived through village associations and local government, stand alone, neither subjective empathy nor formal data are summoned up to provide contextual material. Indeed the study is almost completely deficient in socio-graphic data, to the extent that an accurate figure for the settlement population is absent, and his social divisions are restricted to vague concepts(104). In contrast Littlejohn, also an anthropologist, concentrated on the spacial

and temporal relationships of Westrigg, 'an upland parish in a mainly rural county in the South of Scotland' (105), providing a detailed historical analysis of the parish and its social and economic networks beyond, while the explanations of contemporary community are similarly rich in comparative data. The study is also significant in that, unlike previous accounts of small, subsistence family farms, Littlejohn's work is of community where

Each farm is a productive unit on its own, a business from which the farmer tries to make a profit (106).

We are thus presented with a working community based not on kinship but on occupation, for

Outside the family the rights and obligations of kinship are neither clearly defined nor of great weight compared with those in other areas of life, particularly occupation, and no one in the parish at present owes his job to an extra-familial kinship tie (107).

The primary economic unit is thus the employer-employee relationship, resulting in the formation of a distinct class system (108).

Littlejohn's concept of 'class' is based on 'status groups', which are distinguished by the degree of social honour and prestige accorded to them (109):

A class is.... for its members one of the major horizons for all social experience, an area within which most experience is defined (110).

Perhaps the most significant of Littlejohn's proposals are the implications arising from the effects of class on social mobility. Urban social norms now penetrate the countryside forcing a comparison of status and circumstance, and rejecting the notion of close community, Littlejohn skillfully unites social and spacial mobility: the individual is now presented with potential

spacial and occupational mobility allowing access to social mobility. Rural depopulation is exposed as

A rejection of the status of the working-class countryman(111).

Although Littlejohn was still confined within the framework of Tönnies, while the earlier studies determined aspects of culture distinguishing the community from the urban zone, he stressed the similarities between Westrigg and an urban centre; the Gesellschaft is perceived as dominant within the rural community:

The local community becomes less 'an area of common life' than an area within which the individual chooses his associations subject to such barriers as are imposed by social class or physical distance. The people round him are no longer all actual neighbours but only potential neighbours. The locale itself ceases to be the actual place where he lives and has his being and becomes one possible place amongst others to be compared and evaluated with others(112).

Dynamic Equilibrium.

While Littlejohn may have been the first to move away from the concept of the rural community as an isolated self-contained unit, and view its situation in relation to the expanding urban society beyond, it was left to another author to take the ultimate break away from the perception of the static society, and to establish a new theoretical framework.

It was the author of Gosforth who returned to the field to assess the effect of depopulation on the small Devon community of Ashworthy(113). Arriving with the preconception of a stable, self-adjusting community Williams discovered that the social structure was actually in a continual state of internal adjustment. Reassessing his previous work, and that of Rees and

Arensburg, he concluded that

Rural life is characterised by conditions of 'dynamic equilibrium', i.e. that while the social structure as a whole appears relatively unchanged and unchanging in the absence of external stimuli, within it, constant and irregular changes are in fact taking place(114).

The central problem of any study now becomes the maintenance of equilibrium for

How is the continuity of social life achieved within such an unstable framework(115).

The key, suggested Williams, was the land. He thus reorientated the whole approach of community analysis to place it within an ecological framework; far from the family providing the primary social and economic unit, now the relationship between people and land, as manifested in the land holding system, became central to any understanding of rural social life(116).

Kinship was reduced to a 'geneological system' which with neighbourliness

Form complimentary or overlapping networks which join together the individual conjugal families and which help materially to reduce their dependence on their own limited resources(117).

Similarly this enstatement of the land as the primary explanatory variable of rural life rendered the separation of community from its wider societal context problematic(118). No longer would the rural community stand alone, plucked from its spacial environment.

William's analysis of Ashworthy remains to my knowledge, the sole documentation of his concept within a community(119) for it was a framework which arrived as the entire foundation of rural community assessment was about to be transformed.

A conceptual transformation: the rural-urban continuum debate.

A conceptual transformation, far more significant in its implication than William's dynamic equilibrium, arrived in the hands of Pahl. Indeed it has been stated that he demolished the conceptual scheme of rural sociology, destroying its very foundations (120), although as shall become apparent, the structures had been crumbling for several years (121), Pahl had but to bear down on the weakened joints to bring the entire edifice to the ground. Pahl's research had concentrated on the Metropolitan fringe of Greater London, where the influence of urbanisation was all too evident (122). What he discovered there led him to question not only the idea of Gemeinschaft and the approach of the structural-functionalist school (123), but the entire notion of a rural-urban dichotomy and continuum.

Pahl perceived Wirth's classic paper 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' (124) as remaining largely responsible for the continued acceptance of the continuum concept (125). Wirth had proposed that as a population increased in size and density so anonymity increased (126) and this, coupled with an inevitable specialization of occupation and division of labour (127), resulted in social heterogeneity (128). Under these conditions relationships became impersonal and formally prescribed and prestige was allocated according to criteria other than personal acquaintance (129). In opposition, Pahl maintained that far from social heterogeneity developing in large cities, substantial research (130) had revealed that

Urban villages exist in the centre of cities in which there is a high level of social cohesion based on interwoven kinship networks and a high level of primary contact with familiar faces (131)

Furthermore, he argued, aside from these urban villages, the central areas of cities comprised numerous sub-cultures defined by class, age and wealth, living adjacent to each other within the one space. Wirth's characteristics, Pahl suggested, were found only in areas of residential instability and transience, which thus restricts them to but a part of some cities (132).

Turning to the rural end of the continuum, Pahl argued that his own analysis of the Hertfordshire-Metropolitan fringe had exposed 'urban' values and life-styles evident in dispersed rural settlement (133). He thus suggested that

Some people are of the city but not in it [the mobile middle-class of the Metropolitan commuter village], whereas others are in the city but not of it [urban villagers]: The Gemeinschaft exists within the Gesellschaft and the Gesellschaft within the Gemeinschaft (134)

In his general approach, Pahl was considerably influenced by the work of Gans (135) who had proposed that 'ways of life' were dominated by choice; class being the most sensitive index of people's ability to choose; life-cycle determining the area of choice. Gans concluded that

If ways of life do not coincide with settlement type and if these ways are functions of class and life-cycle rather than the ecological attributes of the settlement, a sociological definition of the city cannot be formulated (136).

Thus, argued Pahl, by implication this means that a sociological definition of any settlement type cannot be formulated, and this would seem to destroy any conception of a rural-urban continuum too (137).

Pahl then proposed that the crucial distinction was between the 'local' and the national which

can confront each other in the urban as much as in the rural physical setting (138)

His research had revealed that within the 'ideal type Metropolitan village', a whole range of consciousness and experience was concentrated in the one place - this overlapping of both national and local meshes creating a society which had no position within a continuum. Furthermore the action of the national system upon the local led to a restructuring of the latter, which could be assessed through the analytical tools of role play and social network (139). Therefore, argued Pahl,

the social structure was the key to the spatial structure (140).

Rurality thus stems either from the inability of the inhabitants to transcend the spacial constraints imposed upon them, this incapacity being linked to inequalities rooted in a wider system of social stratification rather than in the rural milieu per se (141), or inhabitants had taken advantage of these external social inequalities to choose their spacial setting (142). Therefore there is no rural population as such, rather specific populations who for various but identifiable reasons find themselves in rural areas (143), and

Any attempt to tie the patterns of social relationship to a specific geographical milieu is a singularly fruitless exercise (144).

Despite the 'demolition' of the conceptual scheme, there continues to exist a strong element of research who point out demographic, economic and social differences between rural and urban inhabitants. For example both Poplin (145) and Jones (146) draw together detailed descriptive evidence from past community studies to illustrate rural/urban society, perceiving the continuum as

a framework within which to explore and interpret the nature and variations of a defined social system (147).

Similarly Frankenburg (148) and Williams (149) slot existing studies into a rural-urban typology while Oommen (150) draws on Indian evidence to produce a trichotomous continuum. The debate is most clearly focussed in the United States where a substantial body of literature, mainly concerned with differences in socio-economic characteristics, lifestyles and attitudes, are polarised in their findings (151). Perhaps the most appropriate evaluation of the American material is presented by Fischer, who having assessed the results of over 200 such studies demonstrating support for both positions, concluded that the issue was still an open question (152).

However, the critical issue is not whether there are perceivable differences between urban and rural behaviour, but whether there exists a causal connection between the concept of 'rural' and particular kinds of behaviour, a question that much of the American literature does not accommodate. Indeed it must be stressed that in dismissing the validity of the rural-urban continuum, Pahl did not also dismiss the presence of rural-urban differences. He himself suggested that the low population density of rural areas restricted facilities and occupational choice and encouraged high density relationships and interaction across social divisions (153). In addition he acknowledged that a temporal continuum, viewed as a process, might carry validity (154). However, Newby has recently questioned even this association, arguing that as the rural occupational basis of advanced nations has become less homogeneous so the notion of 'rural' has become essentially an empirical, descriptive term, and as such is incapable of any explanatory significance (155).

Despite the continued dredges of debate, it can be asserted that Pahl prompted a fundamental reassessment of community studies internationally. However, in sweeping away the old he failed to provide a structure to fill the resultant chasm, for despite vague attempts (156)

The generally discredited rural-urban continuum has not been replaced by a new conceptual apparatus or set of theoretical problems which would provide rural sociology with a new research agenda (157).

Turning to Pahl's contribution as a whole, several aspects of his schema have recently been queried. Lewis, for example, has questioned Pahl's notion that the urbanisation of the countryside is essentially aspatial since it is occurring at all locations at one and the same time, suggesting that Pahl fails to acknowledge that such agents of change as the diffusion of innovations and the migration of people are socially and spatially selective and thus different rates of urbanism produce spacial differences between communities (158). Lewis' alternative approach, based on the framework of social ecology, will be assessed later.

Similarly Connell's recent assessment of the Metropolitan village, has attacked Pahl's neglect of the local spacial element. While agreeing that the characteristics of the Metropolitan village are influenced by external processes, he stresses that local spacial structure is critical to all social and economic links (159), thereby transferring the determining factors of a rural population from the wider social arena to within the spacial organisation of the village itself. Thus the composition of the Metropolitan village is a product of planning regulations, which limit its growth; of the spacial

locality of employment, as

Relative inaccessibility (to employment) is likely to result in a large number of commuters of higher social class and a greater proportion of established villagers working locally (160);

and of housing provision, for

Because of the low rate of mobility between these different housing systems [owner occupied; privately rented; local authority] the spacial distribution of housing reflects very closely the kind of people who can live in a particular area(161).

Newby has also projected the importance of spacial constraints suggesting that geographical milieux may define patterns of social relationships through the constraints which they apply to the local social structure. Thus if social institutions are locality-based and inter-related then they may form a local social system which could be labelled 'rural'. However, Newby stresses that there is no causal connection between the local social system and the concept rural (162); a factor which is implicit in the other two arguments.

Despite these criticisms, Pahl had reassessed and remoulded British community studies, and his suggestion that within the urban fringe

Certain forces are at work, modifying the social, economic and geographical conditions with which the original society was associated and creating a new kind of community, based on a wider set of conditions. A previous pattern of social geography is being acted upon and moulded by processes to create a new pattern of social geography. The outer part of a metropolitan region is seen then as a frontier of social change, moving over communities, re-evaluating their spacial relationships with other communities and creating, as it were, new places, which in turn form the basis for different types of communities (163)

was to form a paradigm for research which survives to the present day.

Suburbanisation - integration and assimilation.

The immediate effect was a series of studies whose primary intention was to specifically examine, not only this region, but all zones and settlements where 'suburbanization' was occurring, through the immigration of mainly urban, mainly middle-class population.

These early studies maintained that a high degree of integration and social cohesion was occurring between incomers and the established. With hindsight this appears a factor of a somewhat naive methodology, which failed to recognise areas of conflict, and left one with:

An uncomfortable feeling that the whole area of enquiry is much more complicated and subtle than the research methods with which it has been approached (164),

coupled with a limited definition of 'integration'. Crichton's study of Mortimer (165), a village of two thousand (1961) to the north of Basingstoke, exemplifies this. Influenced by the work of Bonham-Carter (166) she defined a well integrated individual as someone:

Who takes part in a village activity, shares the responsibility of citizenship, behaves in a neighbourly way, and shows both an interest in and knowledge of his village (167),

suggesting that:

Provided the commuter can enjoy stability of employment, the chances are that when he has lived in the village at least six years he will be as well integrated as the local worker,

and furthermore:

Provided that the speed, shape and size of village growth are suitably controlled, and stable employment of a wide range of status offered within a reasonable distance of the village, there is no reason why the aim of an integrated community should not be achieved (168).

Such apparent lack of conflict was also the conclusion of Radford's analysis of two villages in Worcestershire (169):

Kempsey, a settlement of one thousand seven hundred and four (1961) 'well on its way to becoming a pure dormitory village for Worcester' and Martley, population nine hundred and forty nine, only at the start of the process, with Radford projecting the local origin of most of the newcomers as an explanation for the relative ease with which both villages were absorbing their immigrants (170).

Bearing in mind the methodological weaknesses of both these surveys (see note 164) it is unsurprising that more sophisticated assessments should have produced contrasting conclusions. The Mattishall Study of social cohesion in a collection of Norfolk settlements (171) and Ambrose's analysis of a Sussex village (172) both question these findings. Using a variety of analytical techniques (173) Ambrose concluded that the concept of integration was far more complicated and subtle than had previously been appreciated (174), whereas the Mattishall study, after devising a complex system for measuring 'sense of community', argued that social cohesion deteriorated following the rapid development of the village (175). In a general review of the village studies in Norfolk, Shaw suggested that

There appear to be three main, but overlapping dimensions to social cohesion, which provide alternative approaches to the problem. The first dimension refers to the extent to which residents feel a sense of belonging to the community, of identity with the village and of acceptance by other village residents. Secondly, the proportion of residents who are (or who feel) involved in village activities... The third dimension is the extent to which residents share a common view of the quality of life in the village (176).

Unfortunately Shaw fails to follow up his proposals, indeed his distinctly negative overview of the analysis of 'sense of

community' and perception of social cohesion

The definition of this most elusive of concepts is difficult, its measurement is probably impossible (177)

provides a valid description of the overall current state of the analytical approach to this phenomenon.

However the third of Shaw's criteria, differential quality of life, has aroused significant attention, although mainly in the United States (178), objective assessments being limited within British rural studies. However, Drudy has examined community aspirations in relation to depopulation in Northern Norfolk (179), while Pacione has undertaken a substantial survey of the quality of life in a Scottish Metropolitan village utilising a structural model of life satisfaction based on American research (180). Adapting twenty three life-concern indicators drawn from mainly American studies, Pacione concluded that the predominant concern was standard of living, followed by life-satisfaction. Secondary considerations, however, were polarized, between owner-occupiers, who were generally new to the village (mean length of residence four years) and local authority tenants (mean length of residence twenty eight years) (181). The former placed greater emphasis on the village as a place to live, having sufficient leisure time and in their own home, while the lower-class households concentrated on the standard of the local services and the effects of village growth and alteration (182). Unfortunately Pacione does not attempt to compare his findings with the American results, perhaps such analysis would hold little significance, and to my knowledge no other comparable study has been attempted in Britain (183).

The village in transition.

Once it was established that new forms of rural community were being formed, attention was turned to the process of transition between the traditional rural settlement and the new commuter village, with particular emphasis being given to the changing social structure of the community.

In his examination of a 'transitional area', eleven parishes in South Nottinghamshire (184), Thorns adapted Mitchell's open/closed, integrated/disintegrated categories (185). Criticising the typology for its lack of sequence or process of movement, he expanded it through the introduction of a spectrum of change - established, transitional, and re-established. Thorns then argued that the most likely process was a movement from integrated, closed, established settlements to integrated, open re-established; passing through the transitional stage of disintegration (186). Concentrating on this latter occurrence he suggested that a village in a process of transition was characterised by

the lack of a clearly defined set of positions
and set of expectations for the various individuals within the community (187)

a result of a new social order which questioned the existing status hierarchy, and of the development of new groups within a system which did not cater for them.

Such an interpretation was subsequently questioned. Lewis in his analysis of the Welsh settlement of Bow Street (188), which he assessed as standing in an intermediary position between the traditional Welsh community of Aberporth (189) and the urban fringe settlements of Hertfordshire (190), suggested that the polarised social structures identifiable within Bow Street, actually resulted in a form of identification and co-operation between the inhabitants. Each resident was a

potential member of five dichotomous social relationships: Welsh/English; religious adherent/non-adherent; participant/non-participant; middle/lower class; and newcomer/established; affiliation with each affecting ones position within the others. Through membership of various categories, individuals became entwined with each other, and the resultant social groups thus criss cross the whole community, linking individuals and families in a networklike structure and play a significant role in life at Bow Street (191).

Similarly findings by Popplestone query the assertion that the existing social structure does not cater for the immigrants. His assessment of newcomer assimilation into expanded settlements (192) produced a definite, specific role for the newcomers to play, in fact an essential role. Utilising Vidich's concept of the 'gatekeeper'⁽¹⁹³⁾ he suggested that the inclusion of middle-class, urban newcomers within a rural community provided the established residents with a gentle introduction to the world beyond, thus protecting them from the sudden, full impact of mass society. Far from possessing no place in the social hierarchy, Popplestone perceived these incomers as being

supported in the local structure from below by a group of educated locals who act as a bridge between the new standards set by the innovating gatekeepers, and the traditional ways of the rest of community (194).

However, two recent analyses, which have returned to the 'very rural' (195) community, corroborate Thorns' assertions. Assessing the effect of rapid industrialisation within the city of Galway (196), Crawley discovered that one result was an influx of urban migrants into a relatively protected area (197). The subsequent polarisation of society into distinct social groups, was subjectively based, she suggested, and not formed

through notions of class conflict, thus severely questioning previous assumptions to the contrary. Instead, Crawley proposed that it was primarily a function of existing social structure, and in particular the leadership structure.

In communities where social segregation is taking place it is related to the issue of leadership, and derives from the method of prestige allocation in the rural community many of the middle class immigrants have no previous links with the community in which they now live, and cannot therefore be allocated a position in the prestige hierarchy in relation to their family background (198) (my emphasis)

Similarly Macfarlane's analysis of oil immigrants to the Shetlands places similar emphasis on the local social structure as providing a bar to integration (199). In ten years the number of households on Dunrossness, an area of south mainland Shetland, doubled as the original settlement pattern based on agriculture was supplemented by large housing estates and ribbon development. The social polarisation which resulted, Macfarlane argued, was due to the acute dichotomy between the local ranking structure, based on reputation, and the immigrants universalistic class system. Thus, akin to previous explanations of the phenomenon (200), owing to their perceived low status in terms of the latter system, the Shetlanders adopt the distinction of established/outsider, or in this case Shetlander/incomer, as a method of maintaining self perceived status (201). However it is a distinction willingly adopted and encouraged by the incomers themselves. As increasing numbers of new immigrants arrive, they are absorbed into ever expanding incomer networks, which, as they increase in size, result in anonymity. The gross category 'incomer' thus helps the immigrant cope

with this increased anonymity, and

As a logical corollary of the increased relevance of the gross category 'incomer', the gross category 'Shetlander' is re-emphasised (202).

However Macfarlane stresses that the categories 'incomer' and 'Shetlander' are but the idiom in terms of which individual and group conflicts of interest are expressed by islanders.

The categories are cultural products of social actions, they are not the determinants of social actions (203) (my emphasis).

Several studies have assessed the role of formal village organisations on the process of integration and assimilation. Green's examination of the Scottish village of Drymen, suggested that while non-participation in formal organisations reflected internal social boundaries within the settlement (204), membership of such societies increased bonding to the community (205). This cohesive factor of village associations is extended by Popplestone (206) who suggests that such 'distillation of individuals into interest groups' produces conflict situations which paradoxically lead to a cohesive structure, as diverse groups are interlocked in both co-operating and conflicting relationships, and to the assimilation of incomers, through identification with a particular power group. Thus

Within the middle-class element the newcomers may be successfully assimilated into the associated life of the settlement by the creation of issues and conflict and the subsequent development of interest groups, providing feelings of identity towards the groups (207).

Shifting the emphasis to the role of the village school as a cohesive factor, the Norfolk Six Parishes study (208) assessed the relationship between involvement in the village primary school and participation in other village activities, con-

cluding that there was a high correlation between the two (209).

This last study forms one of a wide range of rural social surveys, strongly orientated towards policy formation, and presented within the concept of 'rural deprivation' (210). Though this approach generally deals with the wider parameter of a rural area, rather than a specific community, aspects of village growth and development are touched upon, and the considerable empirical evidence produced by this school provides useful collaborative material to substantiate the interpretations of the more theoretical approaches.

One of the few studies which does base the analysis on individual communities, is Owen's examination of changing patterns of access in two Norfolk villages since the mid 1950s (211). She concluded that in villages which had suffered a decline in accessibility relative to society in general, there occurred an increase in disparity between levels of accessibility of upper and lower social groups. This was due to an overall rise in expectations but restricted personal ability to fulfill these (212), and resulted in the out migration of young lower socio-economic groups, and the inmigration of the 'relatively affluent' (213). Another study which is community focused, though in this case not based, is Shaw's analysis of the social implications of village development (214). Having assessed various Norfolk village studies, he examines the relation of village size to village 'social life', propounding that

The social advantages of the larger villages are associated with their ability to retain and support community services, with the access

to opportunities which they provide for residents, and the more diverse and rigorous community life. However, smaller villages do appear to possess some advantages in terms of standards of behaviour and social cohesion, in addition to their environmental attributes (215).

The national on the local.

Moving away from the specific impact of urban people with a rural community, Ambrose considered the wider concept of urbanisation suggested by Pahl: the effect of the national on the local (216). Following the conceptual scheme offered by Stacey in her analysis of the local social system (217), Ambrose examines the Sussex village of Ringmer to ascertain

The extent to which changes in village life are sensitive to and mirror, changes in the social organisation of society at large (218).

Stacey had suggested that the term 'social system' could be used for

a set of inter-related social institutions covering all aspects of social life, familial, religious, judicial etc. and the associated belief systems of each (219).

Stressing the importance of process and time she introduced thirty one 'tentative proposals about local social systems' which Ambrose neatly examined, using contemporary and historical evidence from Ringmer.

The resultant picture suggests that as a village develops it moves further from the idea of a local social system, owing to progressive immigration and change, and an increasingly nationally inspired local belief system. Turning to wider influences Ambrose concluded that Ringmer's employment, recreation, education, welfare and communications were all nationally controlled (220). Although his conclusion has a certain inevitability about it, the analysis winding down to

the admission of a nationally inspired convergence of culture(221), Ambrose's approach, though sometimes laboured, is original and provides a valuable examination of Stacey's 'tentative proposals' and Pahl's hypothesis.

The fabric of English rural life

There thus occurred during the early post war years a significant transition in approach towards and perception of the rural community, and it is interesting to see this change exemplified by Bracey's detailed descriptions of the changing fabric of English rural life, which span this period (222). In his initial analysis of Wiltshire in 1952 (223) he hoped to draw attention to the relative deprivation of rural areas, arguing that if the countryside was to continue as a viable place of residence, priority must be given to the establishment of local rural centres and to increasing the accessibility to urban centres (224). However by the end of the decade, Bracey was stressing the gradual increase of urban people and interests within the countryside accompanied by a corresponding decline in local loyalty (225), and by the late 1960s his analysis was firmly focused on population growth and urban encroachment, with the emphasis on countryside protection.

In the years ahead, the village will become more and more linked with the town for its service requirements and social participation as personal mobility increases, the individuals' choice of leisure occupation in or outside the village is widened by education, general experience of places and activities outside the village, and as he receives greater financial reward for his increasing urban employment (226).

Indeed this contemporary historian of English rural life firmly stated

The fact is that during the 1960s changes have been so rapid and so profound that published rural social surveys do not reflect the 1970 way of country living (227).

With the exception of this very brief discussion of the work of Bracey, our analysis so far has concentrated in the main on microscale information drawn from individual communities, and neglected the broader social overview of the urbanisation pattern of rural areas. The omission has not been an oversight, rather a representation of the scope of this synthesis and, of equal importance, an exemplification of the state of British rural social studies. Although there are various disconnected area analyses concerned with rural/urban relationships (228), we shall consider only two, which provide broader theoretical frameworks: the development of an index of rurality, and the growth of rural social ecology.

The index of rurality and counter-urbanisation.

The main British Index of Rurality has been devised by Cloke, who selecting nine variables (229) which achieved the highest discrimination between rural and non-rural, suggested that

The ability to attach a representative numerical value to the rural nature of a district presents an opportunity for greater contrast and comparison between rural areas (230).

Drawing on previous analysis which had revealed an evolutionary pattern of rural life (231) Cloke suggested that rural change could be viewed as a long term cyclic process, the causation behind this process being

Urban pressure, which includes both the economic and social magnetism of a city, and its economic

overflow of population, housing and economic enterprises into the surrounding rural area (232).

At the commencement of the process the urban node is surrounded by extreme rurality but with increasing pressure from the centre, successive areas adjacent to the node, decrease in rurality. The formation of a 'perfect rural-urban continuum' is prevented only by variations in the distance, direction, land use and terrain, size and quality of the urban node, and a planning policy which channels growth into strictly prescribed reception sectors (233), with factors such as increasing car ownership, and alterations in recreation and retirement patterns carrying the urbanization cycle to the remotest of rural zones (234). Cloke suggested that the cycle will either be fulfilled by the zones reaching a peak of non-rurality and then increasing in rurality; or be unfulfilled with the result that all previously rural districts will attain a quasi-urbanised state (235).

Following a long period of concentration by the macro-scale analysts on the effects of rural depopulation (236), there is now a growing literature, undoubtedly inspired by recent reversals in migration trends (237), incorporating the perspective of rurality/non-rurality within a general framework under the label 'counter-urbanisation' (238). Though this phenomenon has generally been viewed from an urban perspective, emphasising urban 'push' factors, to the exclusion of rural 'pull' factors (239), Cloke has recently presented a rural viewpoint (240), proposing that

rural regeneration has been employment led, and that fringe growth merely represents a housing market process as people are forced to follow the spacial deconcentration of jobs (241).

Within this macro-explanation of the broad trend, spacial and temporal variations are closely linked to localised conditions of the land, housing, and employment market, accessibility and the physical environment, and a more obscure concept of 'social and community factors'. However, he notes that apart from the physical environment, all the local influences

can be manipulated given sufficient political will and interest (242).

Most significantly for the analysis of the community, though, is the confirmation by the macro-approach that

rural repopulation becomes as socially polarised as its predecessor, depopulation, was (243).

Social ecology within a rural context.

The key advocate of this considerably neglected (244) approach to British rural life is Lewis, who has published most of his findings in this field with Maund. In their approach they were influenced by the American social ecologist Martin (245) who argued that the extension of urban influences within the countryside involves two principles of spacial change: the gradient principle and the differentiation principle. The former emphasises the distance-decay effect of cities on their surrounding rural areas; while the differentiation principle claims that urbanisation transforms previously undifferentiated areas by the introduction of functional specialisation and an increased inter-dependence of their differentiated parts; both the urban-influenced changes and the extent of specialisation and differentiation vary inversely with distance to the nearest city, and directly with the size of that city (246).

Combining Martin's approach with the subsequent findings of Pahl and Burie (247), Lewis and Maund argued for

the need to accept a more behavioural approach to the interpretation of the urbanisation of communities located in the countryside. If such a stance is adopted then urbanisation is a process which involves the whole of society irrespective of geographical location. Such a process takes the form of the diffusion of new ideas and attitudes through society. The diffusion path is however, socially selective and consequently it produces differential aspirations and codes of behaviour based upon social class and life cycle (248).

They then proposed a framework for analysing the way in which these processes create inter-community variation within the countryside suggesting that the urbanisation of rural areas results in three distinct population changes: depopulation as a result of net outward migration and a fall in the birth rate; population growth due to the immigration of adventitious people at an early stage in the life-cycle; and repopulation of the countryside by the retired and those in the late stage of the life-cycle (249). However

all such processes operate at one and the same time within each community, and hence the demographic and social character of a community is controlled by the predominant process (250).

This physical component within the urbanisation process is accompanied by a corresponding alteration in the value system involving

either addition of the national value system to that of the local and the consequent conflict it produces, or the complete displacement of the local by the national (251).

Such alterations have a marked effect upon the behaviour of individuals, primarily through the introduction of two forms of society within the one community which polarises into the middle-class and the working classes (252).

Rejecting earlier notions of aspatial change (253), they suggest that different rates of urbanisation produce spacial differences between communities and that as the process is generally conceived to emanate from towns and cities, some form of distance decay is expected (254). They thus introduce their 'time-space order of urbanisation' whereby communities move through the process of depopulation, population and repopulation over time and distance from large urban centres, stressing however, that as urbanisation is a social process affecting all society

Such differences as do exist from place to place are of degree rather than kind (255).

This framework is purely theoretical in kind, though undoubtedly influenced by Lewis' earlier work in Wales (256). However, their conjecture that the process of urbanisation is not aspatial was supported by a structural analysis of rural Herefordshire where, using multi-measure indices, they tested the proposition of Gans (257) that

social class and life-cycle factors are the prime determinants of behaviour within rural communities irrespective of their size and location (258).

Selecting eleven indices, determined by their theoretical framework and Lewis' work with Davies on Leicester (259) they ranked the communities of North Herefordshire using Spearman's rank order correlation to derive four categories of community. At either end of the typology lay an extreme category: Category A characterised by a growing population as a result of young immigrants, and Category D with an aged population involved in agriculture following a period of severe depopulation; with Categories B and C in varying degrees of depopulation. The spatial distribution of each category also revealed marked

distinctions with A communities concentrated around Hereford and D communities being the most remote. Testing their typology for spacial activity (previous place of residence, employment and consumer patterns) and community activity (kinship and friendship ties and voluntary activities) they discovered that

the smallest of the three communities...
[D]... had the greatest amount of interaction among its residents irrespective of social class, life cycle and length of residence, since its smallness provided a means for regular face to face contact

whereas

In a larger community...[A]... the various forces of segregation become more significant since there existed a sufficient number of different groups to allow segregated activities to take place (260).

They thus concluded that

access plays a vital role in differentiating certain movements and activities, while size forms the basis for determining face to face relationships. In other words there appears to be a spacial selectivity of behaviour occurring in the countryside (261).

Lewis is also responsible for the only British rural community study, to my knowledge, which uses factorial techniques. In 1971 he analyses the factorial ecology of rural communities south-east of Leicester (262), and though but a preliminary survey there were several significant results. In particular

The high degree of comparability between urbanising villages and communities within cities and the existence of a gradient like pattern in the distribution of a number of factor loadings (263).

For example the component of socio-economic status differentiated remote villages of low status from high status settlements near the urban centres, and there was a spacial difference in function, with commuter villages located near

the city and fast route-ways, and in age with a gradual increase in age with distance from Leicester. However, despite Lewis' contribution to this subject, rural social ecology remains fundamentally undeveloped, drawing heavily on concepts devised and tested within urban studies, and the social ecological approach to rural communities has yet to make a valid contribution to the overall theoretical framework of the school of ecology.

Urbanisation and the agricultural community.

This orientation towards the suburbanisation process resulted in an increasing neglect of the agricultural community as a focus of examination, so that rural sociology within Britain was typically portraying her as an urbanised country (264). However, even the earlier studies had mainly concentrated on 'family farming' , predominantly in upland pastoral areas with the corresponding omission of capitalist agriculture (265).

Thus Havinden's account of Berkshire estate villages (266) made a valuable contribution to the study. Following detailed description, firmly based within an historical context, he concluded that through a policy of active improvement and adaptation, the estate village has been able to maintain its position and produce a fusion of old and new. Thus he suggested if the village economy was sufficiently diversified it could bring prosperity to a rural area by means of a purely rural economy (267).

A broader overview was provided by Nalson's assessment of the effect of the family life cycle on agricultural activities (268). Expanding Williams' concept of 'dynamic equilibrium' (269), he argued that the mobility of both land and people was a compensatory adjustment to the requirements of the family cycle,

which occurred as a chain reaction, determined by pressure for new land versus demographic and occupational wastage (270).

While both these studies make important contributions to the knowledge of the rural structure, and Nalson's account proves a useful test of Williams' concept, neither provided the theoretical base so required within the area, a base to be drawn upon and expanded.

This was left to Newby, whose analysis of agricultural land and power relations in East Anglia has presented British agricultural sociology with a framework which is still sadly lacking from suburbanisation studies. In our analysis of his extensive work we shall concentrate on his examination of the agricultural community. Newby argued that assessment of this community should be approached through an understanding of the position of both the farmer and the rural labourer within the rural social structure and of how recent changes in this social structure had affected individual relationships and networks (271).

Assessing the farm workers' position in terms of housing and labour relationships Newby concluded that

Agricultural workers could be regarded as rural only to the extent that the constraints of the labour and housing markets meant that the majority must both work and live in the same locality (272).

However, Newby perceived these local ties as more than mere constraints as suggested by Pahl (273). They represented the rural social system itself. For example the tied cottage symbolized the worker's position, not only vis a vis his employer but also within the class system as a whole (274). Furthermore while technological change may have altered many aspects of the employment situation, the essential sequential,

rhythmic nature of the work remains undisturbed:

Agriculture remains surrounded by a set of symbolic boundaries which separate it off from other types of employment and create an air of uniqueness with which farmers and farm workers alike identify.... The actual work itself is, therefore, an exceedingly important attribute of the farm workers personal and social identity, more than many other jobs it defines for the farm worker what he is (275)

It is the capitalist farmer who encounters significant change through the modernisation of agriculture, for the alterations which occur are essentially within his domain. Thus the increasing requirement to make use of external financial capital and of fixed price contracts with large manufacturers, threaten the farmer's control over his own work situation (276).

Having defined the position of each he then placed them firmly within the community through a skilful assessment of the status system. Following Parkin (277) he argued that an important distinction must be drawn between status as a reputational quality of persons, and status as a formal attribute of positions. Status as a reputational quality (278)

Arises out of face to face interaction of individuals, who, as a consequence of pervasive personal interaction, do not allocate status uni-dimensionally on the basis of some readily observable trait, but around a complex set of criteria arrived at through close personal acquaintance (279). (my emphasis)

or as Parkin defined it

A social increment which individuals build up and sustain through regular amounts.... as such it has little or no transferability outside the restricted setting in which it emerges (280).

This 'interactional status' is thus confined within a locally defined context in contrast to 'attributional status' which is an emergent property of the class structure, part of a

universal system of prestige allocation transferable from one local milieu to another.

Recognition of this distinction has important implications for the rural community in that it is through a process of urbanisation that the local interactional status system is replaced by a dual system, Newby thereby also extending Pahl's assertion that the local is replaced by the national (281):

It is quite feasible for the two systems of status to co-exist within the same local community, particularly where class boundaries are clearly defined so that interactional status occurs among class peers rather than enveloping all social classes (282).

Newby then proposed a typology of rural social change within the village based on the situation in East Anglia. The early agricultural village with its homogeneous class structure formed the occupational community with a

Strong sense of shared occupational experience, a distinctive occupational culture, an overlap between work and non-work roles and loyalties, a prevalence of closely knit cliques of friends, workmates, neighbours and relatives, and generally a strong sense of group identity which marked the village off from others that surrounded it (283).

However, distance in wealth, income, lifestyle and authority separated the occupational community of the agricultural worker from local farmers and landowners, and nascent class conflict was never far from the surface of daily relationships. In terms of attributional status the agricultural worker was at the bottom of the national status hierarchy; however, within the occupational community he was able to gain considerable status enhancement through his skill at work, and it was this latter interactional system, Newby claimed, which carried the greater degree of social significance for him (284).

Today in lowland England the occupational community has virtually disappeared, destroyed by the twin assaults of depopulation and creeping urbanisation (285). For as non-agricultural immigrants enter the village

The former occupational community then tends to retreat in upon itself and become what might be called an encapsulated community, since the locals now form a community within a community - a separate and dense network encapsulated within the total local system (286).

This withdrawal arises through conflict over housing and contrasting perceptions of village society (287), but most critically the incomers bring only the universalistic system of attributional status, based upon occupational prestige, ranking, income and conspicuous consumption, perceiving the agricultural worker as

A slow unskilled and servile individual whose proper place is at the bottom of the village status structure (288).

The agricultural worker responds by

Excluding the newcomers from his social group since non-acceptance on the basis of length of residence is one of the few ways in which the local worker can retain any of his old status in the community (289).

The local status system is thus redefined by this process of encapsulation for

By altering the criteria by which status is conferred to include length of residence, local prestige is withheld from the affluent newcomers (290).

This social separation is often reinforced spatially by the morphology of the housing structure which physically separates the old local housing from the new development (291).

In addition the immigrants reinforce changes in the work situation which are encouraging a greater degree of face to face interaction between farmers and workers, and naturally enfolding landowners within the encapsulated community.

For the farmer's own position is also challenged by outsiders who lay claim to authority roles formerly his domain and threaten his status (292)

Farmers and farm workers in the encapsulated community therefore exhibit a tendency to close ranks against the common adversary.... indeed in so far as the encapsulated community marks a partial breakdown in the solidarity of the occupational community, it seems likely that class conflict has been reduced and with it there has been brought about a diminishing of class consciousness (293).

The encapsulated community can thus be perceived as a protectionist withdrawal against the attack on the local interactional status system of the occupational community.

The third type develops in very urban villages when all the local housing has been converted and absorbed by the newcomers. Now the farm worker is forced beyond the village to live on property adjacent to outlying farms. Here the worker

Is both physically and socially isolated from the village. Not only the increased distance but the virtually complete take-over of the village by strangers will render his contact with it perfunctory and largely instrumental often limited to occasional visits for shopping and the use of facilities (294).

Propinquity and the overlap of work/non-work roles reinforce 'interactional status' and the local system remains firmly established in this farm centred community.

However, Newby does not perceive the influx of incomers as the 'creators' of social disruption, rather

The underlying economic base could no longer support the old occupational community. The disruptions caused by newcomers have been merely a tangible symptom of this change (295).

Thus the general process of modernisation and urbanisation of society, with its accompanying technological and psychological change, is far more damaging to the local system than immigrants

alone, for this forces working class neighbours and kinsmen of agricultural workers to become urban commuters. They then adopt the national attributional status system, bringing it to the heart of even the encapsulated community, demonstrating their adherence to conspicuous wealth. So that:

Even the local traditional element of the village, status is becoming increasingly based on life styles that are determined by occupation and income (296).

and it is from this quarter, from within its own ranks, that the local interactional status system is facing greatest pressure (297).

Newby can be criticised for attempting to generalise his findings of the interaction of newcomers with an agricultural population to apply to the rest of urbanising rural England(298). For his assessment is drawn from a specific rural agricultural situation bounded in its spacial setting, yet this analysis of the changing social structure of lowland agricultural communities forms an essential component of any examination of the suburbanisation process of Britain. Indeed Newby extends and establishes many of the themes only implicit in Pahl's work(299), and of all those involved in rural community assessment he vies only with Lewis in developing an appropriate schema for the sound progression of community analysis.

The community as an approach.

Let us now turn to the notion of using the concept of community (300) as a focus of approach. Though various schemata have been proposed (301) we shall concentrate on two approaches which have received the highest adoption within rural Britain: the community as a method of analysing structure and organisation - the community as an organisation; and as a

method of examining wider societal processes - the community as a microism.

Community as organisation.

Despite the extensive study of community power structures in the United States (302) and a more recent widespread interest in peasant societies (303), not only has there been limited analysis in Britain but these have been almost entirely confined to urban areas (304). Small scale rural intra-community power hierarchies have been examined: for example Leverton's assessment of Parish Council activity in Norfolk and their relationship with the district council (305) and Buchanan's appraisal of the role of political influence in the preparation of the Suffolk Strategic Plan (306), and several of the community monographs have themselves included sections on the local power structure (307). Similarly Connell's review of Amenity Societies in central Surrey (308) and the work by Butler and Lowe on a Suffolk preservation society (309) provide useful insights into informal power hierarchies. However, though general overviews of the local government scene in general have been written (310), there remain only two major assessments of the interrelation of British rural politics with the underlying society. Madgwick's analysis of rural Cardiganshire (311) and Saunders, Newby, Bell and Rose in Suffolk (312).

Although Madgwick's assessment provides a detailed account of the political structure, skilfully weaving indigenous and exogenous economic and cultural influences, as

It is impossible to construct a very elaborate set of political ideas to represent a characteristic Cardiganshire political outlook (313).

it is equally impossible to derive a theoretical framework from this

Political culture....disturbed and defocussed
by currents of dissidence and alienation (314),

and it is left to the East Anglian group, under the direction of Newby to develop rural community power studies into a position where they can command a viable approach, couched in a sound theoretical framework.

Newby has argued that, despite the extent to which commercial decisions are increasingly taken beyond the local sphere, the importance of family proprietorship in agriculture ensures that the ownership of the means of production remains predominantly in local hands; with the result that both rural employment and rural power are also locally based (315). Drawing on this analysis, the group examines two factors determining the power structure of the capitalist agricultural community of East Anglia: the role of the local landowner within local government hierarchies, and class manipulation through the ownership of property.

In approaching the first of these they discovered that while the squirearchy may have declined, the rise of a formal local government structure has enabled farmers and local landowners to maintain control within rural communities through adopting positions within this new power hierarchy. Although the 1974 reorganisation of local government (often combining urban and rural within the one administrative unit) resulted in a reduction in the numerical dominance of farmers and landholders within the political system, the East Anglian evidence suggests that those with local agricultural interests still manage to occupy potential key positions at both County and

District levels (316). Furthermore the position appears self-perpetuating for as

The same men often dominate the political system as dominate the local employment market (by virtue of their ownership of land), the local housing market (by virtue of the control of tied housing), the local legal system (by virtue of their position on the magistrates benches) and even the sources of local welfare and patronage, there is likely to be a strong disincentive for less powerful and more dependent groups to mount a challenge against them (317).

Even the urban newcomers present little threat to this local system for by virtue of their position as property owners, newcomers support the landowners' policy of low rates, to the detriment of services, and through their desire to maintain the 'truly rural' character of the village they sanction the farmers and landowners who

By refusing to countenance industrial development in rural areas or engage in wide spread council building.... have provided the essential infrastructure whereby the powerlessness of local agricultural workers has been maintained and a low wage rural economy perpetuated (318).

On further analysis the group discovered that not only did the local land-owning elite command considerable political influence over East Anglian communities, but that their decisions appeared to have been virtually unquestioned (319). Following the approach of Bachrach and Baratz's manipulative power model (320), they suggested that

Opposition is side-stepped through the use of an ethic of non-politics, prevented through the anticipated reactions of a politically fatalistic working class and suppressed through ideological manipulation (321).

In this manner

Ideas of community are consistently asserted by dominant economic and political groups echoed by subordinate groups and thus used to foster a sense of fellow feeling, local

attachment and relative contentment. Identification and solidarity, therefore is encouraged along the local/non-local, rural/urban cleavage, and in this way, class consciousness based upon economic interest is avoided (322).

This approach is endorsed by Fleming's model of political apathy, based on her research in the Suffolk village of Gedford (323), which proposed that

In a system in which the elite control all subsistence resources of the village, including land, employment, housing and access to skills, and in which they use this power to advance their personal, family and class interests - economic, political and social - through the political institutions in and affecting the village, the problem for the proletariat will be to maximize the needed resources within these constraints (324).

In order to do this they, the proletariat, must behave in accordance with elite interests for during times of excess labour there will be pressure to leave the village:

This pressure to emigrate will be selective for those least conforming to elite standards of behaviour, through the application of economic and other sanctions. The pressure to emigrate will also be selective for those least conforming to villager standards of village behaviour, through the withholding of co-operation and support and aid in times of need, or by ostracism and ridicule (325).

Fleming thus suggested this system, with its inherent belief in the powerlessness of the proletariat has been maintained through the removal of non-conformists, and that this self-concept of powerlessness is reflected today in the villages' behaviour towards the new regional and national systems which now control their lives (326).

Within the wider context of the relationship between property and power, the East Anglian group have adapted Marx's model of production to assess class manipulation through rural landownership. Though a considerable amount of research has

assessed the relationship between contemporary family structure and the landholding structure (327), there is little understanding of the maintenance and inheritance of class power through family landownership. Arguing that

Farmers make their profits by first extracting and then retaining a proportion of the value of their workers' labour power (328)

the group suggested that a landowners right to expropriate a surplus is sanctified by the 'social laws' pertaining to property

The entitlement of the farmer to control his farm in whatever way he sees fit is merely an expression of the most pervasive and most taken-for-granted of all the ideologies of property in contemporary British society - the 'individualistic' ideology of PPA (329).

Thus the ownership of property forms the basis of the rural power structure: directly, through ideology and the management of employment and housing; and indirectly through paternalism, which is based on the ownership of property and employment rights, and through the membership of a formal political government, which is maintained through the manipulation of land ownership relations.

The group concluded by asserting that an understanding of the institution of property and its ideological supports is crucial to an understanding of the sources of stratification systems throughout advanced capitalist societies. Indeed they go further placing rural community studies at the centre of such an analysis by arguing that

Because of the 'localness' of many, if not most political decisions in rural areas the mechanisms through which power operates are more, rather than less, open to empirical investigation. For these reasons alone community studies will retain their usefulness (330).

However it must be stressed that the results of such micro-studies depend on the internal and external power configurations and thus in order for such studies to retain their validity precise specifications of local power parameters, and of the relationships between the local social system and the wider societal context, must be indicated (331).

Community as Microism.

Another tradition which has been refined in recent years, though still occasionally abused, is the examination of rural communities in order to obtain knowledge about wider social processes; the community as a microism of broader social changes. Within British rural studies this approach has been supported by both Pahl and Newby (332), although the latter advocates extreme caution (333). Pahl for example suggested that rural villages offered unique opportunities as 'natural laboratories' (334) for studying the impact of nationally induced changes on the social structure of local communities. In this he was advocating the approach of the Chicago School of urban sociology (335).

Greatest progress in this area has been made through the study of remote villages to ascertain the effects of widespread macro-social changes (often revolutionary) at grass-root level. For the very reason that appropriate communities tend to be remote has restricted many of these studies to peasant societies such as the studies of China by Myrdal (336) and Hinton (337) and Yglesais work in Chile (338). The main example to be drawn from the British context is Brody's use of Inishkillane to explain the

Transformation of rural Ireland's traditional farm communities from an integrated and working system to their present demoralised and contracted vestiges (339).

Drawing on the wider forces associated with the Irish famine he describes, through the eyes of Inishkillane people, a country's final acquiescence to urban capitalist culture.

The peasant community of farm families and the new entrepreneur are now socially, economically and ideologically intertwined: the compromise between them the essence and the index of demoralised rural Ireland(340).

This approach of using community studies as a method of examining the impact of wider social changes is refreshing in that, though lacking a cross cultural theoretical approach, it at least draws heavily on contextual material and can thus be assessed within a broad spacial framework. Similarly the emphasis on change and process negates one of the traditional weaknesses of a community study - that of capturing a society bounded by space and time. However, the approach arrives carrying the inherent vulnerability that change, especially revolutionary change, will be perceived as the evil, disturbing the calm of tradition - and that is too akin to the old vestiges of romantic Gemeinschaft to remain free from foreboding.

A change of emphasis.

There is a change of emphasis emerging within the study of the rural community; a move which appears to be gathering momentum. It is identified by a return to the rural community as a focus in itself for analysis (341). However in this revival there is an acute awareness of temporal and spacial context, of process and change. Adopted mainly by social anthropologists, the new approach takes up the concept of 'truly ruralness' and, making explicit that which has been only implicit before, attempts to discover the essence of the village.

Throughout the studies runs a pervasive theme, which colours the analysis: the concept of membership/non-membership of a group. A valuable illustration of this approach is produced by Strathern's (342) analysis of the Cambridgeshire village of Elmdon during the early 1960s. She suggests that

There is a precise equation between being a 'real' villager and being a birth member of the 'old' Elmdon families (343),

and the argument which follows is skilful but complex. Forging a link between kinship and local occupation, Strathern proposes that 'realness' is a cultural notion initially created by families to assert a right through kin associations to employment within a particular place. Thus in the same manner as tradesmen and craftsmen in the past asserted rights to their particular occupation through labels and names, village farm workers, possessing no such symbols of attachment, their connection being only implicit, asserted proprietorship to certain kinds of employment through categorical association with the village (344). Thus by virtue of a history of family attachment to the village, farm workers were able to appeal to the employer's own sense of community for priority in employment allocation (345). This was further extended to priority over claims for welfare in the form of housing and indeed is continued today in respect of both tied and local authority housing (346).

However, having defined 'real' villager the analysis is hard pressed to establish any practical difference between 'real' (born and originating in Elmdon - the core), and 'other established' (born but did not originate in Elmdon) villagers, in particular as daily areas of conflict arise not between the 'core' and the rest, but between the old village, comprising

everyone who lived in the village prior to the recent arrival of 'urban commuters', and these immigrants (347). Consequently her distinction, which refers to four families, has negligible influence over practical social interaction and appears as little more than a status symbol, more easily explained by basic attachment to place (348) than through an historical occupational schema.

Thus although Strathern claims support for her proposition through the fact that such 'core' villagers, while asserting proprietorship to land and employment, are likely to live in tied or rented property, thus

Exercise no tithe to the village land, nor indeed to any other productive assets beyond their labour (349).

Such support is eroded by Newby's analysis. For the farm labourers in East Anglia, the majority of whom would not fall under the definition of 'core' villager, also believed they had a right to a tied house, which Newby explains in terms of a paternalistic/deferential social structure: wage in return for labour, welfare for deference (350).

Similarly her assertion that

In their use of kinship and their formulation that village and family identity are bound together, Elmdoners can be seen to be making some general proposition about English culture (351)

has little relevance in areas dominated by family farming, where 'real villagerness' cannot be explained through competition for employment.

Strathern's proposition is questioned by two other studies of the same village. Robin's historical analysis suggests that Elmdon has been a society in continual flux with constant emigration counterposed with the arrival of immigrants, to take up positions for which villagers were not acceptable (352)

and Oxford's reassessment of the settlement in 1977 suggests that the 'core villagers' are no longer of fundamental significance, the crucial social distance being now between villagers and commuters (353); which begs the question as to whether this was not the true social format in the 1960s.

The presence of a core group is also identified in the small Norfolk village of Hennage, by Harris (354), though as a concept this group differs significantly from that of Elmdon. Defined in terms of blood and marriage ties, residence and 'competence' (a mixture of ascribed and achieved status and length of residence which 'fulfills village norms and expectations') (355), Harris reveals that

There are very few members of the core group who have lived in the village all their lives (356).

In fact it is never made clear why such a core group should exist and for what purpose, and one suspects this is more akin to Harris' own state of knowledge than to any lack of communication on his part. For while we are told that the village is strictly divided between -them (the non-core) and 'us' (the core) (357), and that

because the core-group is a self maintaining group any factors impinging from the outside world are interpreted in their own terms and incorporated into the system (358)

we are also informed that

The majority of the non-core group villages also adhere to core group norms.... their attitudes towards the social hierarchy are basically the same as those of the core (359).

Numerous other subtle adjustments and inconsistencies, that may be just faults of interpretation, but may prove paradoxes of understanding, are continually revealed throughout the somewhat wayward analysis (360). Perhaps the concept of the

core group will prove a modern version of Durkheim's totemism: 'acknowledged as such by the villagers' (361) membership of and reason for existence defying the probings of the external explorer. It is doubtful whether Strathern, and in particular Harris, can account for the phenomenon.

A similar analysis is attempted by Fleming in Suffolk though in contrast to Strathern and Harris, she perceives belonging as a continuum stretching from complete village to total outsider, the majority of the population of Gedford falling somewhere in between (362). Dividing the inhabitants into 'Gedford People', comprising both villagers raised in the village and participating in its culture, and marginals, though village raised, physically and/or behaviourally outside the society, and 'resident outsiders', resident in Gedford but not of the village culture (363), she suggests

Gedford residents do readily and often, identify themselves with one or the other category (364).

Belonging depends on closeness to the category villager, the prime determinants being geographic origins, length of residence and class. Thus someone from Suffolk is closer than someone from the rest of East Anglia, rural is closer than urban. Though length of residence may increase belonging, accent, dialect or class-linked speech will continue to emphasise difference. More complex is the concept 'villager' versus 'marginal' which appears an incipient class division.

A divergence from a common base whereby many marginals seek middle-class economic, educational and cultural goals, and identify with middle-class values (365).

Fleming suggests that as the characteristics which distinguish outsider from Gedford person are not absolutes but lie along

a continuum, those Gedford people who lie towards the outsider end of the continuum, tend to be identified as outsiders by the more characteristic villagers; these people either accept their ambiguous position as strangers to village society, or, as more often happens, leave the village (366).

Unfortunately Fleming then turns to concentrate on the life of the villagers alone, thus neglecting to examine in full her proposition of membership. However a study which does make this the key theme of analysis is Forsyth's original assessment of the plight of the 'urban refugee': those urban dwellers

Who move from the city to remote rural areas
in order to get away from rural life and
become rural (367).

but who in reality never do attain membership of the receiving community. In 1978 the Orkney island of Stormay contained seventy urban refugees, half the total population. Demographically they are revitalising a diminishing population with young families; economically, while housing may be a zone of contention, the immigrants find employment with ease, but language and values both provide barriers to integration.

The values and standards of the incomers are urban ones. Despite their expressed appreciation of the pastoral qualities of life, few of them seem to know much about how the Stormay folk really lived before their arrival on the island (368).

Forsyth argues that the existing social structure does not possess the means to assess and heal these new areas of conflict.

Incomers have no place in the islands kinship network, nor are their ties of friendship with

local people strong enough to redress major conflict between immigrants and members of the receiving community. Thus everyday conflicts between islanders and incomers further a division for which there is no redress (369).

In furthering Forsyth's argument it could be proposed that despite an earlier suggestion to the contrary (370) conflict generally divides groups (371) and as the social structure does not possess the means to heal newcomer/local conflict it does not possess the means to absorb them into its fold.

The study's conclusion strongly contradicts the proposal introduced by Pahl that

A village may best be understood as a state of mind. As 'rural' people acquire an urban outlook and 'urban' people try to escape from the physical urban world into an arcadian vision of a 'rural' area, then perhaps, in a culturally urbanised nation, those who are truly village people are those who have defined themselves in their own minds as villagers and act as they suppose villagers should act (372).

Rather she stresses that

There are important social and cultural differences between urban people transplanted to the countryside and people who are truly rural (373).

The study of rural communities has thus progressed from a position which perceived social structure to be explained through kinship, to the present concepts of social polarisation and class exploitation, neatly absorbed within a dichotomous local system, and explained with reference to sophisticated analytical models.

Despite this transformation in perceptions and available tools of analysis however, key themes still remain unresolved

or neglected and the understanding of the urbanization of rural communities is still incomplete. In particular questions concerning the concept of rurality and the existence of a truly rural population still appear unanswered, while the entry of social anthropologists into the assessment has raised new questions concerning the interaction of existing and immigrant populations and concepts of community membership

The urbanizing hinterland itself appears a second area of limited awareness (374). While the social ecologists have indicated the presence of various settlement types extant with such hinterlands there has been no in-depth analysis of this spectrum of communities. Rather previous studies have concentrated on one particular rural settlement, or type of rural settlement, typically the Metropolitan village. Newby's work in East Anglia touches on the idea of a spectrum of communities, However, this is firmly restricted to an examination of the effects of village growth on the agricultural population alone. Indeed perceptions of the behaviour of communities within urbanizing hinterlands are not only limited, many of the notions are still based on Pahl's original study undertaken twenty years ago at the commencement of the process. Similarly the concept of a hinterland population has been largely ignored. Knowledge of the broad range of populations now resident in the rural zones beyond the city is far from complete.

It thus appears that an in-depth assessment of rural zones adjacent to urban complexes is required; a study

which acknowledges that within the urbanizing hinterlands contrasting rural settlements are emerging and being constructed, that the urbanized commuter village co-exists in this zone with the agricultural settlement, and with villages in a process of transition between the two. An analysis is also required to tackle the concept of the hinterland population ; a clarification of the characteristics and interactive behaviour of the diverse populations now attracted to the rural hinterlands, who cluster in accordance with their socio-economic characteristics and in relation to the available housing classes.

This examination with its assessment of such a diversity of populations within the one zone should contribute to the debate surrounding the notions of rurality. It is argued however, that existing techniques have been inadequate to cope with these concepts and it is only with the arrival of the new approaches now emerging within geography that rurality as an explanatory variable can once again be approached.

1. Samuels 1981 p. 128
2. Ibid p. 127
3. Ibid p. 126
4. Durand-Drouhin 1981 p. 73
5. Arensburg and Kimball 1947. This was supported by an earlier work on the Irish Countryman, Arensburg 1937
6. Bell & Newby 1971 p. 132
7. This approach stems from the approach of Malinowski in the Pacific Isles, Malinowski 1922, and Radcliffe-Brown in Africa, Radcliffe-Brown 1922. An overview of the approach is provided by Lewis 1976 ch. 2
8. Arensburg and Kimball 1947 p. XX111
9. Bell & Newby 1971 p. 133; Lewis 1979 p. 186; Newby 1978 p. 63; Williams 1963 p. 56
10. Arensburg and Kimball 1947 p.315
11. Ibid p. XX11
- ✓12. Ibid p. 78
- ✓13. Ibid p. 152
- ✓14. Ibid p. 153
- ✓15. Arensburg and Kimball 1947 p. 156
- ✓16. Ibid p. 310
- ✓17. Ibid p. 157
- ✓18. Olson 1965
19. Tönnies 1955
20. Newby 1980 p. 76; Saunders et al 1978 p. 55
- ✓21. Munters 1982 p. 306
22. Benvenuti et al 1975 p. 4; Lewis 1979 p.33 ; Bell & Newby 1971 p.25.
23. See Tönnies 1955 p. 1X-XXV11
24. Ibid p. 48
25. Ibid p. 53
26. Ibid p. 100
27. Ibid p. 74
28. Ibid p. 87
29. Ibid p. 39
30. Ibid p. 265
31. A term suggested by Glass 1966 p. 142
32. Simmel 1903
33. Wirth 1938
34. Sokorin and Zimmerman 1929
35. Redfield 1947. Demonstration of his folk-urban continuum can be found in Redfield 1955 while an earlier use of the concept is apparent in his study Topozlan, Redfield 1930
36. Olson 1965
37. Duncan 1954
38. For example Wasson discovering lack of intimacy and personal knowledge among rural farming society in Minnesota suggested that despite other evidence to the contrary, it seemed that urbanization must have reached the area. Wasson 1939.
39. Newby 1978 p. 56; Newby 1971 p. 131
40. Rees 1950
41. Williams 1950
42. Benvenuti et al 1975 p. 4
43. Arensburg and Kimball 1949 p. XX11
44. Williams 1950 p. 69

45. Rees 1950 p. 60
46. Williams 1950 Chapter 5. Williams describes seven classes which though emerging through his own analysis can be compared with those suggested by Lloyd Warner 1949
47. Williams p. 126. These terms will be considered later in more depth.
48. Rees 1950 p. 129
49. Arensburg 1937 Chapter 3
50. Williams 1950 p. 50
51. Tönnies does not appear to expand on his biological proposition that the primogeniture is automatically male within relationships of Gemeinschaft.
52. Tönnies 1950 p. 45
53. Arensburg and Kimball 1947 p. 80; Williams 1950 p. 46
54. Rees 1950 p. 72
55. Williams 1950 p. 85; Rees 1980 p. 80
56. Arensburg & Kimball 1947 p. 152
57. Tönnies 1955 p. 49
58. Ibid p. 48
59. Rees 1950 p. 100
60. Williams 1950 p. 37; see also Arensburg and Kimball 1947 p. 31-35 and 131-136
61. Tönnies 1955 p. 41
62. Rees 1950 p. 99
63. Ibid p. 170
64. Williams 1950 p. 168
65. Ibid p. 176 and 169 respectively
66. Ibid p. 203
67. Arensburg and Kimball. 1947 p. 313
68. See for example Lewis' examination of Redfield's work in Lewis 1951 and Wright Mills review of Warner's work on the Yankee City, Wright Mills 1942
69. For example Anderson 1958; Nolan and Galliher 1973 and Olson 1965
70. Newby and Buttel 1980 p. 7
71. Brody 1973 p. 6
72. Arensburg and Kimball 1947
73. Brody 1973 p. 5 Arensburg and Kimball themselves provide a critical assessment of their earlier work in Arensburg and Kimball 1968
74. Bell and Newby 1971 p. 146 See also critical assessments in Olson 1965 and Glass 1966
75. Rees 1950 p. X1
76. Davies & Rees 1960 p. 1-63, Aberporth D. Jenkins
77. Ibid. p. 65-117 Tregaron E. Jones
78. Ibid p. 120-181 Aberdaron T. Jones
79. Ibid p. 185-248 Merioneth, T. Owen
80. Emmett 1964 p. 141
81. See for example cross references to morals p. 16; p. 115 marriage and illegitimacy; p. 101 p.111
82. Emmet 1964 p. X1
83. Ibid Emmet quotes from Evans-Pritchard 1932
84. Ibid p. X1
85. Newby 1978 p.56
86. Mogey 1947
87. For example Caird 1951; Jaatinen 1957; Storrie 1961; Coull 1962
88. Hobson 1949; Coull 1963; Coull 1964

89. Geddes 1955
90. See Lewis 1976 for an analysis of this approach and Malinowski 1922
91. Geddes 1955 p. 299
92. House 1952; House 1956
93. House 1956
94. Frankenburg 1957
95. Littlejohn 1963
96. See Lewis 1976 for an analysis of the current debate in social anthropology
97. Frankenburg 1957 p. 7
98. Davies and Rees 1960 p. XI
99. Frankenburg spent a year (1953-4) living in the village
100. Frankenburg 1957 p. 155
101. Ibid p. 156
102. Ibid p. 44
103. Ibid p. 43
104. Unfortunately 'complete outsiders', 'professional outsiders', 'intellectual outsiders', 'villagers' and 'Pentre people' have little comparative use
105. Littlejohn 1963 p. 1
106. Ibid p. 28
107. Ibid p. 8
108. Ibid p. 69
109. Ibid p. 76. These are based on Weber's concept of Status
110. Littlejohn 1963 p. 111. Distinguishing four classes, upper, middle, lower middle and working class, Littlejohn determines their validity by defining for each an extensive class culture.
111. Ibid p. 150
112. Ibid p. 115
113. Williams 1963
114. Ibid p. XV111
115. Ibid
116. Ibid p. 208-209
117. Ibid p. 52
118. Ibid p. XX In his analysis of rural depopulation from the Borough of Oakhampton, Martin 1966 also stresses the importance of spacial context.
119. Although Nalson 1968 did utilize the concept to explain mobility among the agricultural population
120. Newby 1980 p. 29.
121. In addition to the evidence Pahl produces it must be noted that numerous authors on both sides of the Atlantic had started to query the concept of Gemeinschaft v Gesellschaft. For example in Europe Hofstee 1960; Wibberly 1960 and in the U.S.A. Gans 1962
122. Pahl 1965
123. Pahl 1966 p. 306
124. Wirth 1938
125. Pahl 1966 p. 300
126. Wirth 1938 p. 54
127. Ibid p. 55
128. Ibid p. 56
129. Ibid p. 53
130. Gans 1962 provides an example.

131. Pahl 1966 p. 302
132. Ibid p. 303
133. Pahl 1966ap. 307
134. Pahl 1970ap. 10
135. Gans 1962
136. Ibid p. 643
137. Pahl 1966ap. 303
138. Ibid p. 317
139. Ibid p. 322
140. Pahl 1970ap. 98
141. Ibid p. 99
142. Ibid Chapter 7
143. Pahl 1970b p. 105
144. Pahl 1966a p. 322
145. Poplin 1972 Chapter 2
146. Jones 1973
147. Ibid p. 12
148. Frankenburg 1966
149. Williams H. 1976
150. Oommen 1967
151. Those proclaiming the concept as useful include :
Schnore 1966; Nelson and Yokely 1970; Nelson, Yokely
and Madron 1971; Nelson and Frost 1971; Willits, Bealer
& Crider 1973; Lowe and Peck 1974;
Those disclaiming it include Dewey 1960; Duncan 1961;
Killian and Grigg 1962; Fuguitt 1963; Sjoberg 1964;
Wilensky 1964;
152. Fischer 1972
153. Pahl 1970 p. 140 See also his reply to Lupri-Pahl 1967
154. Pahl 1966 p. 318
155. Newby 1980 p. 30 See also Benvenuti et al 1975
156. For example the proposal by Burie of a model of inter-
community variation. Burie 1967
157. Newby 1980 p. 31
158. Lewis 1976 p. 21
159. Connell 1974. p. 95
160. Ibid p. 81
161. Ibid p. 83 Connell expands on his concept of a Metropolitan
village in Connell 1978
162. Newby 1980 p. 30
163. Pahl 1965 p. 73
164. Ambrose 1971 p. 137 Ambrose was referring to his own
study but it is a comment which can well be applied to
several of the studies of this time.
165. Crichton 1964 It should be noted that this monograph was
the first of its kind, published before Urbs in Rure and
the debate on the rural-continuum, concentrating as it
does on a 'metropolitan village' (a term coined by Masser
and Stroud 1965)
166. Bonham-Carter 1952
167. Crichton 1964 p. 91
168. Ibid p. 89
169. Radford. 1970 This survey was encouraged by Jackson's
early assessment of depopulation and stagnation in the
Cotswolds (Jackson 1968) which had revealed considerable
areas of growth and was presented in a similar format of
comparative statistics with limited theoretical underlay.

170. Ibid p. 63
171. Mattishall and Lyng Group 1973
172. Ambrose 1971
173. See for example the Integration index Chapter 8;
Attitude survey Chapter 9; Network indices Chapter 12
174. Ambrose 1971 p. 137
175. Shaw 1978 p. 99
176. Ibid p. 96
177. Ibid
178. Numerous examples can be found in the journal Social Indicators Research. A general assessment of their use in the American context is provided by Andrews and Withey (1974) and Atkinson 1982, while Milbraith 1982 discusses their use within the community.
179. Drudy 1978
180. Pacione 1980
181. Ibid p. 188
182. Ibid p. 204
183. Hall 1976 provides an assessment of social indicator research in Britain. In addition various simplified assessments of community satisfaction have been attempted by various County Councils. For example Hampshire County Council 1966; Kent County Council 1963; and Cambridgeshire County Council 1968.
184. Thorns 1968
185. Mitchell 1951 Working from a detailed study of rural settlements in Devon Mitchell differentiated rural communities on the basis of their attitude to change and corresponding degree of integration: Open/integrated village - a successful, 'democratic' village; closed/integrated - a rigid village in which harmony is maintained by strong internal bonds excluding outside influences; open/disintegrated - rapid change has resulted in an unstable situation with an undefined community; closed/disintegrated - the village has retreated into itself as protection from social change. See also Mitchell 1950a, 1950b
186. Thorns 1968 p. 167-9
187. Ibid p. 172
188. Lewis 1970
189. Jenkins 1960
190. Pahl 1965
191. Ibid p. 155
192. Popplestone 1967
193. Vidich and Bensman 1968 p. 87
194. Popplestone 1967 p. 342
195. 'very rural' is used here to indicate the polar-type Metropolitan community.
196. Crawley 1979
197. See also Lucey and Kaldor 1969 for their accounts of industrialisation in Co. Mayo and County Clare, during the 1960s.
198. Crawley 1979 p. 49
199. Macfarlane 1981
200. Pahl 1966; Newby 1977 p.333; Elias and Scotson 1966
201. Macfarlane 1981 p. 131 This concept will be expanded in greater detail during the discussion of Newby's contribution

202. Ibid p. 128
203. Ibid p. 135
204. Green 1964 p. 55
205. Ibid p. 56
206. Popplestone 1967
207. Ibid p. 350
208. Connor 1977
209. Shaw 1978 p. 98
210. The study of deprivation has grown rapidly in recent years with the main focus of research emanating from East Anglia under the auspices of Mosely and Shaw. An extensive literature on this subject is provided by Mosely and al 1977 and Neate 1981. The central idea of these studies is 'rural accessibility' or the 'deprivation' of accessibility to certain resources. Indeed the concepts of both accessibility and deprivation have a considerable literature attached to them, and both still face certain ambiguities of definition. For alternative interpretations of accessibility see Daly 1975 p. 75; Ingram 1971 p. 101; Mosely 1979 p. 56-58; for deprivation see Shaw 1979 p. 175-176. Following a regular format researchers adopt various requirements and drawing on detailed evidence, usually in the form of area surveys, see Mosely 1979 p. 58-78 assess the population's access to them. For examples of access to education see Watkins 1979; recreation see Hill 1978; Ventris 1979; shopping see Mosely and Spencer 1978; Harman 1978; health facilities see Haynes and al 1978; Heller 1979; Stockford 1978; employment see Packman 1979; Gilg 1976; Hillier 1982; incomes see Thomas and Winyard 1979; housing see Larkin 1979; Rogers 1976; Thurgood 1978; mobility see Hibbs 1972; Mosely 1972, 1979a, 1979b, Mosely and al 1977; Wibberly 1978
211. Owens 1978
212. Ibid p. 31-32
213. Ibid p. 31
214. Shaw 1978
215. Ibid p. 99
216. Pahl 1966 p. 322 - This process has also been examined by Lewis and will be considered later within the general overview of social ecology
217. Stacey 1969
218. Ambrose 1971 p. 172
219. Stacey 1969 p.
220. Ambrose 1971 Chapter 11
221. Ibid p. 175
222. Bracey 1952, 1959, 1970. Similar general surveys of rural life in England are provided by Bonham-Carter 1952; Backer 1953. There appears no comparable assessment of the rest of Britain.
223. Jennings 1968; Thomas 1939
224. Ibid p. 185
225. Bracey 1959 p. 235
226. Bracey 1970 p. 137
227. Ibid
228. See for example Edwards 1971
229. Population density, population change, population over 65; women 13-45, household amenities, occupational structure, commuting out pattern, immigration, distance from urban centre of 30,000. Cloke 1978 p. 604

230. Ibid
231. Cloke quotes Bracey 1970; Clout 1972; Woodruffe 1976
232. Cloke 1978 p. 613
233. Ibid p. 614-615
234. Ibid p. 615
235. Ibid.
236. For examples of recent literature see Cummins 1978; Drudy 1978
237. Champion's analysis of 1981 census data points to increased rural growth 1971-81, but with emphasis on the early years. Champion 1981
238. There is a continued debate in the USA over the precise use of this term, see for example Berry 1976 and Vining and Kontuly 1978; indeed Dean et al have recommended that the term be avoided. Dean et al 1984.
239. Robert and Randolph 1983 place such emphasis on the urban perspective of counter-urbanisation that even regeneration in the remoter rural areas is perceived as but a part of the general process of suburbanisation p. 96
240. Cloke 1985
241. Ibid p. 19
242. Ibid p. 21
243. Ibid p. 22
244. Despite the growth of the school of urban social ecology, little attention has been paid to ecological explanations of rural behaviour patterns, rural areas being perceived by this school as mere adjuncts to the city. An interesting review of urban social ecology is provided by Entnkin 1980
245. Martin 1957
246. Ibid p. 76-77
247. Burie 1967
248. Lewis and Maund 1976 p. 19
249. Ibid p. 20; it must be noted that the term 'repopulation' here differs from that used by Cloke and refers to the migration of the retired to rural communities, a subject which has been largely neglected. Though there have recently been assessments by Warnes and Law; in particular Law and Warnes 1976; 1980; 1982; Warnes and Law 1983 and Warnes 1983. See also contributions by Mosely 1978; Wenger 1982 and Coles 1982. This may initially condone: second home ownership - for an extensive review of this phenomenon see Bielckus et al 1972, also Coleman 1982; Clout 1974; Coppock 1977
250. Ibid
251. Ibid
252. Ibid p. 21
253. Pahl 1966
254. Lewis and Maund 1976 p. 22
255. Ibid p. 25
256. Lewis 1970_a and 1970_b
257. Gans 1962
258. Lewis and Maund 1979
259. Davies and Lewis 1974 p. 137
260. Lewis and Maund 1979 p. 145
261. Lewis 1979 p. 164
262. Ibid p. 166
263. Ibid

264. Newby et al 1978 p. 16
 265. Ibid p. 17
 266. Haviden 1966
 267. Ibid p. 260
 268. Nalson 1968
 269. Williams 1964 p. XVll-XlX
 270. Nalson 1968 p. 214-221
 271. For the two distinctive approaches see The Deferential Worker, Newby 1977 and Newby 1972 Property, Paternalism & Power Newby et al 1978, and Bell and Newby 1974. It must also be noted that while Newby was responsible for much of the following analysis he frequently published jointly with Bell, Saunders and Rose, as is apparent from reference to the bibliography.
 272. Newby 1977 p. 141
 273. Pahl 1970a p. 99
 274. Newby 1977 p. 186
 275. Ibid p. 279
 276. Bell and Newby 1974 p. 103
 277. Parkin 1971 p. 34-5
 278. Littlejohn refers to this as 'esteem' Littlejohn 1963 p. 27-36; Plowman, Munchinton and Stacey 'interactional status' Plowman et al 1962 p. 166 and p. 186-195
 279. Newby 1977 p. 323
 280. Parkin 1971 p. 43-4
 281. Pahl 1966 p. 317
 282. Newby 1977 p. 325
 283. Ibid p. 327
 284. Ibid p. 329; this desire to gain status through skill at work was noted by Littlejohn 1963 p. 36 who suggested that it presented class conflict as 'good workmen and good farmers tend to seek each other out, each helps to build the reputation of the other and on those farms on which the two are found each respect the other's skill'.
 285. Newby 1979 p. 164
 286. Newby 1977 p. 330
 287. Ibid p. 330-1
 288. Ibid p. 333
 289. Ibid This was first suggested by Pahl 1966 p. 308
 290. Ibid
 291. This is also discussed by Connell 1974 p.83; Elias and Scotson 1966
 292. Friction often arises between local landowners and in-migrants as modern farming practices often necessitate widespread alteration in the landscape which conflicts with the incomer's notion of the 'village on the mend', an aesthetic notion of the countryside which stresses visual aspects coined by Pahl 1965, though obviously influenced by Parks similar concept, Park 1952 p.73'
- Other studies have explored this notion of the 'authentic rural village' in greater depth. See for example Schmitt 1969 for an American example and the literary account presented by Williams 1973
293. Newby 1977 p. 335-6
 294. Newby 1977 p. 339
 295. Newby 1980b p. 261

296. Newby 1977 p. 337
297. Though this finds support from Thorn's work in South Nottinghamshire, Thorns 1968 p.174, Crawley's assessment of rural west Ireland Perceived the emergence of this 'working class element' as having little effect on rural structure bar to enable young men and women to remain within the community, Crawley 1979 p. 50
298. This criticism has arisen from the publication of Green and Pleasant Land, Newby 1979 an account 'for the general reader' p. 9
299. For example his intimate examination of the effects of the national upon the local and his clarification of the concept of 'status' within rural communities, and his assessment of local constraints.
300. Though there has been considerable debate over the meaning of the concept community, see for example Stacey 1969, we are here referring to community as an approach of analysis.
301. Bell and Newby 1974 p. XLVll-Ll
302. A comprehensive review is provided by Walton 1966
303. See for example Landsberger 1974; Mintz 1974; Wolf 1973 Earlier work is summarised by Campbell 1964
304. For example class struggle in the Notting Hill area of London, O'Malley 1977;
305. Leverton 1982
306. Buchanan 1982
307. One of the finest reviews is in Connell 1978
308. Connell 1972
309. Butler and Lowe 1982
310. For example Grant 1977; Gyford 1976
311. Madgwick 1973
312. Saunders et al 1978
313. Madgwick 1973 p. 229
314. Ibid p. 244
315. Newby 1980 p. 81
316. Newby et al 1978 p. 233
317. Ibid p. 254
318. Ibid p. 274. This unification of the interests of newcomers and local landowners has been questioned by Buller and Lowe working also in Suffolk who suggest that the stretching of the property class to include the small house owner not only leads to problems of scale but of conflicting relationships with the environment, and that this conflict of interest is becoming more apparent as the middle-class consolidate their political power within the countryside. Buller and Lowe 1982 p. 34-7
319. Saunders et al 1978 p. 65
320. Bachrach and Baratz 1970 Chapter 4
321. Saunders et al p. 73
322. Ibid p. 78
323. Fleming 1979 Chapter 4
324. Ibid p. 53
325. Ibid.
326. Ibid p. 157
327. See for example Arensburg and Kimball 1947; Brody 1973; Jenkins 1971; Nalson 1968; Rees 1950; Williams 1950 and 1963

328. Newby et al 1978 p. 345
329. Ibid p. 347 PPA 'Property of Personal Appropriation' refers to 'items over which there appears to be a broad consensus of values regarding the desirability of private and individual ownership'. Newby et al 1978 p. 334. This ideology thus seeks to achieve legitimacy for private ownership of productive land by asserting its membership of PPA
330. Saunders et al 1980 p. 81
331. Newby 1980 p. 82 expresses concern over this
332. Bell and Newby 1971 Chapter 2
333. Newby 1980 p. 81 see for example claims made by Strathern that Elmdon 'makes some general proposition about English culture' Strathern 1981 p.16 is such an example requiring 'caution'.
334. Pahl 1966 p. 323
335. Park 1952 p. 73. Lynd and Lynd's study of Middletown proves an example of such an approach; Lynd and Lynd 1929 and Stein discusses the problems of generalising from community studies.
336. Myrdal 1975
337. Hinton 1973; 1984
338. Yglesais 1972, see also Frazer 1973
339. Brody 1973 p. 7
340. Brody 1973 p. 209
341. Newby 1977 p. 102
342. Strathern 1981
343. Ibid p. 5
344. Ibid p. 83
345. Ibid
346. Ibid p. 104 and p. 119
347. Ibid p. 57
348. Relph 19
349. Strathern 1981 p. 119
350. Newby 1977 p. 51
351. Strathern 1981 p. 16
352. Robin 1980 p
353. Strathern 1981 p. 227
354. Harris (pseud.name) 1974
355. Ibid p. 19
356. Ibid p. 62
357. Ibid p. 93
358. Ibid p. 39; see also p. 53
359. Ibid p. 92
360. This analysis was written for an American audience and its interpretation of 'English custom' raises numerous questions. See for example village fetes : described by the English as 'fete's worse than death'. Similarly generalisations such as 'the villagers send their children to school because to do so is easier than not to do so' p. 51 do not inspire confidence in the work as a whole; yet it is widely quoted
361. Harris 1974 p. 12
362. Fleming 1979 p. 21
363. Ibid p. 23
364. Ibid p. 20
365. Ibid p. 21
366. Ibid

- 367. Forsyth 1980 p.306
- 368. Ibid. p.298
- 369. Ibid p.301
- 370. Popplestone 1967
- 371. Mills 1967 discusses the Conflict Model of groups.p.14-15
- 372. Pahl 1970 p.30
- 373. Forsyth 1980 p.304
- 374. The term 'urbanizing hinterland' is here used to refer to the rural hinterland of urban complexes which is under pressure for residential growth. It is also referred to as the 'rural hinterland'.

CHAPTER 2

A Humanistic Approach to the Rural Community.

The rural hinterland is a zone under pressure for development and as such thus appears in a state of metamorphosis with many emergent places. It is argued that positivist techniques of analysis are inadequate to cope with the experiences of these emergent places, and the contrasting relationships experienced by the residents of such places. Within a typical positivist stance the rural settlement is taken to be a particular configuration of buildings, containing a particular numerical population, set in a rural environment. The resident population possess specific behavioural patterns, typically aligned to the socio-economic characteristics of the households and the density and size of the development(1). While this approach adequately describes the mechanics of the change, and the resultant spacial and social structure, it has consistently neglected the subjective aspect of the evolving reciprocal relationship between the rural settlement, the Place, and the inhabitants, the People (2).

The reciprocal relationship is here defined as the relationship whereby the People within Place directly experience physical, social and symbolic contexts of existence, so that Place emerges from the barrenness of space through the meaning imposed on it by the People as a result of these experiences. The approach of this study is humanistic in

that it emphasises this relationship between People and Place, acknowledging that it is this which gives meaning to human behaviour.

Places are not only physical settings defined by spacially identifiable patterns of buildings, they are the focusing of experience and intentions onto particular settings...full with meanings, with real objects and with ongoing activities. They are important sources of individual and communal identity, and are often profound centres of human existence to which people have deep emotional attachment and psychological ties (3).

Indeed as Relph later indicates the relationship of an individual with Place may be as important as the relationship with People.

People are not only collections of socio-economic variables, attached to particular behavioural patterns, but beings forming the subject of their own worlds, expressed through their possession of a life world or lived world which gives meaning to their behaviour. The current research suggests that these lived worlds are but relationships between individuals and their environments, physical, social and symbolic.

Humanism serves as a reminder that the contextual relationship cannot be reduced to logical connections between things in an abstracted state. The inhabitants and their settlement are not separate entities detached from each other, but are involved in a continual reciprocal relationship expressed both through the lived world of the individual and through the emerging character of Place:

The relationship between community and Place is indeed a very powerful one, in which each

reinforces the identity of the other and in which the landscape is very much an expression of the communally held beliefs and values of interpersonal involvements (4).

It is this reciprocal relationship between People and Place which geographers have failed to make explicit within the analysis of rural settlements.

The approach of this study is thus concerned with the qualities which transform space into place, the process through which:

what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value (5),

the relationships experienced by different People during that transformation, and the action of People upon Place and Place upon People. Only then can a consideration be made of the questions raised by Pahl, Lewis, and Newby concerning the difference of the rural from the urban in terms of aura, experience and behaviour, and of Strathern, Fleming and Forsyth in relation to the existence of a truly rural population, distinct from non-rural people, and attempt to determine if 'rurality' remains a valid concept in contemporary Britain.

2.1.Humanistic Geography.

The approach of the study has been defined as broadly humanistic. A brief description of the humanistic stance adopted and interpreted by geographers will serve to expand the underlying position (6).

The humanistic tradition within geography can be clearly identified in the work of Vidal de la Blache and the French school, and in the literature of environmental and place consciousness (7). However, Ley and Samuels suggest that the 'intellectual core of modern humanism in geography' (8) is to be found in the work of those who address humanism as a changing and adapting form. This is most evident in the writings of Buttimer, Tuan, Olsson and Wolpert. We shall also include Seamon and Relph, who in 1978 undoubtedly still fell into the category of 'other less well established but no less important scholars' (9), and Samuels and Ley themselves. Although it has been stated that there is a humanism for every persuasion and every personality' (10), this core is seen to propound one central message:

a principal aim of modern humanism in geography is the reconciliation of social science and man, to accommodate understanding and wisdom, objectivity and subjectivity, and materialism and idealism (16).

An analysis of the work of these geographers suggests that modern humanism in geography exhibits three main characteristics: anthropocentrism, holism and reflexivity.

Appropriate epistemologies for anthropocentrism include phenomenology and existentialism. Although Samuels has revealed how in existentialist terms space becomes place (12) it is the philosophy based on the phenomenology of Husserl that has received the greatest attention within human geography.

Phenomenology was first brought to the attention of geographers by Sauer's 'The morphology of landscape' where he wrote that:

The task of geography is conceived as the establishment of a critical system which embraces the phenomenology of landscape, in order to grasp all its meanings. (13)

However as a concept it was generally ignored by geographers until Relph's enquiry into the relations between phenomenology and geography (14) suggested that the aim of phenomenology was:

to provide a means of investigation through which the 'lived worlds' of man's experience can be restored to a place of prominence in our thinking. (15)

Relph continues by arguing that the most important aspect of phenomenology is its recognition of, and emphasis on, the intentionality of man's actions. In phenomenology intentionality does not refer simply to a deliberately selected purpose or direction, but also to a relationship of being between human kind and their world (16) in that all human impulses and awarenesses do not exist unto themselves but are directed toward something and have an object (17), the act and object of this consciousness possessing a mutual, interdependent relationship (18). Such being is:

apparent in our desires, our evaluations and the landscapes we see (19),

and it is only through the study of this relationship that we can comprehend the world, for it is this that gives meaning to human behaviour (20). The world is conceived as being essentially subjective, as knowledge is assumed not to exist independently of humankind, but must be derived from human experience of the world. The phenomenological method is thus offered by Relph:

as a procedure of rigorous description
for the investigation of the lived worlds
of man's experience (21).

This concept of 'lived worlds' is extended by Buttimer through her analysis of the 'life world' which she defines as:

The taken-for-granted pattern and context
of daily living (22),

while Seamon suggests that phenomenological geographers should first identify the qualities and interconnections of the geographical lifeworld, which comprises the:

sum of the taken-for-granted meanings,
experiences, behaviours and events in
relation to environment, space, place and
landscape (23),

before analysing links with other, social, economic and political, lifeworlds.

Holism is a second property of humanism, drawn from the vision of the French school which stressed the contextual immersion of phenomenon, emphasising the reciprocal and emergent relations of humankind and environment (24). It is Buttimer who has been primarily responsible for bringing the work of Vidal de la Blache forward into modern humanism.

She suggests that the essence of Vidal's approach to geographic study consisted of a dialogue between milieu and civilisation:

Milieu, a variegated mosaic of physically differentiated pattern, each with an appropriate dynamism; civilisation, the source of creative and conservative ideas that permeated societies' genres de vie (25)

At the interface of milieu and civilisation is a 'paysage humanise': the recording of the experiences of groups interpreting, valuing and utilising their environments (26).

Buttimer also attempts to clarify and define the position of a second holistic perspective emerging from the French school, the concept of social space. Drawing on the work of Chambart de Lauwe she suggests that:

Social space is a framework within which subjective evaluations and motivations can be related to overtly expressed behaviour and the external characteristics of the environment (27),

and identifies an objective component:

The spacial framework within which groups live whose social structure and organisation have been conditioned by ecological and cultural factors

and a subjective component:

space as perceived by members of particular groups (28).

Identifying with the assertion by Sorre that these two dimensions are linked, Buttimer proposes that each group possesses its own special social space, which reflects its particular values, preferences and aspirations (29).

A third perspective of humanism is reflexivity.

According to Gregory (30) the reflexive geographer works to

make explicit the taken-for-granted qualities of the world views and lifestyles of individuals and groups, through the recognition that the individual both creates and responds to a variety of systems of meaning, all of which require self conscious consideration and understanding (31). Like anthropocentrism, reflexivity shares the philosophical foundation of existentialism and phenomenology, while Gregory also stresses its relationship with hermeneutics. He suggests that reflexive interpretation involves immersion, but not through the substitution of one frame of reference for another, which will conceal inevitable tensions between the two, rather through the hermeneutic task of making such tension explicit and clarifying the means by which real immersion can evolve (32).

Though it has been stated that :

Humanism does not refer to a single coherently circumscribed set of ideas (33)

a core of intention has been slowly evolving within geography which both accepts and rejects elements of the substantial concept, both refining and extending the approach. Thus the current research does not venture into the extreme phenomenological notions of epoche (34), place ballets (35) and experiential fieldwork (36) for, as Gregory has noted, there arises an essential difference between the contemplative intentions of Husserl's transcendental philosophy and the practical concerns of social science (37). Rather it acknowledges the general position of Buttimer (38) and suggests that the linking of humanism and scientific enquiry will provide an approach for assessing the reciprocal relationship of People and Place in a rural zone under pressure for development.

2. 2.

The practise of participant observation and extended interviewing as field research.

The methodology of humanism is eclectic: the quest for subjective meanings calls on the empiricism demonstrated by the French and Chicago schools, while this in itself demands some form of quantification. As Ley and Samuels suggest there is not necessarily disharmony between humanist approaches and quantification for:

the humanist approach to quantification is pragmatic, while rejecting any mystique about measurement, one is free to make use of the technique selectively and where appropriate (39).

Yet the prime call of humanism is immersion and the method best suited for this is participant observation.

Participant observation may be defined as understanding through experience. Through observation a holistic view of social interaction is obtained, through participation insight into behaviour is attained. It is thus the:

conscious and systematic sharing...in the affairs, activities and occasionally in the interests of a group of persons (40).

Perhaps the principal advantage of participant observation is that it enables the researcher to secure his data within the mediums, symbols and experiential worlds which have meaning for the respondents (41).

Leach draws a parallel between music and myth in the representation of an orchestra and ritual (42). The same analogy can be utilised to examine communication. When an orchestra plays it is comprehended on two levels: the

audience receive a combination of sounds to make the whole piece; the players understand their own contribution in relation to the whole. When an observer examines a group situation he can stand back and listen to the 'music'; he can concentrate on one particular 'instrument'; he can even go 'backstage' and interview a 'player'. However it is a false situation for it is only by taking up an instrument and participating that a researcher can understand the interaction of the individual and the whole. A field worker need not enter via the base drum - joining the chorus line or violins causes minimal disruption and is sufficient. Participant observation thus allows the researcher to stand back at intervals and listen to the music, but also to enter the sanctum of the orchestra and learn from within. The aim of participant observation therefore, is to 'take part in the socialization process just as other participants do, to the point where one's own inner experience can reflect unity and the structure of the whole' (43).

Participant observation is thus the discovery of:

Innumerable nuances of human interaction,
impossible to record or quantify (44),

indeed participant observation is the study of nuances, shades of meaning, action, perceptions. It is access to these nuances which allow the participant observer to contrast:

The insider's ways of experiencing place
and the outsider's conventional ways of
describing them (45)

and attempt a conscious awareness of the relationship between People and Place.

In this study participant observation was used in connection with an open interviewing schedule, the two methodologies having reciprocal benefits. Participant observation aided questionnaire design (46), clarified interviews by providing contextual information (47), interpreted and validated quantitative results (48) and assisted communication (49). Alternatively extended interviewing helped correct bias (50), demonstrated the generality of a single observation (51), and aided the analysis of the subjective field data (52).

2. 2. 1.

The field work.

Two case areas, southern Hampshire and southern Staffordshire were selected for analysis. The rationale behind this and the subsequent selection of the seven case settlements is described in Chapter 3. Prior to the main analysis, interviews were conducted with the Planning Departments of Hampshire and Staffordshire County Councils, the Council for Small Industry in Rural Areas (COSIRA), and the Community Councils to obtain a general knowledge of the counties and this was augmented by several informal field trips to the two areas. During this time two pilot studies were conducted. A series of open and structured interviews were tested in the village of Swanmore, north of Portsmouth, followed by one month's participant observation and open interviewing in the settlement of Welford upon Avon, south of Birmingham, to gain familiarity with technique and to

establish the most appropriate method of combining the two approaches.

During 1981 six months were spent in rented private accommodation in the centre of each fieldwork area (53). The zone as a whole was studied throughout the period to provide a geographic and social context, while each case settlement was examined independently for up to ten weeks (54). In both cases a full social and working life was undertaken within the field work area, with employment as a part-time bar maid being obtained in both areas, as well as membership of village and district societies.

An extended open interviewing programme was conducted within each village. In five of the case study settlements, those with under two hundred households, all houses were visited. If the initial visit was not successful in producing a response, up to two return visits were made. The remaining two settlements, with over six hundred houses, were stratified according to house type and thirty per cent of the households selected for visiting, through systemic sampling. Table 2.1 demonstrates the percentage of successful interviews per settlement.

Interviewing occurred during the day, evenings, and at week ends to ensure a response both from those with one adult member, usually female, who spent the day within the home and from those households in which all adult members were employed outside the village during formal working hours.

Table 2.1.

Breakdown of interviewing schedule per settlement

	Houses	Houses visited	Successful interviews	Refusals	House empty or residents away	Failure or unsuccessful interview
	No.	%	%	%	%	%
East Tisted	49	100	51	22	14	13
Weston under Lizard	53	100	81	8	6	5
Cheriton	169	100	56	19	8	17
Bradley	87	100	63	9	6	22
Rowlands Castle	626	29	79	18	NA	3
Wheaton Aston	642	30	73	22	NA	5
Acton Trussell	193	100	41	22	2	35

Failure or unsuccessful interview refers to those households who were unable to be contacted or whose interview was incomplete.

The combination of participant observation with the interviewing resulted in informal introductions with residents, assisting the process of home visiting. In the two larger villages the sampling schedule was adjusted to allow this to occur within a representative framework of the residents(55).

The interviews were open and extended; as far as possible they were conducted as 'conversations', with the respondent directly influencing the flow of information. However a checklist was also utilised to prompt the conversation and at the conclusion of each, any required data not emerging during the course of the discussion was more formally acquired via direct questioning. In this manner individual subjective thought and impressions were gathered as well as shades of opinion and interest, and occurrences pertinent to the individual and study, which might otherwise have been impossible to obtain via a structured approach. Secondary meetings were common, either formally arranged, or more typically, arising during participant observation.

The aim of participant observation is to observe the behaviour of local residents through sharing in their daily activities (56), and as far as possible shopping, socialising, and recreation was continued within the confines of the settlement being studied at the time. Local shops were visited daily, and lunch taken in the village pub with local residents, at lunchtime meetings, or outside within a central

zone, such as the village green, each setting proving appropriate for informal conversations and gossip exchange (57). Similarly, evenings were spent working as a barmaid, interviewing, or socialising either at meetings or informally with contacts. Such contacts were acquired both within each settlement, and throughout the fieldwork area. An introduction to male and female middle class society was provided through my Staffordshire landlady, and a Hampshire Anglican priest. Employment as a barmaid introduced me to the younger population as well as establishing essential insight into the male working class community, and both middle and working class female contacts were made through female organisations (58). In addition I was able to assimilate into female groups as a local resident, while male contacts introduced me to their society usually centred on a pub or social club, in the role of a female acquaintance. The contacts thus established fell into two broad categories. Formal contacts were aware of the purpose of my research and deliberately introduced me to sectors of the community, while informal contacts perceived me in my role as barmaid or student and informal socialising was continued in their company. Events and conversations occurring during participant observation were recorded and used as contextual material.

The combination of participant observation and extended interviewing resulted in the collection of over one thousand conversations. Data referring to five hundred and eighty

two households (59) was sufficiently detailed to provide a framework for subsequent statistical analysis. These were placed on a 2980 ICL computer and tabulated by the programmes CROSSTABS and MULT RESPONSE from the social science package, SPSS (60). All tables and numerical data are derived from these five hundred and eighty two households (61) although the contextual material introduced throughout the text was gathered both during the extended interviewing and through the daily participant observation.

There may, of course, be considerable practical problems in sorting and 'quantifying' the contextual information arising from participant observation (62), although the information is undoubtably of quite considerable value. The difficulties lie not only in the examination and handling of the data, for this can be at least partially overcome by careful recording during the fieldwork, but also in the classification of subjective, descriptive material for use in cross comparative analysis (63). In view of these problems it was decided to base the formal analysis on variables which could easily be measured, thus providing a framework within which the contextual information might be set. The subsequent tabulations were then used as guidelines, substantiated by extensive examination of the descriptive material.

2. 2. 2.

Participant Observation in Practice.

Participant observation as a technique is multi-faceted within the specification that it is designed to be a part of

the life of the people under investigation. It is a fluid approach which maintains a shifting emphasis between Participation and Observation over space and time. The methodology which was used in the present research was thus contingent on the role that was being undertaken at the time, and the social milieu within which this was enacted. Applying the typologies introduced by Junker and Fink (64) the following degrees of Participation can be identified.

Complete Participation occurred during:

Work: Evening employment in a public house ensured that a specific section of the population recognised me only as a local barmaid. My employer and co-workers knew that I was a student but presumed my interests to be historical.

Social events : social attendance: Defined as events which were attended either alone as a local resident and newcomer to the area, or in the company of contacts who were unaware that my research covered the occasion, viewing it as social free time. Complete participation was possible under these circumstances as the objects under study were not aware of being observed.

Participant as Observer (Psuedo Participation) occurred during:

Social events - informal attendance: defined as events where I was accompanied by a contact and introduced as a friend. My contact was aware that I was involved in studying the event but the observed saw me in the role of 'friend'.

Day life in the community: shopping and eating occurred in the settlement under study. The residents were aware that I was studying an aspect of the settlement, and this awareness increased as open-interviewing progressed, however they associated day life as 'free time', distinct from my work.

Observer as Participant occurred during:

Social events - Formal attendance: defined as events where I was formally introduced as a researcher and invited to join the group for that one event.

The current research suggests that for the study of groups in a social situation the participant as observer appears the most appropriate role, as the researcher is able to combine inside information from contacts with the anonymity and acceptance of an identifiable role.

Within these degrees of participant observation the fieldworker is called upon to enact various roles. Indeed it is only by adopting multi-roles that symbolic and emotional identification with a specific group can be avoided (65) and the element of bias inherent within participant observation be minimized. In particular this includes over-identification with the elite, often middle class sphere of society (66), and over-rapport which can be seen to have occurred when involvement with a section of the community results in the closure of certain alternative lines of investigation (67).

In the present research various roles were enacted which can be assimilated in Kluckhorn's classification of multi-role play (68).

<u>Complimentary:</u>	barmaid
<u>General:</u>	local resident
<u>Specific:</u>	researcher

The specific role of researcher was further subdivided into:

' <u>Open Researcher</u> ':	At interviews and 'formal attendance' events
' <u>Hidden Researcher</u> ':	'informal attendance events'
' <u>Concealed Researcher</u> ':	'social attendance events'

These roles are more particularized than those adopted naturally in relationships. They not only dissect time and space but within and between specific groups of people. Some roles will be concealed, others out of character with their counterparts and/or unnatural to the field worker (69). In addition to the adoption of defined roles in particular situations, each individual role evolved through distinct stages of rapport (70). The transition from open researcher to social acquaintance for example, occurred on many occasions (71). Figure 2.1 for example illustrates the stages of rapport identified in the general relationship with shop keepers.

An inherent difficulty in the assessment of rural communities within urbanizing hinterlands is that in order to assess the specific community types, a spectrum of settlements must be examined. This entails demanding fieldwork.

Figure 2.1Rapport development with shopkeepers

Grades of acceptance	Fieldworker's approach Observed's response	Observed's approach	Conversation examples.
Polite Indifference	No information requested No information given	Formal Discussion	Weather/ Prices
Polite Interest	General information requested General information given	Informal questions	My origin/ new home
Personal Interest	Specific information requested Specific information given	Interested questions	Marital Status/ work
Personal Acceptance	1) Information freely given	Little questioning	
	2) Information through general conversation	Interest in research	Findings/ local gossip

Within the case settlements shops were visited daily over six weeks to two months; within the areas specific shops were selected and frequented two to three times a week for six months.

It is suggested that the combination of participant observation with extended interviewing described above enables several settlements to be studied in depth. In the current research, six months permanent residence within each fieldwork area enabled a degree of intimacy to be formed with the communities, while the extended interviewing programme resulted in the wholesale gathering of more formal information. Thus a wide spectrum of communities were studied and the in-depth knowledge of those communities obtained.

As was earlier noted the methodology of humanism is eclectic, enabling a wide variety of techniques to be adopted for appropriate situations. While an individual's relationship with Place is accessible through the subjective immersion of participant observation, it was recognised that at the macro scale, aggregate characteristics of the settlements could be gathered utilizing statistical techniques. This would verify the assumption that a spectrum of rural settlements lay within urbanizing hinterlands and provide a data base for the selection of representative case settlements. It is this latter analysis which forms the basis of Chapter 3.

1. For an example of this approach see Connell 1974
2. Throughout the analysis the term 'Place' is taken to refer to Place of residence unless otherwise indicated.
3. Relph 1976 p.141
4. Ibid p.34
5. Tuan, 1977 p.6
6. One of the most extensive accounts presented by a geographer is Relph 1981. While humanism has been generally accepted within geography as a critique of positivist methods, see for example Gregory 1978 Ch. 4, its claim to provide an alternative epistemology has been criticized. Indeed Relph himself has queried the role of humanism per se as a viable perspective, introducing his own approach 'environmental humility' Relph 1981. One of the fiercest attacks has come from Billinge, for example, his attack on the 'mandarin dialect' of some humanistic writing, Billinge 1983, and his earlier rejection of phenomenology within historical geography Billinge 1977. While acknowledging the difficulties inherent within humanism, this study will argue that the approach can be valuably used to supplement the theory and methodology of some traditional approaches.
7. Ley and Samuels 1978 suggest J.K.Wright, Lowenthal, Sauer, Andrew Clark, Meinig, Paul Wheatley and Glacken as but a few examples
8. Ley and Samuels 1978 p.9
9. Ibid. Seamans PhD thesis was not published until 1979 as 'A geography of the life world'. Relphs PhD only in 1976 as 'Place and Placelessness'. His other major work, 'Rational landscapes and Humanistic geography' not until 1981
10. Relph 1981 p.127. He compares the contrasting use by Entrikin, Tuan and Clark
11. Ley and Samuels 1978 p.9
12. Samuels 1978
13. Sauer 1925 p.320. However Billinge argues that Sauers work does not have a conscious phenomenological basis. Billinge 1977 p.59
14. Relph 1970. Geographers have recently followed the interpretation of phenomenology introduced by Schutz. see Schutz 1967
15. Ibid p.194
16. Ibid
17. Seaman 1984 p.171
18. Pettit 1969 p.42. See also Gurwitsch 1967
19. Relph 1970 p.194
20. Ibid. Relph draws on the analysis of Hitt 1969 and Klockelmans 1966
21. Ibid p.195
22. Buttimer 1980 p.191
23. Seaman 1984. p.169
24. Buttimer 1978 p.61. See also Buttimer 1971 for a general review of the French school.
25. Buttimer 1980 p.23

26. Ibid
27. Ibid p.24. This is akin to Theordoson and Theordoson.
1969 definition p.394
28. Buttimer 1969. p.419
29. Wilson 1980 p.145
30. Gregory 1978. Ch. 4. Gregory is generally considered
a Marxist-Structuralist rather than a humanist.
31. Seaman 1984. p.169
32. Gregory 1978. p.146
33. Relph 1981 p.127
34. See Seaman 1979. p.20. Seaman 1980 p.149; Gregory 1978
p.129; Gorman 1977
35. Seaman 1979; Seaman 1980
36. Tuan, 1977; Rowles 1980; Rowles 1978
37. Gregory 1978 p.125
38. Buttimer 1969 introduces her concept of geography and
the life world; this is extended in Buttimer 1976.
39. Ley and Samuels 1978 p.13. Other humanists have used
experiential fieldwork, Tuan 1977; Rowles 1978, 1980;
cartography Geipel 1978; Wood 1978; documentary
research Gibson 1978
40. Kluckhohn 1940 p.331
41. Vidich 1955 p.359. For example Bryn 1966. Bryn found
himself studying 'the inner collective life of people
who were deeply involved in changing their community
and are being changed by it' discovering that 'the inner
life revealed itself symbolically in the dialogues between
people on street corners, in committees, in backrooms and
in assemblies' p.x
42. Leach 1976 p.9
43. Bryn 1966 p.16
44. Becker et al 1961 p.79
45. Buttimer 1980 p.170
46. Sieber supports this suggestion. Sieber 1978 p.344
47. See Komarousky 1962 p.348. Similarly interviews carried
out in Hampshire settlements suggested joint leisure
activities for husband and wife, whereas in Staffordshire
couples appeared to spend their leisure time separately.
P/O revealed that whereas in Hampshire it was normal
practice for wives to accompany their husbands to the
pub, in Staffordshire the majority of the men drank alone.
The exception was found among young couples who drank
together and in social clubs (absent from the field zone
in Hampshire), where older women were to be found - though
usually segregated within the building. This thus
appeared to be a regional factor linked to the national phen-
omenon of increasing male domination of public houses as
one moves north. Casual conversations held in a social
setting also revealed that owing to the closeness of
kinship networks - both spacially and socially, many
women were content to allow their husbands freedom in the
evening in return for weekend visits to their family.
48. Sieber and Lazerfield 1966 found that the direct obser-
vation of behaviour in educational establishments aided
the interpretation of attitude surveys. In the current
study Participant-Observation was used to verify interview

contd.

48. statements and correct distortion. Similarly it assisted interview interpretation as the following examples illustrate:

1. Formal interviewing of under 25s in a Metropolitan village suggested that even among this age group tensions and hostilities existed between newcomers and locals. However attendance at social functions in the village in the role of female acquaintance revealed that in practice the young rarely used length of residence as a form of differentiation.

2. In the role of local newcomer I attended a political meeting attended by members of all the case settlements in Staffordshire. Throughout the evening a particular farmer argued aggressively with local councillors. Following the meeting I introduced myself as a newcomer to the area and questioned him on a national social issue he had raised, and on which I was well informed. During this conversation and through the meeting he revealed bias and lack of knowledge. Several weeks later I called at the farm as part of my interviewing schedule. The aggressive manner revealed at the meeting was replaced by polite interest. However, many of his answers were not substantiated in any other interview. It was only with the knowledge of his tendency to exaggerate and distort facts - revealed at the meeting - that I was able to correlate his answers with the rest of the survey.

49. Freund 1968 suggests that the greater the degree of immersion in a relationship the higher the possibility of understanding p.99. See also Becker and Geer 1957 p.24. Parsons and Shils 1962 p.180 discovered through participation with a group of young people that their aggressive jargon was not an expression of aggression but a form of 'mutual emotional confirmation'.

50. Formal interviewing can prove useful in cases where the respondent feels insecure about revealing a situation to a social acquaintance but will present it to a mutual observer. Becker and Geer 1957 provide a useful analysis of Participant observation as an aid to interviewing.

51. See for example Kerr 1964

52. Examples of the general theory and use of Participant observation within other branches of the social sciences are demonstrated by Friedriches and Lubtke 1975; Schwatz and Schwatz 1955

53. Southern Hampshire, January to June 1981

Southern Staffordshire, June to December 1981

Renting private accommodation has the advantage of maintaining privacy and 'stranger value' and avoiding specific association with a section of the community. See Beattie 1964, p.87

54. The programme of extended interviewing was continued in the settlement during the following dates. However due to living within the field work area continual contact was maintained with each settlement throughout the six months spent in each county:
- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| East Tisted | - 5. 1 - 7. 2 |
| Cheriton | - 9. 2 -21. 3 |
| Rowlands Castle | - 23. 3 -31. 5 |
| Wheaton Aston | - 8. 6 - 8. 8 |
| Weston under Lizard | - 10. 8 -19. 9 |
| Bradley | - 21. 9 - 6.11 |
| Acton Trussell | - 9.11 -19.12 |
55. In order to verify that the sample was representative, the age profile of the respondents in the sample was compared with the age profile of adults in the settlement obtained from census data, and the property breakdown of the sample was compared with the figures for the whole village (given in Chapter 6). In both cases the agreement was very good.
56. Jackson 1980 p.5
57. The use of gossip as a research tool has long been recognised by anthropologists and sociologists, although its use contains inherent complexities arising from the need for confidentiality versus the concept of 'information exchange'
58. Vidich in his study of a rural New York state community, found a disproportionate number of those known to his male observers were men, thus concluding that housewives were less likely to be represented in such studies. The present study found entering female society was easily accomplished via female societies, Vidich and Shapiro 1955, p.32
59. The household is defined as an independent residential unit. The householders are the prime male and female adult members of the unit, typically the husband and wife. In cases where older or younger members of the family lived with the householders these are included within the one household, but the characteristics of the household are defined by those of the householders. In cases where older or younger members of the family live in adjacent independent property, that is with a separate postal address, these are defined as separate households.
60. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.
61. In the majority of cases each household was represented by one adult member. However there were examples where more than one member was present during the interview, or where other members were subsequently met through participant observation. While all appropriate material pertaining to the household was included within the statistical framework, for purposes of defining characteristics of age, sex and length of residence, one member was taken to be the prime respondent and his or her age, sex, length of residence and marital status were recorded. In cases where both spouses were jointly interviewed one member typically appeared dominant throughout the conversation and was recorded as the prime respondent; in other cases where a parent and child were present, the householder was taken to be the prime respondent. The exception to this occurred in those households where either the male or female householder had lived in the settlement all their lives. In this specific case the household was

Contd.

61. taken to be lifelong regardless of the length of residence of the respondent. However in the majority of cases householders are of similar age and have resided in the settlement for the same length of time. The social class of the household is defined by the employment of the male householder regardless of the respondents sex or status.
 62. Gans 1962 discusses this problem p. 346. The current research entailed an analysis of 1372 conversations.
 63. Friedrich and Ludkte 1975 suggest a schemat for the categorisation of descriptive data which can be used in settlement structures, p.66; also a multi-level analysis technique, p. 73
 64. Junker 1960 p. 35 identified four types of participant observation which could be assumed according to the design and purpose of the study: Complete Participation, Participant as Observer, Observer as Participant, Complete observer, see also Schwartz and Schwartz 1955, Bryn 1966, Gold 1958. However Fink 1955, p.60-68 suggested that his classification, Genuine Participation, Psuedo Participation, Incomplete Participation, and Non-Participation, was not mutually exclusive, rather within the one study degrees of involvement would alter with changing circumstances. Claster and Schwartz 1972 suggest that these degrees of involvement result automatically in the attempt to avoid obtusiveness.
 65. Miller 1952, p.98
 66. Sieber found that even though deliberate attempts were made to establish contact with lower prestige groups, knowledge of community members was biased in favour of members with high prestige. Sieber 1978, p.135 ; Sieber and Lazerfield 1966, p.31; Lewin 1958; Whyte 1961; With reference to bias towards middle class sections of a community Schatzman and Strauss 1955 suggest significant class differences in response: middle class groups being able to analyse a situation from various perspectives, introduce classification and conceptual terminology, which the lower classes failed to achieve p.329
 67. Miller 1952, for example, identified over-rapport as an element of bias in his study of Trade Union leaders when his identification with union leaders determined that certain lines of investigation would prove antagonistic. In the current research the most sensitive relationships between the researcher and the observed arose in the estate villages. Fear was expressed that I was an agent of the landlord sent to seek out malcontents. Here relationships were slowly created and tenuously maintained, and under such circumstances over-rapport became a continual anxiety.
- Similarly over-rapport arose in the following example:
 The 'Young Farmers' provided a social milieu for a section of the young community. My contact was Jim,

whom I met through my work as a barmaid. I accompanied him to several functions. After a while one of my co-barmaids, Ade, suggested that I should not go with him as he was a 'bad type'. She was an ex-girlfriend who had been present when Jim had been involved in a fight. The police had been called, Ade had taken him home and his mother had accused her and her friends of initiating the trouble. A dilemma arose as Ade was an important contact in one of the settlements. This was resolved by informing Jim that I could not talk to him while on duty behind the bar and thus all further meetings were arranged by phone.

68. Kluckhorn 1940. Distinguishes between general, specific and complimentary roles. While studying a Mexican village she took the role of local shop keeper, a role complimentary to that of her customers and that of housekeeper, a general role similar to the other village women. For other examples of multi-role play see also Whyte 1951, Johoda et al 1951, Gans 1967
69. I was associated with the role of barmaid by a large section of working class male residents. While in my position as local resident I was identified with mainly middle class, 'upstanding' community members, as my Staffordshire landlady was vice-chairman of the Conservative Association and her husband President of the Rotary Club, and in Hampshire I lived with a local businessman and family who were involved with the Church and Community welfare. In both these latter cases I was introduced locally as a Student. Other residents, shopkeepers and church and society members viewed me initially as a newcomer, later perceiving me in the role with which I was identified as a result of conversations and contact in the pub or at social events. My specific role as researcher was thus concealed from my other personas as even those who were aware of my particular interest in the area, were not informed of my specific research.
70. Janes 1961, working in a town in Ohio observed similar degrees of rapport, identifying five stages: Newcomer, Provisional Member, Categorical Member, Personal Member, Imminent Migrant. p.447. Although Janes produces a specific time scale for his classification the current research revealed that individual cases varied substantially.
71. For example during a series of W.I. meetings I was initially introduced as a researcher and strategically positioned by those in authority next to 'helpful/knowledgeable' members. As time progressed acquaintances would urge me to sit with them and eventually I was invited socially to various member's homes in the role of 'friend'. Similarly, throughout the meetings the programme was explained in detail and members would indicate important programme issues throughout the session. However, at coffee time a relaxed atmosphere would pervade and comments indicating this were frequently passed - 'now you can relax and enjoy yourself for a while', 'put your notebook down and come and have some coffee'.

PART TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER 3A Spectrum of settlements in urbanizing hinterlands3.1.Introduction of the two case areas: South Staffordshire and South Hampshire.

Evidence of the suburbanisation of rural settlements is emerging from throughout Britain (1), being particularly identifiable within the hinterlands of large conurbations where agricultural populations co-exist with urban commuters and the retired. The current research focussed on the north-west hinterland of the West Midlands conurbation, the West Midlands Metropolitan County, and the northern hinterland of the Southampton - Portsmouth axis, the South Hampshire conurbation.

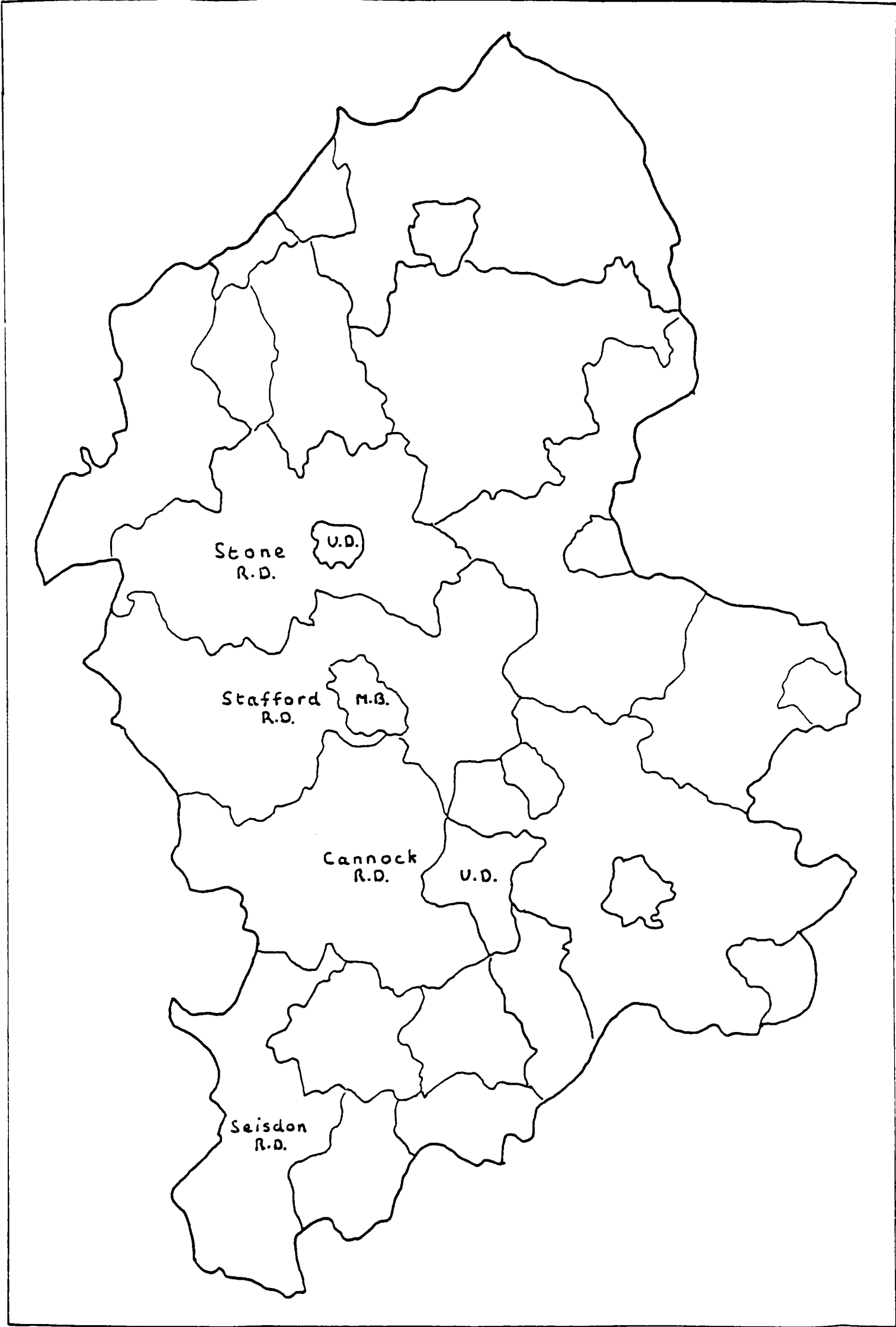
It was important to select two contrasting regions in order to identify relationships of People and Place which occurred independently of regional variations. Although the hinterlands of both conurbations have experienced considerable pressures for growth, there are fundamental differences in the contextual framework of this development. The agriculture of the two regions produces a contrasting rural infrastructure. While the dairy farming of southern Staffordshire is based primarily on family farms, intact units set in small villages or hamlets, the mixed agriculture of Hampshire is typically supported by large farms, employing several workers in tied accommodation, originally sited within large agricultural villages.

Similarly the demographic pressures affecting the two regions emanate from contrasting sources. Throughout the century the South Hampshire conurbation has attracted

industry and population from the entire country, though in particular from the rest of the South East, and Greater London (2) and has contributed as an important retirement zone (3). The population of the conurbation and its hinterland thus originates from throughout the country. Within the West Midlands, however, while the 'conurbation served as a natural magnet for the region, growing rapidly until the mid 1950s, from thenceforth growth slowed, stabilised, and has recently declined (4). The continued residential pressure on the rural hinterland thus stems from within the 'conurbation itself, and the resultant population typically originates from within the region's own boundaries. Finally there are strong regional variations in culture, custom and modes of behaviour.

The selection of these two contrasting hinterlands ensured that the characteristics identified as emerging during the suburbanisation process were not merely regional peculiarities, but were likely to occur in other rural zones under pressure for residential development.

An area of southern Staffordshire bordering the West Midlands conurbation was selected as a case area. Prior to local government reorganisation in 1974 this area was recognised as Seisdon Rural District and west Central Staffordshire, comprising Stafford Rural District and part of Cannock Rural District (Map 3.1), after 1974 as South Staffordshire and south-east Stafford District. The selection of four case settlements defined the fieldwork area as the northern section of South Staffordshire and south-

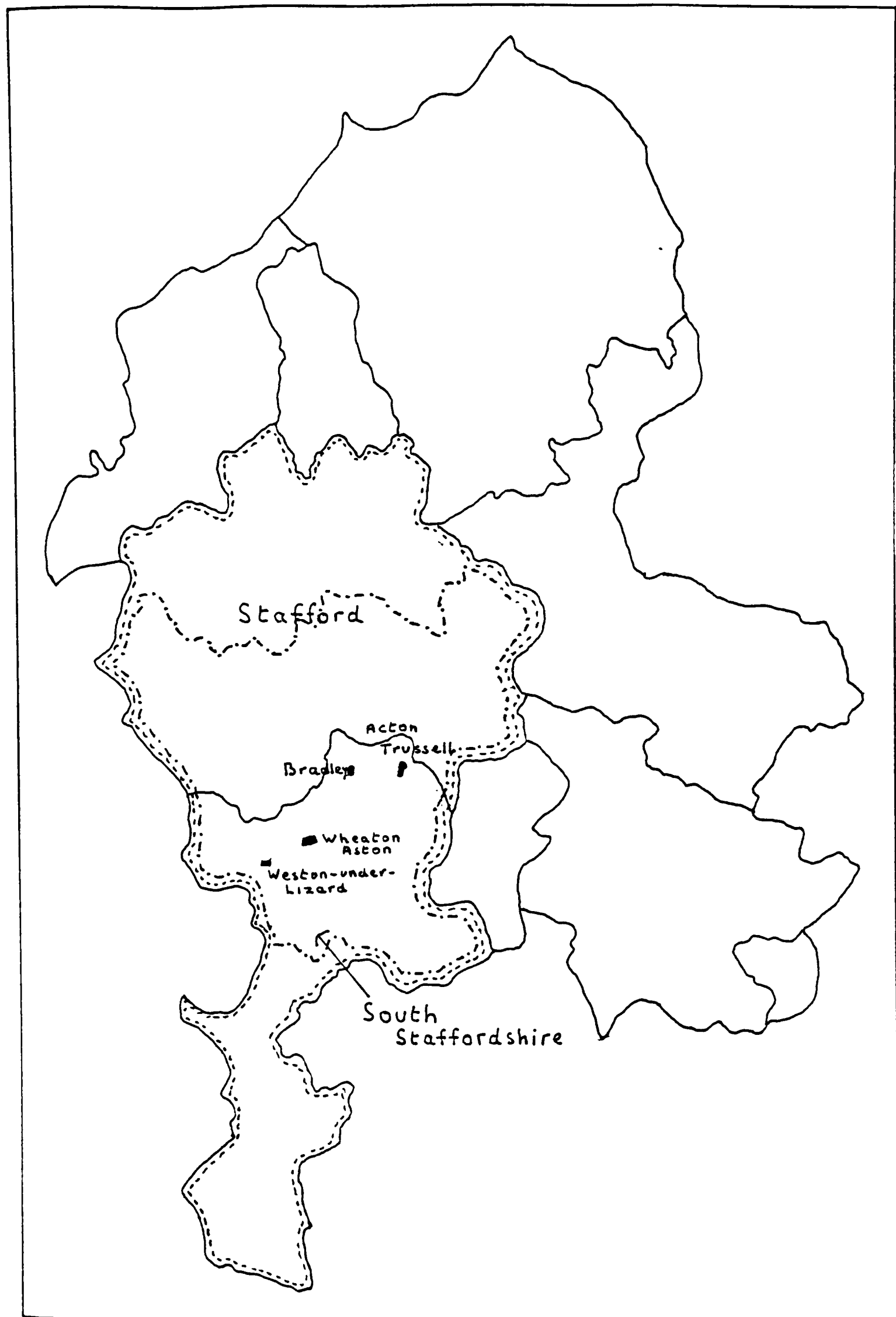


east Stafford District (Map 3.2). The case settlements chosen were Weston under Lizard, Wheaton Aston and Acton Trussellin South Staffordshire and Bradley in Stafford District, the criteria behind their selection being described below (Map 3.3).

In Hampshire the rural zone to the north of the Southampton - Portsmouth urban axis, the South Hampshire conurbation was selected as a case area, comprising the Rural Districts of Romsey and Stockbridge, Winchester, Droxford, Petersfield, and Alton prior to 1974 (Map 3.4), and the Test Valley, Winchester, and East Hampshire Districts, after local government reorganisation (Map 3.5). The fieldwork area was defined as the Districts of Winchester and East Hampshire. The case settlements are East Tisted and Rowlands Castle in East Hampshire, and Cheriton in Winchester District (Map 3.6).

Map 3. 2

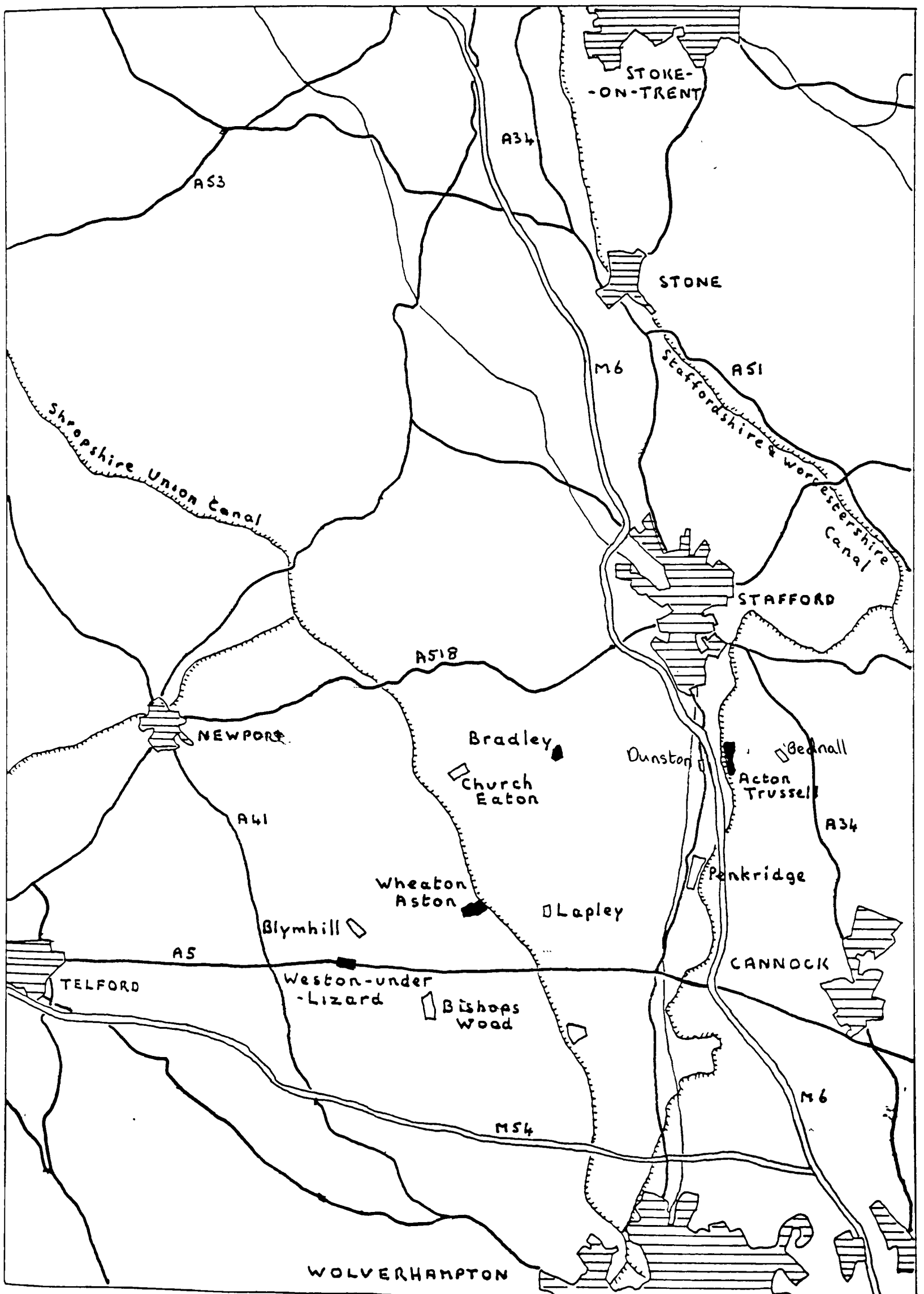
The case area of Staffordshire in relation to the post 1974 local government districts



- case area
- fieldwork area
- case study settlement

Map 3. 3

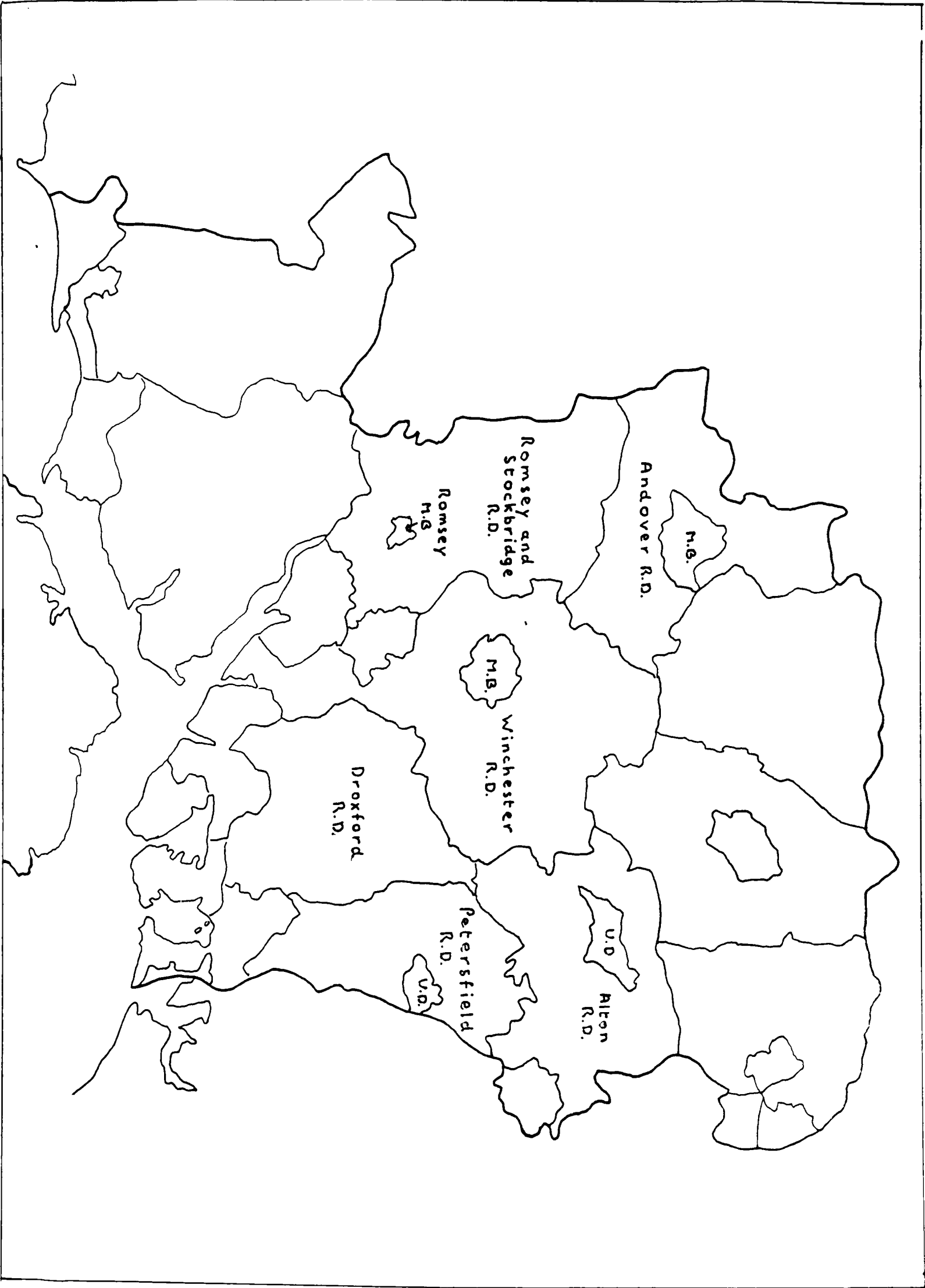
The Staffordshire fieldwork area



Scale 3 miles to 1 inch

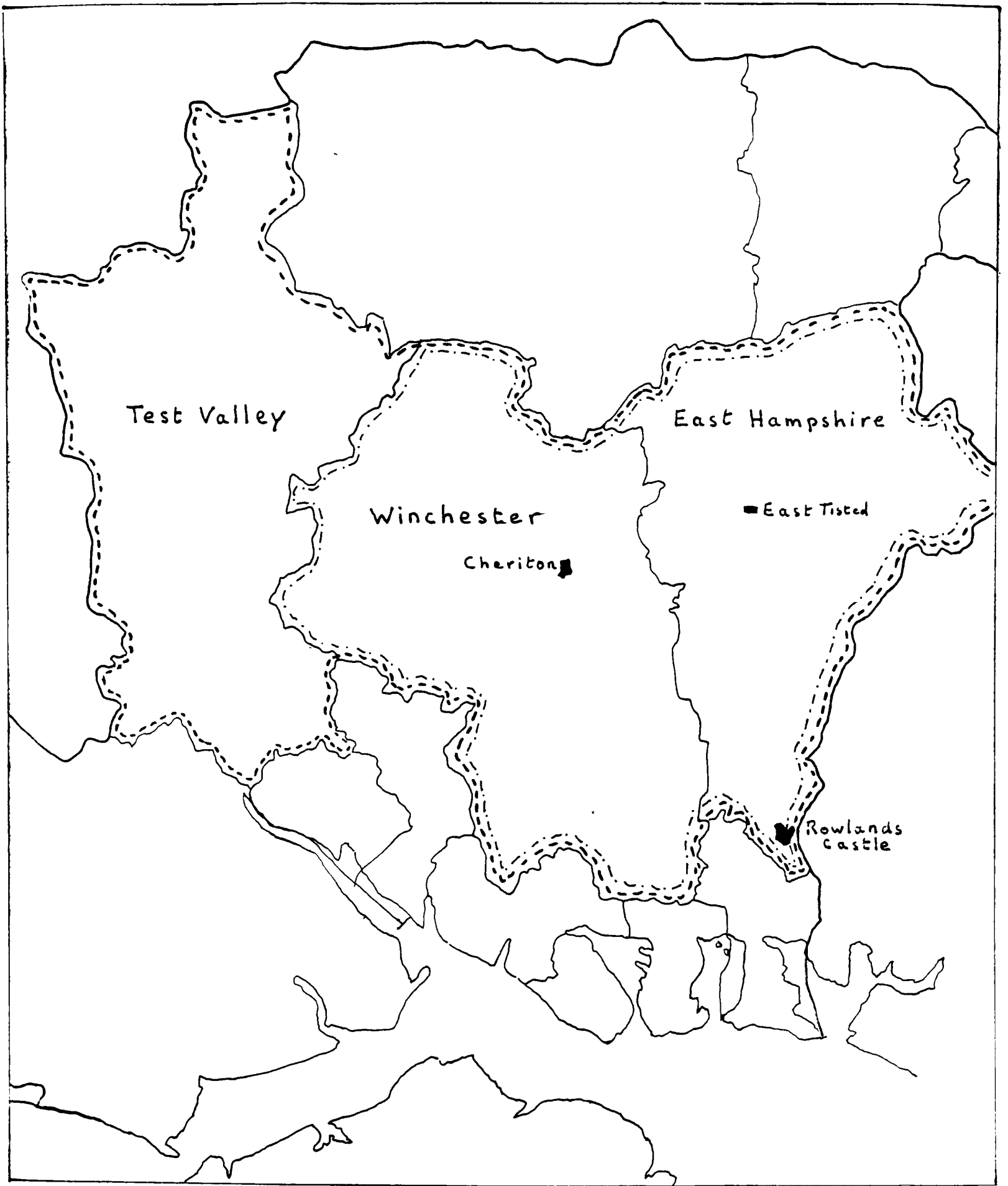
Map 3. 4

Local government districts in Hampshire prior to 1974



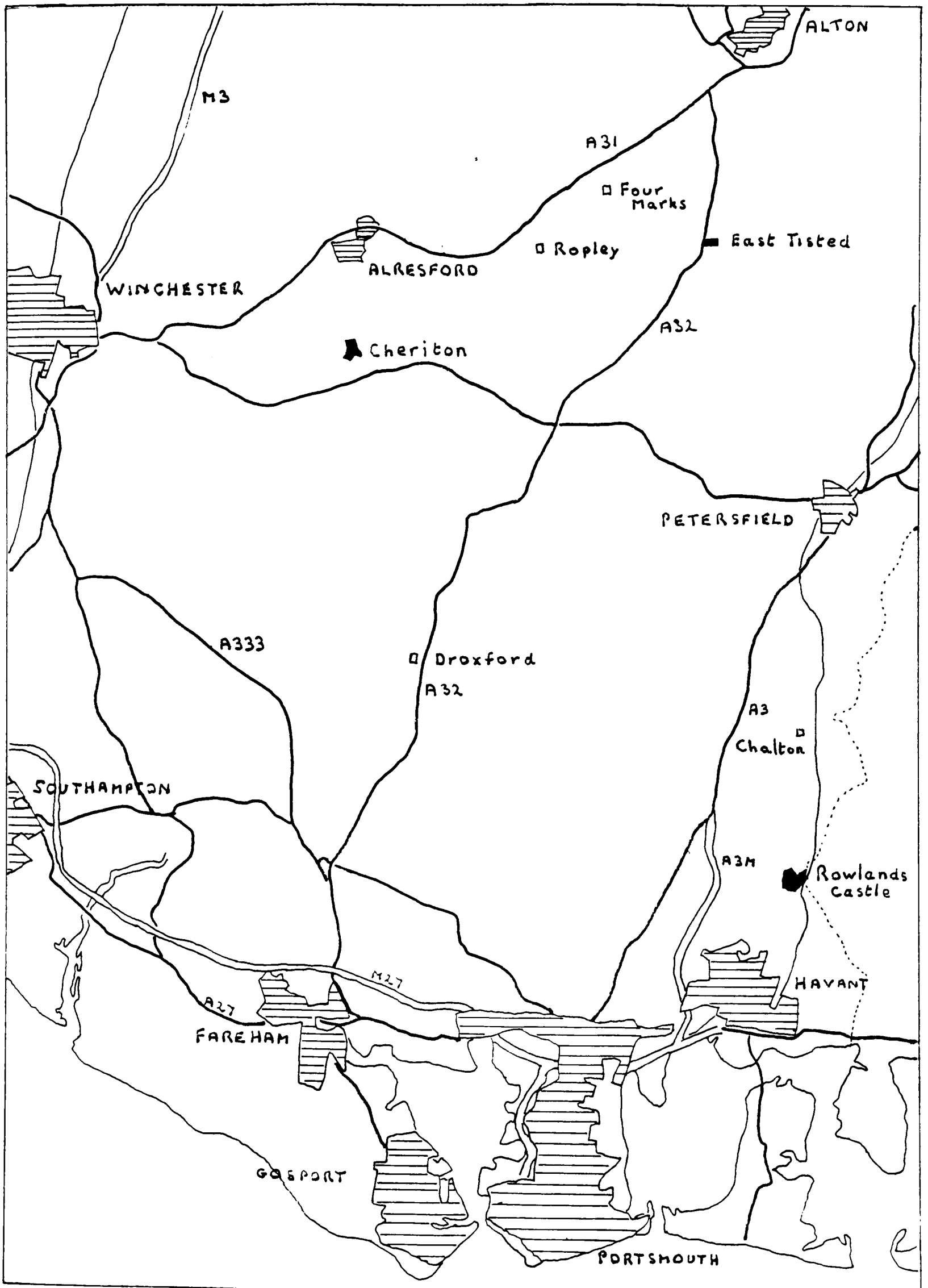
Map 3. 5

The case area of Hampshire in relation to the post 1974
local government districts.



- case area
- fieldwork area
- case study settlement

The Hampshire fieldwork area



Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

3.2.

The selection of the case study settlements.

The examination of available planning material from counties throughout England (5) suggested that at present within rural zones under pressure settlements grow through the addition of mainly private residential development accessible to the owner-occupier. Therefore as a rural settlement increases in size its proportion of rented and tied property is likely to decrease. This will influence the social composition of the settlement encouraging the immigration of households of higher socio-economic groups whose employment aspirations are unlikely to be satisfied within the rural vicinity. It was hypothesised that rural settlements would fall into a broad spectrum ranging from small settlements with a large percentage of tied and rented property and a low percentage of commuters, through to large settlements with a small percentage of tied and rented property and a high percentage of commuters.

All independent rural settlements, within the pre 1974 rural districts of Romsey and Stockbridge, Winchester, Droxford, Petersfield, and Alton in Hampshire, and Seisdon, Cannock, and Stafford in Staffordshire, whose population was under five thousand were listed. This population size was suggested by the county planners in both counties. Using small area statistics (SAS) from the 1971 Census, variables for population size and tenure at the civil parish level were selected for each settlement.

Ideally these variables should have been measured at the village level but data in this form was not available. In the majority of cases the village forms the major population of the civil parish so any discrepancy arising through the use of parish figures was felt to be minimal. In addition a variable for commuting was available for the settlements in Hampshire, though this figure was unobtainable from the Staffordshire data. Each settlement was allocated a size based on the number of households, and two variables pertaining to tenure - the percentage of owner-occupied and the percentage of rented property. This second variable included both property rented by virtue of employment and other unfurnished property (6). The Hampshire settlements were also given a statistic relating to the percentage of commuters. This was the Excom '76 variable from the Hampshire County Council village data-base file. Excom '76 used a 10% random sample of households within each village (defined as the main settlement within the civil parish) to establish the place of employment of the head of the household in 1976; (place of employment being defined by electoral District at the ward or civil parish level). While it was acknowledged that a 10% sampling of small settlements incurs considerable inaccuracies which will be discussed in detail later, it was felt that these figures would serve to indicate high, medium or low commuting rates which was all that was required for the current technique.

Analysis of these variables suggested that the settlements fell into three broad groupings described in Figure 3.1.

On visiting Staffordshire a fourth category was identified.. These were group 3 type villages which had grown without an existing base settlement - that is from a farmstead or hamlet. Fig. 3.2 illustrates their characteristics. The absence of a similar category in Hampshire stems from the difference in the existing rural infrastructure between the two counties: the small scale family farming of Staffordshire existing in isolated farmsteads or hamlets, with the large capitalist agriculture within Hampshire supporting tied property set in small villages.

Type 1 villages will be referred to as Estate villages, type 2 as Growth villages, and type 3 as Metropolitan villages. With the exception of the Metropolitan II villages mentioned above which grew from a much smaller base structure, all Metropolitan villages will have emerged from an estate type village and their progression through the stage of being a Growth settlement will have occurred at varying rates and within different planning, social and economic contexts. Although this may affect the ultimate detail of the resulting Metropolitan settlement, it will not affect its broad characteristics. Growth settlements, however, are villages in transition, though it will emerge that their development may be crystallized at any one point during their growth.

Settlements appearing representative of their group were selected from each category and a sample visited in 1980 to ascertain their development since the 1971 Census. On the basis of this the seven case settlements were then selected, one representing each category per county. These villages formed the data base for the research.

Fig. 3.1 Broad categorization of rural settlements.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Case Village</u>
Type One. Estate Villages.	Settlement size under 100 households. Over 75% of residential property rented from private landlords. In over 50% of the households the head employed within the village (1)	East Tisted (Hampshire) Weston under Lizard (Staffordshire)
Type Two. Growth Villages.	Settlement size 100-200 households. 25% to 75% of residential property rented from a private landlord. In 25% to 50% of the households the head employed within the village (1)	Cheriton (Hampshire) Bradley (Staffordshire)
Type Three. Metropolitan Villages.	Settlement size over 200 households. Under 25% of residential property rented from a private landlord. In under 25% of the households the head employed within the village (1)	Rowlands Castle (Hampshire) Wheaton Aston (Staffordshire)
Hampshire	16% Type One; 43% Type Two; 41% Type Three	
Staffordshire	26% Type One; 54% Type Two; 20% Type Three	

(1) This figure only applicable to Hampshire.

Fig. 3.2 Metropolitan II Villages.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Case Village</u>
Type Three Metropolitan II Villages.	Settlement size over 100 households. Under 10% of residential property rented from a private landlord.	Acton Trussell (Staffordshire)

3.3Cluster Analysis of rural settlements.

In 1980 it was felt that as the available data was drawn from the 1971 Census, further statistical analysis of the sampling framework, in relation to the subsequent findings, would not be appropriate. In particular the 1970 - 1980 year span appeared to be a decade of considerable growth and development within both case areas, and thus comparability with the situation ten years after the Census would be limited. However it was decided appropriate to adopt a more sophisticated technique for grouping the rural settlements within these two counties when the 1981 Census SAS became available. The field research had suggested that settlements did emerge as belonging to specific categories, with certain inherent characteristics. It was decided to enlarge the number of variables considered and aim to sub-divide the 'population' of rural settlements into a number of homogeneous groups, whereby settlements within each group could be seen to have particular common characteristics. The appropriate statistical technique is cluster analysis

Cluster analysis is a collection of techniques for categorizing individuals (in this case rural settlements) on the basis of the distance between the measurements on their constituent variables, as a consequence of which individuals whose scores are near to each other are collected into a cluster or group. While this technique does not appear to have been used previously in the context of rural

settlement analysis, it has been adopted in a number of analogous situations. For example Moser and Scott apply the technique in their study of urban settlements (7), Green et al use cluster analysis in their selection of test markets (8), and more recently the method was used to give a classification of the elderly in Britain by Jolliffe et al (9).

3. 3. 1.

The Variables.

Small area statistics from the 1981 Census, again only available at the parish level, were used. Experience with the 1971 Census and subsequent field analysis suggested that data relating to population size, age and class structure,, housing tenure, immigrants and commuting would be relevant to the clustering. Subsequent investigation however, showed that the data relating to three of these variables was not available in a suitable form.

The information pertaining to class and commuting is only available as a 10% statistic. These statistics are obtained by taking a random sample of one household in every ten and recording the characteristics of this much smaller sample. Unfortunately this device, intended to ensure confidentiality, introduces considerable inaccuracies. For example, in a measurement of the percentage of households with a particular characteristic a probabilistic analysis shows that the error in the percentage obtained from the

10% sample is approximately $100 \div \sqrt{N}$, where N is the number of households in the 10% sample. Thus in a civil parish of 100 households, a 10% sample will contain 10 households, and if this shows forty per cent of the households belong to a particular category, the true figure may be anywhere between nine per cent and seventy one per cent. For a civil parish with 1,000 households the error would be $\pm 10\%$ while for a parish with fifty households it would be $\pm 44\%$. For this reason the variables of both class and commuting were excluded. In addition, the 'place of employment' is defined by local government district, so the SAS variable 'working outside district of residence' is a count drawn from the 10% sample of those who work outside their county district. Since the 1974 local government reorganisation with its abolition of urban and rural districts, all but the very large urban complexes are included within the county district, and thus only commuters to the conurbations or across other county district boundaries are registered.

Information relating to immigrants is contained in the statistic counting the number of inhabitants whose usual address had changed in the twelve months prior to the Census. Unfortunately this information is considerably blurred by various factors. Not only is a twelve month period too short to give a consistent estimate of the long term trend in immigration, but the variable also includes residents who have moved within the settlement, and counts persons rather than households. These effects are exaggerated in small villages and may be influenced by the movements of large families. As a result it was decided not to include this variable in the analysis.

Small area statistics were thus collected at the civil parish level pertaining to three factors.

Population size. The figure used was the square root of the number of inhabitants of the parish. Differences of a fixed amount between large parishes are less significant than a difference of the same amount between small parishes. For example, the taking of square roots means that the difference between parishes of size 100 and 250 is the same as that between parishes of size 500 and 800.

Tenure. Four figures were used: the percentage of owner-occupied; local authority; rented by virtue of employment (tied); and other unfurnished rented property. This latter category includes property tied to employment which is currently inhabited by a retired employee.

Age. Three figures were used: the percentage of individuals who were 'young adults'; 'middle aged'; and 'old age pensioners' (OAP). Because of the nature of the data available, the definitions of these categories differed slightly in each county. In Staffordshire they included individuals in the range 16 - 44, men between 40 and 64 and women between 40 and 59, and men over 65 and women over 60 respectively. In Hampshire the respective ranges were 20 - 39, 40 - 65 and over 65 for both sexes.

Thus for each civil parish eight variables were used. In Staffordshire civil parishes from the districts of Staffordshire and South Staffordshire were included, while the Hampshire analysis comprised those for the districts of East Hampshire, Winchester and Test Valley. As these county districts now include both urban and rural

zones, settlements of over six thousand inhabitants were excluded. The Staffordshire group thus consisted of fifty five parishes, with one hundred and twenty five parishes for Hampshire.

3. 3. 2.

The Technique.

The first step in the analysis of these census variables is to convert the raw figures to standard scores. The raw data for each case (civil parish) consists of eight measurements, one for each variable. Each measurement is standardized by subtracting the county mean for the variable and dividing by the county standard deviation for that variable. The standard scores thus measure each variable on the same scale.

Principal component analysis was then undertaken. This is a technique which reduces a large set of variables to a smaller set of derived variables, the principal components. These are linear combinations of the original variables constructed so that the first principal component has as large a variance as possible. The second component is constructed to have as large a variance as possible subject to being uncorrelated with the first component and so forth. Thus the principal components are linear combinations of the original variables which are uncorrelated with each other; typically relatively few components are needed to account for a large proportion of the total variation in the original variables. For example in the present study, in both

counties, the first five principal components accounted for just over 90% of the variability. As is illustrated in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 the interpretation of these principal components is similar in each county. It is the scores from these five principal components which are used in the cluster analysis.

The first step in any clustering technique is to construct a measure of 'distance' between the cases. Standard Euclidean distance was chosen in this setting, so that the distance between two cases is defined to be the square root of the sum of the squares of the five differences between the scores for each principal component. That is, if the scores for the principal components for the two cases were $(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4, x_5)$ and $(y_1, y_2, y_3, y_4, y_5)$, the distance between these cases would be calculated as $\sqrt{(x_1 - y_1)^2 + (x_2 - y_2)^2 + (x_3 - y_3)^2 + (x_4 - y_4)^2 + (x_5 - y_5)^2}$. This is the same approach as has been used, for example, by Moser and Scott (10).

There are many different methods of clustering a collection of cases (11). After some experimentation with various types, it was felt that the class of optimization - partitioning techniques would be most suitable for the current problem (12). These techniques find the 'best' partition of the cases into a fixed number of clusters, specified by the user. Starting from a particular initial classification the algorithm considers each case in turn and reallocates the case to the cluster which would provide the greatest overall improvement, in some specified sense, to the classification. If no relocation would improve the clustering, the case remains in its current cluster.

Table 3.1Principal Components for Staffordshire.

Principal Component	Population	Owner Occupied	Council	Tied	Other Rented	Young Adults	Middle Age	O.A.P.
First	.386	.356	.142	-.470	-.482	.294	-.193	-.357
Second	-.002	-.563	.555	.201	.083	.243	-.431	-.288
Third	.029	-.187	.530	-.212	-.254	-.570	.496	-.060
Fourth	.658	-.046	.088	.045	.013	-.267	-.357	.597
Fifth	.627	-.053	-.184	.301	.328	-.020	.353	-.496

For a particular civil parish the score for the first principal component is obtained by multiplying 0.386 by the standardized score for the population size, adding 0.356 times the standardized score for owner occupied property, adding 0.142 times the standardized score for council house property, and so on.

Principal Component	Percentage of variance explained	Cumulative Percentage	Interpretation.
First	39	39	Highlights large population. Contrasts owner occupied property with tied and rented property. Contrasts young with both older groups.
Second	21	60	Contrasts owner occupied with council property, and young with two older groups.
Third	16	76	Highlights high council property and contrasts young group with middle aged.
Fourth	10	86	Highlights large population and contrasts OAP group with middle aged, and to a lesser extent with young.
Fifth	6	92	Highlights larger populations with higher tied and rented property. Contrasts middle age group and OAP groups.

Table 3.2Principal Components for Hampshire

Principal Component	Population	Owner Occupied	Council	Tied	Other Rented	Young Adults	Middle Age	O.A.P.
First	.298	.497	.164	-.510	-.405	-.359	.180	.229
Second	-.471	-.003	-.243	.057	.302	-.463	.580	.271
Third	-.014	-.359	.707	-.024	.183	-.061	-.122	.565
Fourth	-.302	-.125	.552	-.034	-.240	-.088	.341	-.637
Fifth	.510	-.020	.077	-.278	.605	.248	.442	-.182

Principal Component	Percentage of Variance Explained	Cumulative Percentage	Interpretation
First	39	39	Highlights large population to an extent. Contrasts owner occupied property with tied and rented property. Slight contrast of both older groups with young.
Second	24	63	Highlights small population. Contrasts older groups (particularly middle aged) with young group.
Third	14	77	Contrasts council property with owner occupied property. Highlights high O.A.P. group.
Fourth	9	86	Contrasts middle age group with O.A.P. group. Highlights high council house and to a lesser extent small villages.
Fifth	6	92	Highlights large population. Highlights rented property, some contrast with tied property. Highlights middle age group, some contrast of young and middle age with O.A.P.

This procedure is repeated until no further improvements are possible, and an 'optimum' solution has been reached. The major problem with these techniques is that the solution obtained may depend on the initial choice of clusters (13). To guard against this, three quite different starting configurations were used: one obtained from the hierarchical technique known as Ward's method (14); one from single link clustering (15); and one from a random allocation of cases to clusters. The exact optimization criterion used was the minimization of the error sum of squares. For a particular allocation of cases to clusters, the error sum of squares is the sum of the squares of the distances from each case to the centre of its cluster. The technique seeks to find the classification which minimizes this error sum of squares, for a particular number of clusters (16). The algorithms were implemented using the CLUSTAN 1C suite of programs (17).

One problem common to all clustering techniques is the difficulty of deciding the number of clusters present in the data. Simply finding the 'best' say, five, clusters is quite different from feeling confident that there are five clusters. The statistical literature contains no firm general rules, but offers several guidelines. In the present context, stability of clusters, in the sense that different starting configurations lead to the same optimal solution, suggests that the clusters found are reasonably 'distinct'. Furthermore, if decreasing the number of clusters by one results in a large increase in the error sum of squares, it is likely that the two clusters which have been merged were separate,

and conversely if the increase in the error sum of squares is small when clusters are merged, this is evidence that close groups have simply been amalgamated. Finding clusters which have well defined and meaningful physical characteristics, perhaps in the sense of agreeing with theoretical predictions or practical considerations, would also be reassuring. As the major interest in the current study lies in describing the data, the 'correct' number of clusters present is of less importance, and the problem can be, and is, partially circumvented by giving details of the nature of the clusters present at various levels.

3. 3. 3.

The resultant clusters.

The programme was used to find the best classification in each case for ten clusters, nine clusters, eight clusters and so forth. In both counties, the broad characteristics of the classification reached at three clusters were as suggested by the examination of the 1971 Census data, and subsequent field analysis. The actual clusters found at this level were stable, and the error sum of squares rose substantially in progressing down to two clusters. Stability was, however, reached at five clusters in both Staffordshire and Hampshire. The characteristics of the clusters for these three levels of clustering are illustrated by Figures 3.3 and 3.4 and Tables 3.3 and 3.4.

In Staffordshire, Cluster 1 comprises small settlements, mean size 223, with a very high proportion (55%), of the

Figure 3.3.

Characteristics of Clusters for Staffordshire.

3 Clusters.

4 Clusters.

5 Clusters.

Cluster 1 : 9 cases small villages, very high percen- tage of tied and rented property, older age profile.	Cluster 1 : 9 cases No change.	Cluster 1 : 7 cases. Small villages, very high percentage of tied and rented property, older age profile.
Cluster 2:23 cases Below average size villages, balanced tenancy, slightly older age profile.	Cluster 2:26 cases Below average size villages balanced tenancy, slightly older age profile	Cluster 2 : 14 cases Small villages, balanced tenancy, slightly older age profile.
Cluster 3:23 cases Large villages, balanced tenancy, slightly younger age profile.	Cluster 3:16 cases Larger villages, high owner occupied property, slightly younger age profile.	Cluster 2' : 17 cases Larger villages, slightly more owner- occupied property, larger middle aged group.
	Cluster 4:4 cases Slightly larger villages, low owner occupied and very high council house property. Young age profile.	Cluster 3 : 13 cases Large villages, high owner-occupied property, Young age profile.
		Cluster 4 : 4 cases No change.

Table 3. 3.Cluster Averages for Staffordshire.

Variable.	Overall Average	Average for Cluster 1	Average for Cluster 2	Average for Cluster 3
Population size	1071	223	689	2069
Owner Occupied Property (%)	61	32	68	75
Council Property (%)	15	9	11	12
Property tied to Employment (%)	8	26	5	2
Other Rented Property (%)	11	29	9	6
Young Adults (%)	41	37	40	44
Middle Aged (%)	21	21	24	18
O.A.P. (%)	15	19	16	13
'Commuters' (%)	39	31	38	42
Persons per Household	2.95	2.89	2.91	2.97

Average scores on the eight variables used for clustering, together with the average percentage of commuters (as defined in the text) and average numbers of persons per household. The clusters used are those labelled 1,2,and 3 of the 4 cluster classification. Thus the four settlements with a very high percentage of council housing have not been included in any of these clusters.

property tied to employment or privately rented. These clusters possess an older age profile than the county average, with 19% of the population over retiring age. Cluster 1 thus represents Estate villages and the Staffordshire example of Weston under Lizard falls into this category.

The components of Cluster 2 are slightly below average size villages (mean size 689) possessing a balanced tenancy, and slightly older age profile than the county average, with 40% over forty. This cluster can be seen to possess the characteristics of the Growth village and the Staffordshire example of Bradley belongs to this category. If five clusters are sought, Cluster 2 effectively splits into two sub-clusters, one of which (still labelled 2) contains the villages with a smaller population, and an older age profile, while the other (labelled Cluster 2') contains the larger villages, and has a relatively high proportion of middle aged residents. This latter sub-cluster thus comprises villages which are 'closer' to being Metropolitan, while the former is made up of those which are 'closer' to being Estate.

Cluster 3 consists of large settlements, mean size 1784. It includes four villages with a very high proportion of local authority housing (group average 56%). When four clusters are sought, these villages form a separate cluster, Cluster 4. At this level of clustering, the remaining Cluster 3 villages have an average size of 2069, possess a high proportion of owner occupied property (average 75%) and a young age profile, with an average of 69% of the inhabitants under 40. Cluster 3 thus represents Metropolitan villages and both the Staffordshire examples of Acton Trussell and Wheaton Aston fall in this cluster.

Figure 3.4.

Characteristics of Clusters for Hampshire.

3 Clusters	4 Clusters	5 Clusters
Cluster 1:21 cases Small villages, very high percen- tage of tied and rented property, younger age profile.	Cluster 1':10 cases Small villages, very high tied and rented property. very young age profile.	Cluster 1':10 cases No change
	Cluster 1:22 cases small villages, high tied and rented property, balanced age profile	Cluster 1:22 cases No change
Cluster 2:81 cases Below average size villages, balanced tenancy, balanced age structure.	Cluster 2:70 cases Slightly below average size vil- lages, balanced tenancy, balanced age structure	Cluster 2':33 cases Average size villages high council house, balanced age structure
		Cluster 2:42 cases Average size villages, high owner occupied property, older age profile.
Cluster 3:23 cases Large villages, high percentage of owner occupied property, low tied and rented prop- erty, slightly younger age profile.	Cluster 3:23 cases No change	Cluster 3:18 cases Large villages, high owner occupied property, slightly low tied and rented property, slightly younger age profile

Table 3.4Cluster Averages for Hampshire.

Variable	Overall Average	Average for Cluster 1	Average for Cluster 2	Average for Cluster 3
Population size	1130	366	675	3429
Owner Occupied Property (%)	54	24	56	70
Council Property (%)	15	6	16	17
Property tied to Employment (%)	15	40	12	3
Other Rented Property (%)	10	19	10	5
Young Adults (%)	26	32	24	27
Middle Aged (%)	30	27	32	28
O.A.P. (%)	14	10	15	13
'Commuters' (%)	33	23	32	46
Persons per Household	2.81	2.81	2.79	2.90

Average scores on the eight variables used for clustering, together with the average percentage of commuters (as defined in the text) and average numbers of persons per household. The clusters used are those labelled 1, 2, and 3, in the 3 cluster classification.

In Hampshire Cluster 1 comprises small settlements, mean size 366, with an average of 69% of the property tied to employment or privately rented. This cluster possesses a slightly younger age profile than the county average with 63% of this group's population under forty. This grouping breaks neatly into two sub-clusters on the basis of the age structure - the new Cluster 1 now has a balanced age structure, whereas Cluster 1' has a far younger age profile, with 67% of the population beneath forty. This appears a reflection of the few villages which contain large service populations living in accommodation provided by the army or navy - for example the naval settlement at Southwick and the army settlement at East Titherly. Cluster 1 thus represents Estate villages and the Hampshire example of East Tisted falls into this category.

The components of Cluster 2 are slightly below average size villages, mean size 675, with a balanced tenancy and age structure. If five clusters are sought Cluster 2 divides on the basis of local authority housing, with settlements in Cluster 2' possessing a higher than average proportion of Council housing, group average of 25%, leaving Cluster 2 with higher owner-occupied property and an older age profile. These thus reveal the characteristics of the Growth village, and the Hampshire example of Cheriton belongs to this category.

Cluster 3 contains large villages (average size 3429), with a high rate of owner occupancy (average 70%), little tied or rented property, and a young age profile. This cluster thus represents Metropolitan villages and it contains

the fieldwork village of Rowlands Castle. The detailed characteristics of Rowlands Castle, together with those of the other fieldwork villages in both Hampshire and Staffordshire are given in Table 3.5.

The three main clusters in each county were also assessed in relation to commuting and household size. The details appear in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. Since the commuting figure is now an average of the figures for each case within the cluster, it should be rather more accurate than any of the individual figures, particularly in the case of the larger clusters. (As a rough approximation, the error in the average is reduced by a factor of the square root of the cluster size, compared to the error in a typical member of the cluster). It must be remembered, however, that the figure still only counts employees who travel to the conurbations or cross other district boundaries. With these caveats in mind, it can be seen that there is a tendency for the lowest rate of commuting to occur in the Estate villages and the highest in the Metropolitan villages, though this tendency appears more marked in Hampshire. The average household size is almost identical for each cluster, although again it appears highest for Cluster 3 in each county.

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 show scatter diagrams of the cases in each county, representing three clusters in Hampshire and four clusters in Staffordshire (the fourth cluster in Staffordshire contains the four villages which have a very high percentage of local authority property). In these

Table 3.5Characteristics of Case Study Villages.

Staffordshire.

	Weston under Lizard	Bradley	Acton Trussell	Wheaton Aston
Population size	184	450	991	2481
Owner Occupied Property (%)	12	77	86	79
Council Property (%)	0	2	4	7
Property tied to Employment (%)	48	11	3	2
Other Rented Property (%)	39	5	6	4
Young Adults (%)	40	40	44	49
Middle Aged (%)	22	20	20	13
O.A.P. (%)	18	17	11	8

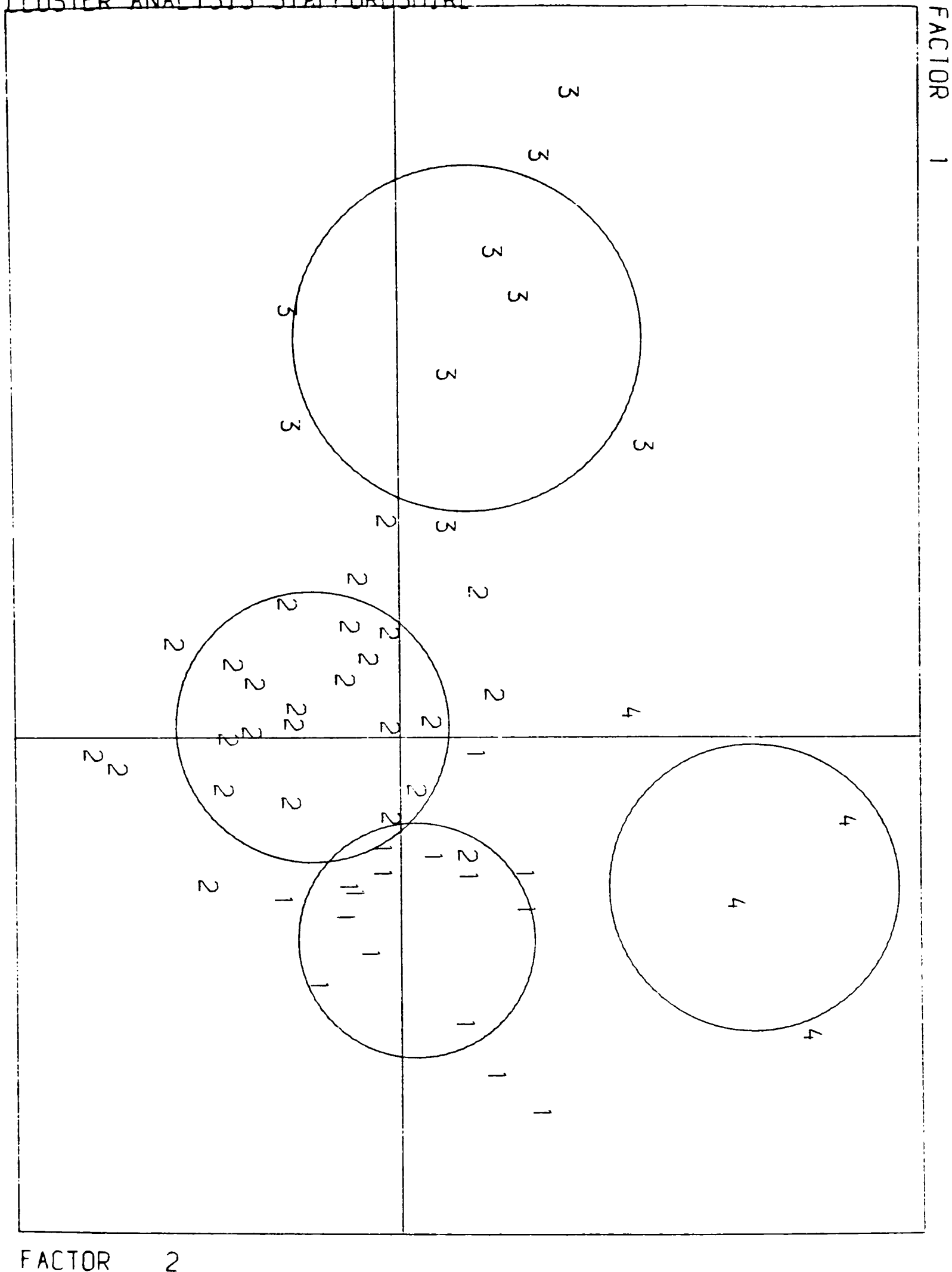
Hampshire.

	East Tisted	Cheriton	Rowlands Castle
Population size	155	510	2341
Owner Occupied Property (%)	11	46	70
Council Property (%)	12	12	21
Property tied to Employment (%)	41	20	2
Other Rented Property (%)	33	15	6
Young Adults (%)	26	26	24
Middle Aged (%)	32	30	26
O.A.P. (%)	19	21	14

Figure 3. 5

Scatter diagram for Staffordshire

CLUSTER ANALYSIS STAFFORDSHIRE

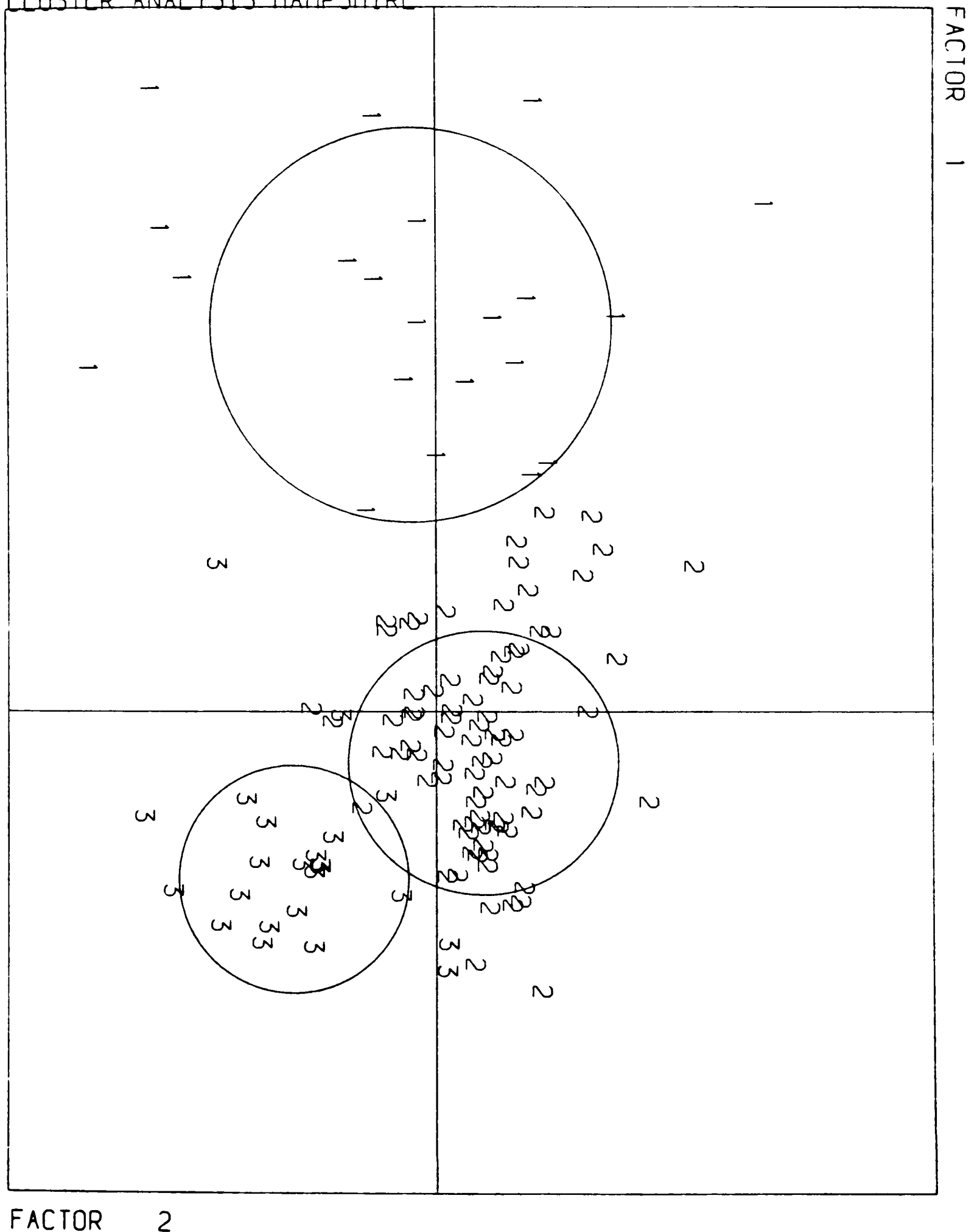


Note - The cases labelled 3 are the Estate villages, those labelled 2 the Growth villages, those labelled 1 the Metropolitan villages and those labelled 4 are the villages with a very high proportion of Local Authority housing.

Figure 3. 6

Scatter diagram for Hampshire

CLUSTER ANALYSIS HAMPSHIRE



Note - The cases labelled 1 are the Estate villages, those labelled 2 are the Growth villages and those labelled 3 are the Metropolitan villages.

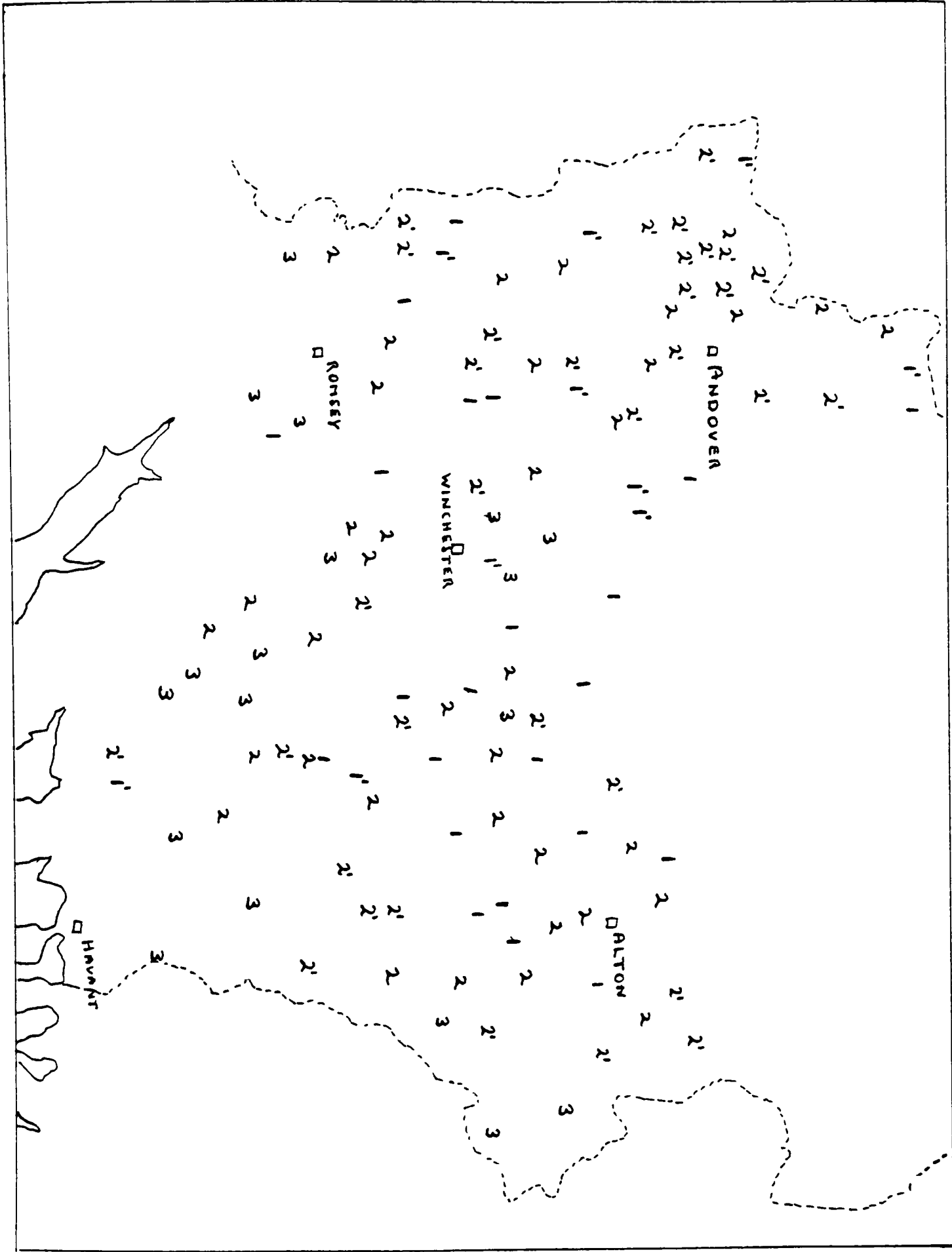
diagrams, for each case the score for the first principal component (Factor 1) is plotted against the score for the second principal component (Factor 2), and the case is labelled by the cluster to which it has been allocated. The circles are centred at the centre of each cluster, and their radius is a function of the variability within the cluster. In interpreting the diagrams it should be remembered that five principal component scores are used to classify each case, while only two can be plotted, so cases which are close in the first two scores may not be as close when all five scores are considered. In particular the full effect of differing age profiles may not be apparent in the first two scores (particularly in Staffordshire). This effect is offset to some extent by the fact that there is considerably less variability in the third, fourth and fifth principal components than in the first two.

The spacial distribution of the clusters is illustrated by Maps 3.7 and 3.8.

A clear spacial pattern emerged in Hampshire. The vast majority of the Cluster 3 (Metropolitan) villages lie to the south of the county within the immediate hinterland of Southampton and Portsmouth. To the north lie Cluster 2 (Growth) and Cluster 1 (Estate) villages. All large towns within the county appear encircled by rings of Cluster 2 and 2' settlements with Cluster 1 and to a lesser extent, 1' scattered in between. The industrial town of Andover in the west is circled predominantly by Cluster 2' settlements, that is with a high proportion of council housing, while

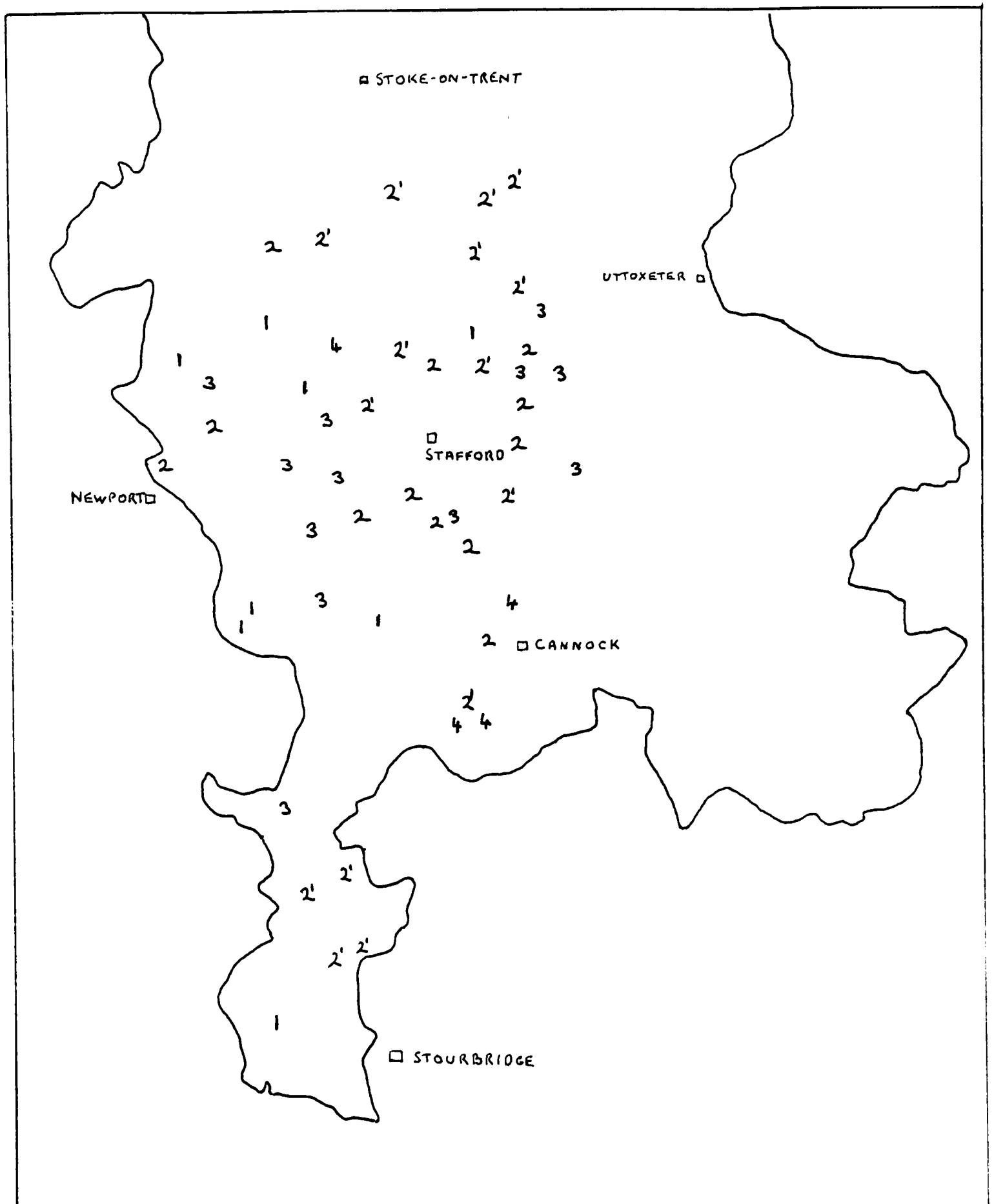
Map 3. 7

The distribution of the Hampshire clusters



Map 3. 8

The distribution of the Staffordshire clusters



Alton, a predominantly market town to the east, is encircled by a mixture of Cluster 2 and Cluster 1 villages.

The spacial pattern in Staffordshire is far less distinct. With the exception of one estate village, all settlements in the southern portion of South Staffordshire, lying to the west of the conurbation, are Cluster 2' villages. These are the larger Growth villages. A similar grouping lies to the north-east of Stafford, lying between this city and Stoke on Trent. The Cluster 3 villages are found predominantly in the centre of the area around Stafford amidst a scattering of Cluster 2 and Cluster 1 settlements.

1. This process will be briefly discussed in Chapter 4.
2. Hampshire County Council 1966 p. 27
3. Hampshire County Council 1980 p. 38
4. Rugman and Green 1979 p. 50
5. Prior to the selection of the case study counties, planning material pertaining to all rural counties within Britain was examined.
6. The literature had suggested that tied and privately rented rural property was converted to owner occupied property as the village suburbanized. See Newby 1977 p.331; Bielckus et al 1972 p. 41. In order to identify any broad trends the measurements on property by virtue of employment and unfurnished rented property were here included as one variable. When fieldwork commenced it was found that property shifted between the states of tied and of unfurnished privately rented, for example on the tied occupant's retirement. Furthermore residents of both tied and privately rented property were typically employed by the owner of the property usually in an agricultural capacity. Thus while a substantial percentage of agricultural workers live in tied accommodation (Newby 1979 for example suggested 53% in 1976) a significant number live in unfurnished privately rented property. Due to these factors any division of the property between that inhabited by virtue of employment and unfurnished rented property appeared to have little practical significance. The variables were thus measured together throughout this analysis.
7. Moser and Scott 1961
8. Green et al 1967
9. Joliffe et al 1982 a and 1982 b.
10. Moser and Scott 1961
11. Everitt 1974 p. 7 lists five broad classes of methods - Hierarchical; Optimization-partitioning techniques; Density; Clumping; Miscellaneous.
12. Everitt 1974 p. 24-30. Partition techniques carry the advantage that unlike hierarchical techniques the relocation of cases is possible, allowing poor initial partitions to be corrected at a later stage; Cormack 1971 states that 'the concept of relocation of entities gives these techniques an immense advantage over agglomerate hierarchical sorting' p. 334
13. Everitt 1974 p. 63
14. Ward 1963
15. Everitt 1974 p. 9-11 see also Cormack 1971 p. 331-2
16. Cormack 1971 p. 334 see also Gordon 1981 p. 39-46
17. Wishart 1978

CHAPTER 4.The Demographic and Planning framework.

The research is primarily concerned with the current relationship of People and Place within the case villages. However, in order to provide a spacial and temporal context for the analysis a framework of the demographic pressures behind the recent development of these settlements is established together with the corresponding planning objectives and directives within which they evolved. The following thus provides a broad contextual framework of development. The analysis briefly considers the suburbanization process and its extension from the suburbs themselves to the rural settlements beyond and then examines in more depth the growth of the case areas, and wherever possible, of the fieldwork areas and case settlements themselves.

4.1 The growth of the suburbs and the suburbanisation of rural settlements.

This century has seen two distinct residential encroachments into the rural hinterlands of British cities: the rapid expansion of suburban growth during the inter-war years, followed by the suburbanisation of the rural settlements after the Second World War.

In the years immediately following the First World War a rapid accumulation of housing demand occurred. This coincided with a more liberal space standard, seemingly in reaction to the crowded Victorian towns. Thus two storey

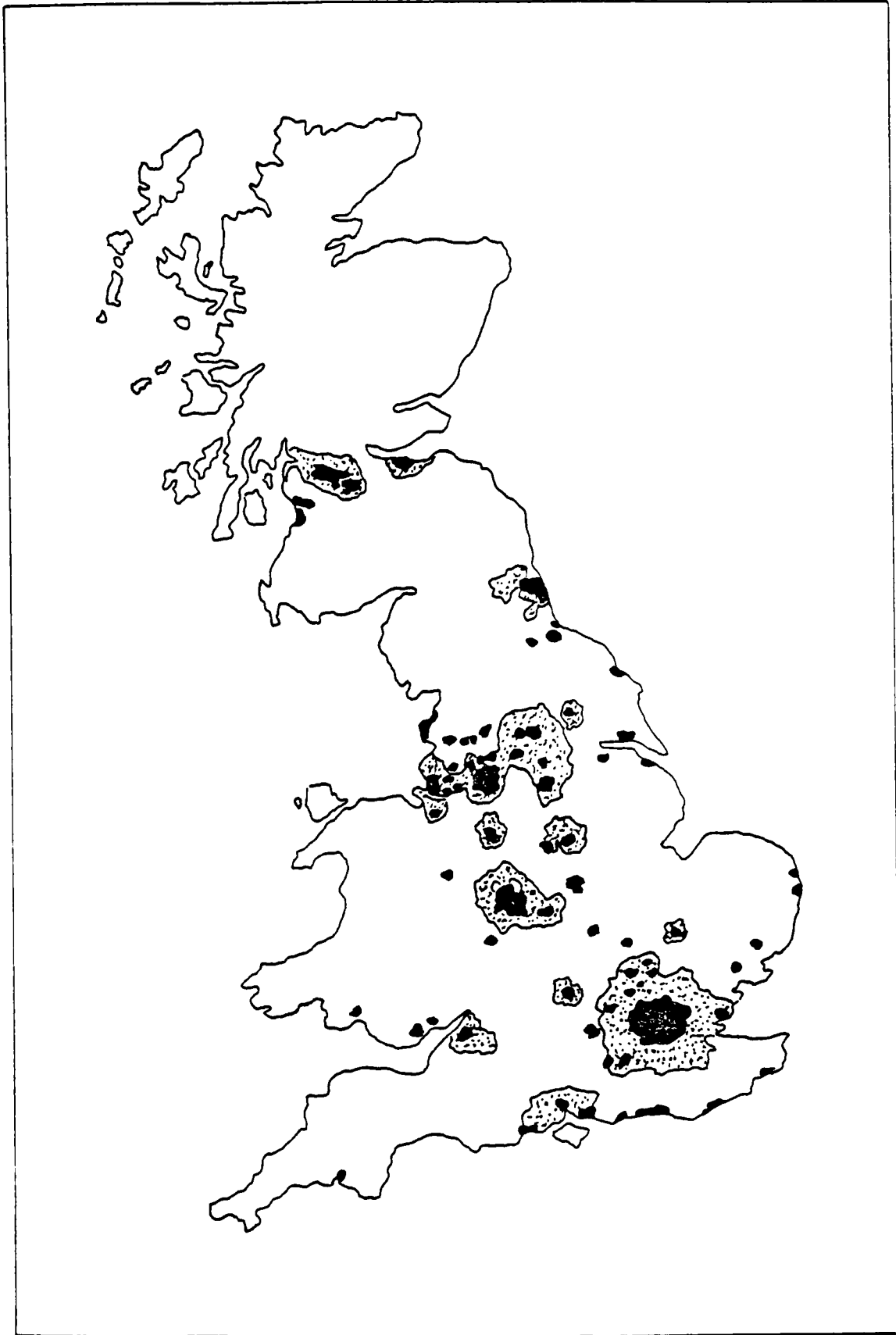
houses, often semi-detached with gardens, became the fashion, with thirty houses per acre established as the standard density for such new development (1). The demand continued into the 1930s with building societies remaining firm outlets for investment throughout the depression resulting in the ready availability of finance for house purchase (2). The growth of public sector housing was similarly encouraged. The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919, which introduced state subsidies to help local authorities build houses for the poor, emerged from a growing social awareness of the extreme deprivation and poverty experienced before the First World War (3). Such a sudden rapid demand for residential land could not be satisfied within existing urban boundaries, and during the 1920s residential development began to encroach rapidly on to the surrounding countryside, the urban area expanding by an estimated 20,000 hectares per year (4). Initially tracing its path along transport routes, it began to sprawl outwards across adjacent agricultural land as municipal estates grew alongside private suburbs. This demand arrived during an era of low agricultural profitability, with farmers anxious to maximise profits through the sale of land for building. It was supported by a rapidly developing private and public transport system, so that by the early 1930s some 25,000 hectares of agricultural land were being transferred each year to urban usage, resulting in over 300,000 house constructions per annum (5).

Although there was growing concern at both official and unofficial levels over the uncontrolled sprawl extending out from the cities and towns, there existed no formal structures for the prevention of such growth. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 and the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act in 1935 were largely ineffectual (6) and it was not until the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, based on recommendations from the three Government Committees established during the War, Barlow (7), Uthwatt (8) and Scott (9), that a formal planning strategy for rural areas was instigated. The Act established a hierarchy of planning responsibility and required local authorities to conduct surveys of all land under their jurisdiction and to prepare Development Plans, which would examine the future development of both the urban and rural area (10).

Of these planning initiatives, the most significant for the rural settlements was the designation of Green Belts: that for London following from the 1947 Act (11), the rest of the country being covered in 1955 (12) (Map 4.1). Pressure for residential development was in fact increasing. The birth rate continued to rise into the early 1960s accompanied by an age structure biased towards the young, and post war social trends resulting in the early dispersal of the nuclear family. This resulted in a rapid increase in the number of individual household units and a subsequent demand for homes. While the green belt may have protected the immediate rural hinterland from further urban sprawl, it served to channel this increased demand into the rural area beyond. Thus

Map 4. 1

Green Belts, Gt. Britain 1981



Green Belts



Urban zones

Source : Strachen H. 1972/
Private communication
County Planning Offices.

Scale : 100 miles to 1 inch

after the Second World War the suburban sprawl of the conurbations was replaced by the suburbanisation of rural settlements (13).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s the provision of new housing was dominated by local authority building, but throughout the 1950s private housing completions had been steadily increasing and by 1958 these exceeded those of public authority housing for the first time since the War (14). The affluence of the 1960s and the increasingly widespread private mobility of the middle classes encouraged moves for social reasons: young families and the retired in search of relatively cheap accommodation within a spacious environment (15). Advancing communications and improvement of rural infrastructure ensured that many whose only contact with the country had been in holiday and second homes could now settle there permanently. A typical scene is described by Stamp:

The desire to escape from both the congested towns and uncoordinated life of the more modern suburbs turned the attention of many to the delights of a cottage in the country...[resulting in]...pepper-pot development of bungalows scattered over the face of the open country (16).

The Development Plans of the 1950s were inadequate to cope with the type of pressure affecting rural hinterlands. As these areas were perceived merely as an adjunct to the urban zones, few formal directives were produced other than the encouragement of the already existing belief that urban development should be avoided in the open countryside, and

wherever possible channelled into existing settlements (17). Thus during the crucial period of development of the rural area almost no controls were imposed. As a result of the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act (18) Strategic, Structure and Local Plans were to be produced for every area of England and Wales, urban and rural, with a hierarchy of control from the Parish Council to national Government. Unfortunately this was too late; the planners of the 1970s and 1980s thus arrived to deal with a suburbanisation process that had been long established.

It is thus apparent that the suburbanisation of rural settlements has its roots in the immediate post-war era, and it is this period which forms the commencing point of the analysis of the county policies.

4.2.Demographic growth and planning objectives: a contextual framework.

The assessment of the planning process, which comprised an examination of published and unpublished planning material, and interviews with County and District Planners, and Parish Councillors, suggests that planning is a fluid process: fluid over time in that published objectives are introduced throughout their period of formation and are thus typically established prior to publication; fluid over space in that objectives and directives produced at national (19) and County level are subject to numerous official and informal alterations at the local stage of implementation. While it is not the purpose of this study to assess the procedures and variations in planning practice, that has been done elsewhere and in great depth (20), this characteristic influences any assessment of the planning framework.

Prior to considering the more detailed planning process of each county, the differences in approach, process, and context must be underlined. The contrasting rural infrastructure of Hampshire and Staffordshire and their differing social and economic climates has already been mentioned (Chapter 3.1): the first a thriving growth area, the second a smaller zone on the periphery of a conurbation whose economic growth has been unstable. This latter factor in particular is reflected in the sophistication of the planning approach. Hampshire approached the development of

rural areas with a policy based on a hierarchy of settlements, perceiving urban and rural zones to form one support system, and introduced this theoretical concept from the early 1950s (21); Central Staffordshire, however, gave little direct emphasis to rural areas per se and until the mid 1960s perceived these as sources of food production and useful reception zones for overspill from the conurbation (22). By the mid 1960s Hampshire had produced a comprehensive plan for the structured development of South Hampshire (23) in response to the demands of the South East Study (24), while the corresponding response in Central Staffordshire to the West Midlands Study (25) was a short rural review which for the first time established growth settlements (26).

The demands for growth in the two areas were thus met with contrasting responses. The major expansion of Hampshire occurred in the late 1950s and 1960s and was channelled at its commencement into existing zones, while the Staffordshire County Planning Office admit that they were faced in the early 1970s with acute pressure for growth, without firm guidelines for its control.

Thus the major growth occurred considerably earlier, and was met with a considerably more detailed planning strategy in Hampshire than in Staffordshire, and this is reflected in the planning material. Because it was perceived as a growth area at an early stage, Hampshire was in a position to formulate a detailed theoretical approach to planning while both published and unpublished material produced by Staffordshire reflects a continuing attempt to

plan for population movements as, and in some cases after, they occurred.

4.2.1.

Southern Staffordshire.

Staffordshire 1951 - 1965.

The 1951 Staffordshire Development Plan produced in response to the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, primarily perceived rural areas as a source of fresh produce and recreation for the population of the conurbation (27). There was, however, limited recognition that in the parishes adjacent to the conurbation, large villages were already incurring dormitory development through movement from urban areas to adjoining rural districts (28). Though no specific guidelines were laid down the Plan suggested that residential sprawl into the Rural Districts should be controlled through a dual process of population redistribution. Initially people would be encouraged into reception areas in or near the conurbation, thus enabling people to continue their work in their present areas of employment. This would be extended by a contemporary but slower movement, continuing over a longer period of time, whereby population and industry were guided into zones beyond the Green Belt (29). Beyond these vague proposals no firm guidelines or directives were presented, nor concepts introduced for the protection of existing rural settlements (30).

By 1958 the provisions for controlling overspill into the Rural Districts had been more clearly defined. In order that the limited resources available for rural services and amenities would be distributed to the best advantage (31), residential building was to be channelled into villages which had already revealed a natural tendency for growth. From these proposals the County Council drew up planning guidelines:

The policy for rural areas is to try to promote a vigorous and healthy social life by:

1. Providing for development in existing villages for those who live and work there.
2. Promoting the provision of services.
3. Discouraging sporadic development elsewhere.
4. Encouraging schemes for the protection and improvement of rural amenities.

Proposed developments in rural areas should normally comply with the following conditions.

They should not:

- a. Harm agriculture, horticulture or other rural pursuits.
- b. Be ribbon development, or likely to interfere with the free flow of road traffic.
- c. Require the uneconomic provision of services.
- d. Be development which spoils the sky line.
- e. Spoil the character of the countryside (32).

Yet in practice these broad outlines did little to control the tremendous pressure now facing the southern zone of the county. Though scattered sporadic settlement was prevented in the open countryside, landowners, in particular farmers, with land adjoining existing settlements, took advantage of the directive that all new residential development was to be grouped within or adjacent to existing villages, to obtain considerable profits through the sale of agricultural land for housing (33). As they lay adjacent to the conurbation Central Staffordshire and Seisdon Rural District

were particularly affected (34) (Map 3.1). Widespread residential building randomly occurred in villages of varying sizes, with contrasting service provision (in spite of policy guidelines); three quarters of the rural settlements in Central Staffordshire growing this way throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. The rate of growth was particularly dramatic in the four years 1961 - 1964, with the population increase of seventeen per cent equalling that of the previous ten years and in rural areas the rate was fifty six per cent higher than in the previous decade(35). The area of Cannock Rural District, included in Central Staffordshire was particularly affected, doubling its population between 1951 and 1961, with its rate of growth also doubling in the early 1960s to reach forty one per cent by 1965. Although less dramatic, Stafford Rural District also increased its growth rate by one third, to eleven per cent.

The prime cause of this growth was immigration mainly in search of housing rather than employment (36). While the area outside the conurbation rapidly increased its rate of growth, the rate of increase in Urban Districts actually fell by four per cent in the first half of the decade (37).

Central Staffordshire 1965 - 1971

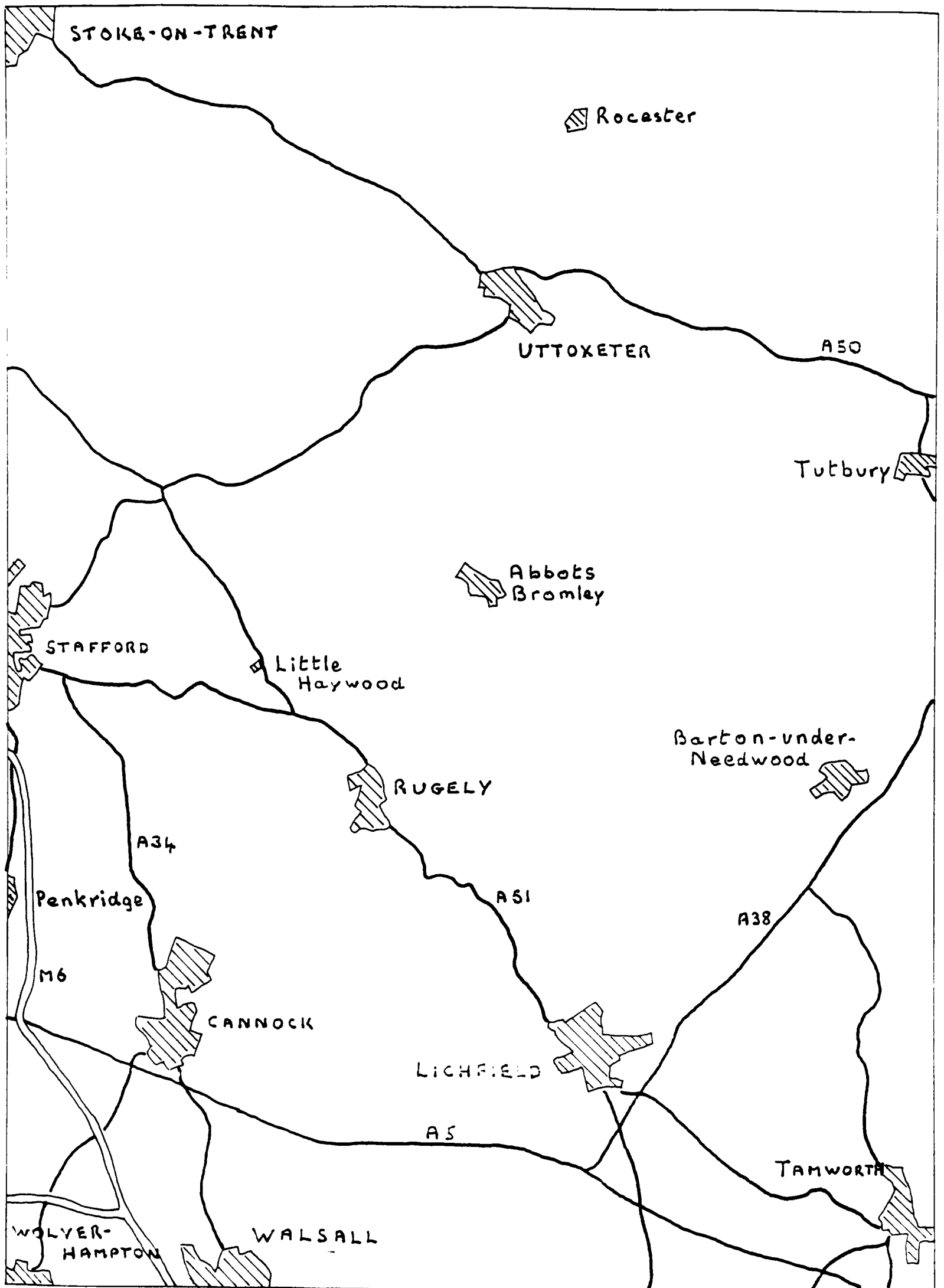
Further pressure was placed on Central Staffordshire after 1965, when the West Midlands Study (38) drew attention to the rapidly diminishing land available for new building within the Conurbation, and estimated that despite the

existence of overspill schemes within the rural hinterland, there would remain increasing pressure on this area until at least 1981 (39). It was thus suggested that alternate growth projects should be designated throughout the region. This prompted a re-examination of the planning policies for the rural areas of Central Staffordshire. As a result of the 1958 Development Plan, overspill schemes had already started in the towns of Litchfield, Rugeley, Stafford, Tamworth and Uttoxeter, and the two villages of Tutbury and Penkridge. Yet by 1967 growth throughout the area had already reached, or in some cases exceeded, targets laid down for 1974, and population forecasts estimated that by 1980 nearly 30,000 additional people would need to be housed in rural Central Staffordshire alone. The 1967 Rural Review Committee (40) revealed that it was proving increasingly difficult to economically provide adequate facilities and services for the widely scattered population growth, and that such piecemeal development was encroaching on agricultural holdings, adversely affecting the farming industry. Concern was also expressed that continued growth outside the existing overspill zones would lead to widespread increase in the volume of traffic, with which the rural road system would be unable to cope. Finally it was foreseen that a continuous ridge of development might be created on the outer edge of the South Staffordshire Green Belt, thus creating a new conurbation (41).

The Review Committee thus selected six large villages into which development should be channelled: Penkridge, Gnosall, Little Hayward, Barton under Needwood, Abbots Bromley and Rocester (Map 4.2). Each was situated on a

Map 4.2

Settlements selected for development in 1967



Scale: 3 miles to 1 inch

main road, thus avoiding an excessive increase in the volume of traffic on surrounding rural roads, and each possessed an adequate range of social facilities which could be easily and economically improved. Furthermore they were all able to accommodate considerable growth within their existing boundaries, thus reducing encroachment on to agricultural land, and were well distributed throughout Central Staffordshire, avoiding a continuous ring of development on the outer edge of the green belt. It was proposed that development within these settlements should not spoil the existing character of the village, or the sky line, nor be in the form of ribbon or linear growth and to ensure this a plan was drawn up for each of the six villages, comprising a zoning map, policy diagram and report (42). Outside these overspill sites, twenty thousand people were to be housed in smaller rural settlements, and forty four secondary villages were also selected for housing growth, primarily to meet local needs(43).

Over half the planned increase for rural Central Staffordshire was to be confined to the two rural districts of Cannock and Stafford, with a designated growth of just under sixteen thousand by 1980. Of this, four thousand was to be distributed among four settlements in Cannock Rural District: Acton Trussell was forecast to increase by one hundred and thirty five per cent, Wheaton Aston by forty three per cent, Penkridge, an overspill site, to grow by fifty two per cent and Coppenhall by thirteen per cent. Only the two estate villages of Blymill and Weston under Lizard, and the settle-

ment of Dunston were to remain at their existing populations. Growth in the rural district of Stafford was to be allowed in fourteen of the twenty six villages, contributing an extra population of just under twelve thousand. The average forecast increase was sixty one per cent, ranging from one hundred and forty two per cent in the overspill site of Gnosall, to the small increase of six per cent in the already large village of Walton, with Bradley forecast for an eighty eight per cent growth over fifteen years (44).

Although the Development Plans and the subsequent Review were superseded in 1971 under the terms of the Town and Country Planning Act, the guidelines established in the 1960s were typically still in operation throughout the 1970s, and it was under the auspices of these directives that the case-settlements grew. For example, the 1969 informal Wheaton Aston plan drawn up in response to the recommendations of the Rural Review Committee, was still used in early 1985 for developmental control purposes.

However evidence from the departments examined suggest that the planning process is a fluid operation, influenced by both precedent and directive, with planning policy continually updated in the knowledge of new factors, resources or approaches. Thus the policies adopted by the Staffordshire planners during the 1970s were considerably dependent on feedback from preliminary results of contemporary studies.

Southern Staffordshire 1971 - 1985.

In 1971 the West Midland Regional Planning Study was

established to examine the problems of overspill from the West Midlands Conurbation and to suggest a broad strategy for future growth throughout the region. Population predictions suggested that a quarter of a million people would move from the conurbation into surrounding districts by 1986, and though it was foreseen that committed overspill schemes would be sufficient until the end of the decade, the study recommended the expansion of other locations and the formation of new settlements after 1981 (45). The study thus forecast that the considerable pressure for residential development would continue throughout the region, and in particular within the Middle Ring, that is the circle of urban and rural districts bordering the Conurbation, including all of South Staffordshire, and part of Stafford District.

The prediction proved correct, for while the West Midlands Conurbation lost forty seven thousand people, falling by two per cent between 1971 and 1976, the Middle Ring gained fifty four thousand, an increase of six per cent and over sixty thousand housing completions, between 1971 and 1978. During the same period the regions beyond grew by under four per cent, with the population of North Staffordshire actually declining (46). The problem of such rapid growth in population was compounded by an accompanying decrease in household size, falling from three point one eight in 1961 to two point nine nine in 1971 (47). Thus although the West Midlands population as a whole increased by less than one per cent (1971-1976) there was a net gain of five point six per cent in housing stock (48).

Running concurrently to the West Midlands Regional Planning Study was the Staffordshire County Council Planning Survey, commenced under the terms of the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act, in preparation for the formation of the Staffordshire County Structure Plan. The findings of the Report of the Survey, published in 1978, were summarised as 'the problems of growth' (49). The survey suggested that by 1991 the population of Staffordshire would rise by a quarter of a million, two thirds of which would be attributable to migration, primarily overspill from the conurbation. The greatest growth was forecast for the centre and south of the county, resulting in severe pressure on the West Midlands Green Belt:

Growth on the scale which has occurred during the last twenty years due to Staffordshire's prosperous economy, people's greater mobility, and their desire to get away from increasing congestion and often unattractive environments in the Conurbations, has led to substantial pressures of growth in both urban and rural areas in the County. Green Belt areas, and those areas adjoining them, have been and still are, under particularly heavy pressures thus creating real dangers of urban coalescence. (50)

The survey suggested that although the County's fundamental settlement pattern had not been altered, rapid expansion had been caused in the small towns and larger villages of the south. This had led to considerable increase in commuting and traffic movement throughout the southern part of the County, extra demands on education and social services, and in many areas growth had outpaced the provision of utility services. Although the housing demand had been largely satisfied, this was only through the acceptance of lower

design and environmental standards, and had resulted in a very undesirable rise in land and housing prices. The rapid rate of growth had also been responsible for the under-provision of social and recreational facilities, which were entirely lacking in some rural areas, and such increasing pressures on the countryside for development and recreation were often in conflict with the needs of those who lived and worked there. However, there was considerable evidence that Staffordshire would be required to accommodate a further large growth in population, partly for its own natural increase but an equal or larger part expected from inward migration. The survey reluctantly concluded that

The West Midland Regional Study proposed that Staffordshire should accommodate a substantial overspill from the West Midlands Conurbation. The studies have shown, with some reservations, that this can be achieved (51).

Thus following the inter-war years, a time of stable or even declining population, the four case-villages and their surrounding areas underwent considerable, sustained pressure for residential development. By 1985 a Local Plan had been drawn up for all four: the three villages in the post-1974 district of South Staffordshire being included in the Northern Area Local Plan, while Bradley, now in Stafford District, is covered by the Stafford District Plan. All four, including for the first time the estate village of Weston under Lizard, have been designated for future growth with Wheaton Aston and Acton Trussell assigned the status of 'Moderate Growth Village'. These latter settlements are designed to accommodate local pressures for growth and

increase in population by between three hundred and one thousand in the years 1979 to 1991 (52).

As will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5, however, 'implementation is the most clouded area of planning process' (53) there being substantial evidence throughout Britain that rural planning objectives and directives are not always achieved (54). Thus despite allowances within the County Structure Plan for further development, District planners are exercising their 'discretion' and advocating a period of low growth and consolidation of past development, within both Wheaton Aston and Acton Trussell (55). This serves to remind us that even during an era of strict objectives, guidelines and directives, the implementation of policy is subject to the vagaries of local influences.

Taking the lead from this example it must be reiterated that the aim of the above analysis has been to establish a framework of the demographic influences affecting southern Staffordshire since the Second World War, and the corresponding planning objectives and directives in response to these pressures. It was thus within this framework that the case study settlements evolved, their exact development being discussed later. With this consideration in mind we turn to the county of Hampshire.

4.2.2Southern HampshireHampshire 1950 - 1964

The first Hampshire Development Plan, drawn up in 1955 expressed concern over the increasing pressure for industrial and residential growth, emanating from beyond the county boundaries (56). In contrast to the West Midlands, where immigration took the form of a dual process - firstly to the Conurbation and then outward to the rural hinterland, migration into Hampshire was into urban and rural districts alike. Indeed by the mid-1950s actual population increase due to migration was higher in the rural areas than in the Urban Boroughs (57). This growth had been gradually encroaching into the countryside since the First World War, with the New Forest Rural District increasing by sixty eight per cent, Romsey and Stockbridge Rural District by sixty per cent, Droxford Rural District by fourteen per cent and the case study Rural Districts of Winchester, Alton and Petersfield by thirty six , seventeen and forty per cent respectively in the years 1921 to 1949 (Map 3.4).

The 1950s survey leading to the Development Plan, thus assessed the county as one unit, giving equal emphasis to urban and rural zones, and categorising all settlements into a general hierarchy, based on size and service provision. The Plan directed that growth should be channelled into existing urban boundaries, controlled through the selection of fourteen major centres and one rural area as prime growth targets, each being allocated 'Town Map Status' and given a 1971 population prediction (58).

The rural area designated for growth comprised the eight southern parishes of Winchester Rural District, a zone of scattered residential development and small holdings. Bounded on the east by the River Hamble, and on the south by Southampton Water, this District adjoined the Southampton County Borough. Here large new housing estates were being developed by the Borough Council, and although the District still remained predominantly rural in character, the random development was emerging as widespread suburban sprawl. Through the designation of 'Town Map Status' to this area it was hoped that the ribbon growth would be halted through a programme of infilling leading to the 'convenient, logical and economic development of the respective villages' (59). Several areas of high quality agricultural land however, were to be included for residential building, with the proviso that:

by nucleating further development to the highest possible degree, considerable agricultural land will be saved although a small number of valuable areas will be lost to agriculture in the first instance (60).

Green belt zones were therefore emphasised and strict spacial guidelines established within which the predicted seventy per cent increase in population by 1971 could be channelled.

A comprehensive survey was carried out of all other Rural Districts, and future shopping, recreation and transport patterns were predicted and planned for, using the concept of key centres. Twenty three centres for education, social and health services were designated and twenty four settlements selected for development as minor shopping centres. All

other settlements, bar the smallest hamlets, were to contain a shop where daily requirements could be purchased (61). In 1955 all three case-settlements, Rowlands Castle, Cheriton, and East Tisted, fell together into this last category. In all rural areas gross density was to be kept at or below twenty houses per acre. Finally the Plan proposed that the majority of all new housing be supplied by the Local Authorities, thus providing for local needs without encouraging excessive migration into the county (62).

By the end of the decade, however, the increase in population had so far exceeded the predicted growth, that by 1959 most of the land allocated for development until 1971 had already been taken up. Pressure on rural areas continued to be acute, emanating not only from the Conurbation but also from outside the county, in particular from the rest of the South East (63). The growth and relocation of industry was accompanied by the immigration of workers and these were joined by the retired and young social movers, in search of a superior quality of life. Many of the immigrants were initially attracted to the South Hampshire Conurbation, but as neither County Borough could accommodate increases within its boundaries, there was rapid growth in neighbouring districts. The overspill from the two County Boroughs into Winchester Rural District alone was nine thousand more than forecast for the decade, resulting in the construction of two thousand extra dwellings in the four years 1955 to 1959 (64). Similarly though

Southampton County Borough grew by eight per cent between 1951 and 1961, its northerly Metropolitan Borough increased by twenty per cent and the surrounding Rural Districts by forty per cent, and while Portsmouth County Borough actually fell by eight per cent, the Rural Districts bordering Portsmouth increased by thirty per cent during this decade (65).

Despite the hopes expressed in the Development Plan only five years previously, residential growth was increasing rapidly, both numerically and spacially, with the suburban sprawl now attaching itself not only to the large centres of the Conurbation., but also to small towns and large villages along its border. Furthermore, a very high proportion of the one hundred thousand immigrants into the county between 1951 and 1961 were young adults, so that by 1961 two thirds of the population of South Hampshire were under thirty five, compared with the national figure of below fifty per cent (66). Of course this also held considerable implications for future natural rates of increase.

The first Review of the Hampshire Development Plan in 1959, proposed an increase of gross residential densities in Town Map areas through the encouragement of high rise flats in urban renewal zones, and flats and three storied buildings in the surrounding localities. In addition five reserve sites were established (67). This residential development was to be supported by eighteen further service centres, bringing the total to forty one, with some of these also being allocated areas of housing growth (68).

Within rural areas in general, development was to be

prevented in the open countryside unless it was of an agricultural nature, ribbon development restricted, and building within all existing settlements was to comply with the density and character of the original buildings. Machinery was established to preserve the Green Belt, areas of outstanding natural beauty, and areas of great landscape value designated for special protection.

Hampshire 1964 - 1970

The natural development of the county was, however, overridden by the recommendations of The South East Study 1961 - 1981, published in 1964 (69). The study's main objective was to define a broad strategy for the accommodation of an extra three and a half million people within the South East by 1981. In order to avoid further congestion in London the study proposed new planned expansion schemes, including the creation of three large 'counter-magnets' to London. The three localities were Bletchley, Newbury-Hungerford, and Southampton-Portsmouth, the latter being selected for its strong natural potential for growth and economic development (70). The South East Study thus proposed an increase in the population of South Hampshire outside the County Boroughs of Portsmouth and Southampton, of a quarter of a million, one hundred and fifty thousand of which should be accommodated by 1981, in addition to the projected growth of the existing population by a further one hundred and fifty thousand (71).

The South Hampshire Study (1966) (72) produced in response to these recommendations, identified a study area within which this development could be channelled: 'The Corridor' running north of the entire conurbation (Map 4.3). Twenty five miles long and twelve miles wide, bounded by the coast to the south, county boundary to the east, the exposure of chalk to the north, and the Rivers Test and Blackwater, and the New Forest to the west, the Corridor comprised six Boroughs, two Urban Districts and six Rural Districts, yet the study treated the entire area

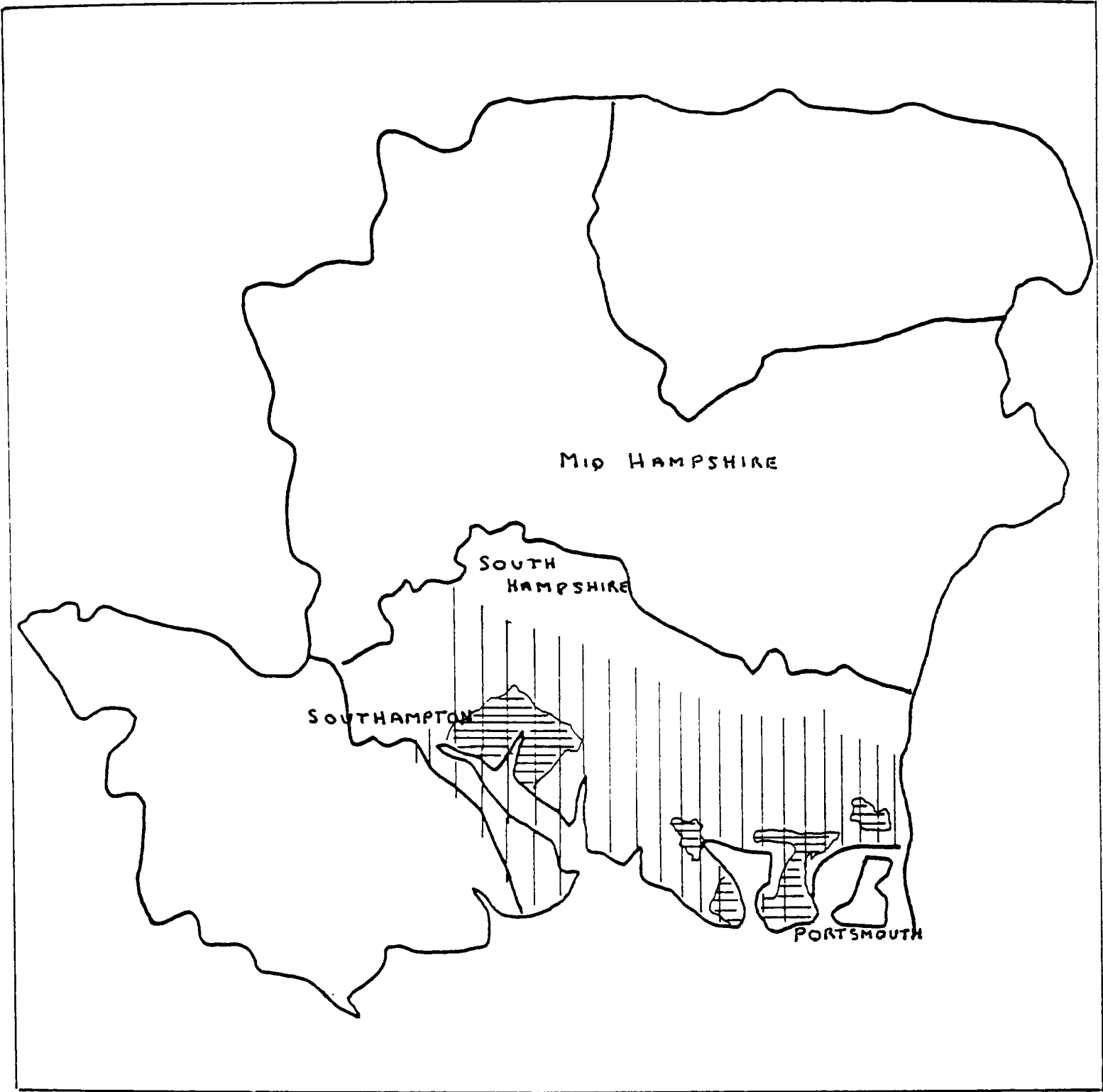
as a whole without regard to the distinctions between present communities, even between urban and rural land...seeing how the area could be contrived to change and grow into a single coherent urban system (73).

The report thus considered the potential development of the communities of the Corridor, so that they might grow and function as social units, retaining access to a wide range of services, employment and recreational facilities, and it was under these conditions that the settlement of Rowlands Castle grew.

After considering various alternatives the study proposed that the Corridor should be developed by means of a 'directional grid', with grid route systems, urban sub-systems, and residential, industrial and service zones. The system would not be fixed but be closely integrated with existing urban development, growing with the least possible disturbance to the functioning of the existing communities. Residential areas would be divided into three categories based on income, density and form: Rowlands Castle fell into the category of high income, low density and dispersed form (74).

Map 4. 3

The 'Corridor'



The 'Corridor'

Although this study was overridden by the 1971 Town and County Planning Act which established strategic and structure plans, many of the later ideas contained in the South Hampshire Study were reproduced in the 1972 Draft Structure Plan and Rowlands Castle's development was closely linked with the pre-conceptions introduced in 1966.

The villages of Cheriton and East Tisted are situated in Downs to the north of the Corridor. This area, comprising The Rural Districts of Alton and Winchester was the subject of the report East Hampshire: Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) (75), published in 1968. The population increase of this region had been far less than that of South Hampshire and growth had been static between 1951 - 1961, increasing by eleven per cent in the following five years to 1965. This growth was confined to eight of the twenty three parishes, mainly those in the east and around Petersfield and was primarily due to an extension of the London commuter belt which now competed for housing with commuters into the South Hampshire conurbation, and the increasing number of retired households now favouring this area (76).

The South Hampshire Study had identified the Downs as an attractive leisure area, predicting that the pressures for recreational use emanating from the Corridor would exceed the capacity of certain popular areas (77). In addition these recreational demands would increasingly compete with agriculture, through the necessary intensification of local food production for the Corridor. The

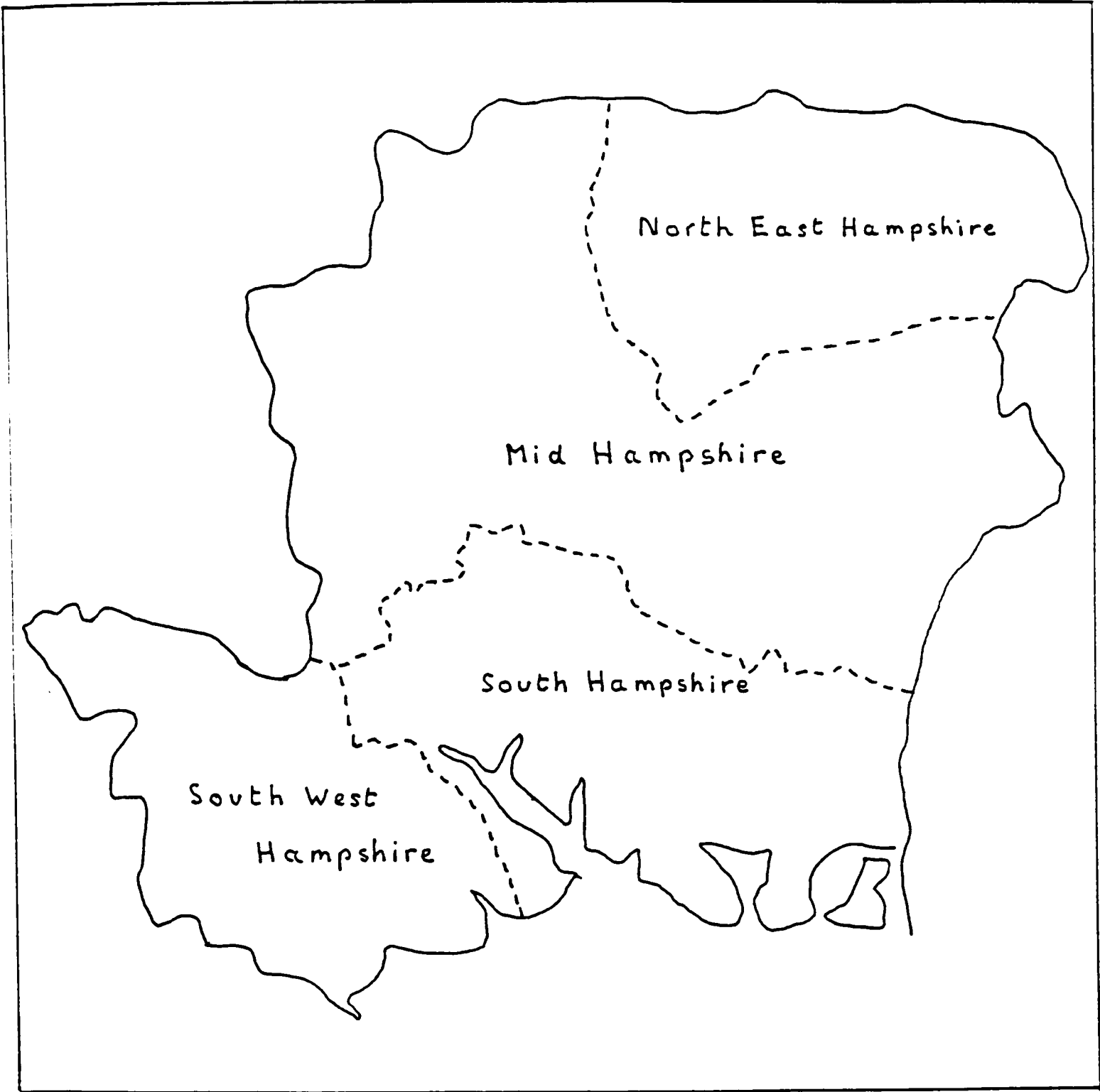
East Hampshire report thus aimed to produce a policy to maintain agriculture and forestry, provide additional public access for recreation, and restrict urban development not specifically linked to land resources of the area. Villages within the AONB were classified according to their future function with the prime recommendation being countryside conservation and limited growth. Both Cheriton and East Tisted were allocated this function, and priority awarded to each for further detailed study. The main development allowed in this area was residential building within existing settlements to accommodate agricultural workers; this was in line with a recommendation to the effect that improved accessibility and personal mobility was reducing the importance of tied cottages. In future farm workers were to be encouraged to live in villages, with accommodation for key workers only being located in open countryside (78).

From the mid 1960s the case study area thus polarised into two contrasting zones: the 'growth area' of South Hampshire and The Hampshire Downs, an 'area of conservation'. South Hampshire was covered by a series of Structure Plans, produced during the 1970s, while the Downs was under the planning jurisdiction of the Mid-Hampshire Structure Plan (79) with input also from the East Hampshire AONB (1968) and The Coast and Country Conservation Policy (80), the latter formally adopted by the County Council in 1975 (Map 4.4).

During the 1970s the County Council accepted a planning

Map 4. 4

Structure plan areas in Hampshire



strategy for Hampshire which broadly accorded with the general provisions of the 1976 Review of the Strategy for the South East (81). Closely in line with the recommendations of the 1966 Plan, the updated Strategic Plan still recommended that the very large population growth forecast for the South East be concentrated in a number of Growth Areas, including South Hampshire (82). Outside such concentrations there should be extensive areas of open countryside, where priority might be given to increasing agricultural production and the conservation of fine landscapes and of historic heritage. The Hampshire Downs in particular were perceived as being structurally important for the separation of the two growth areas, South Hampshire and North-east Hampshire (83). Within these broad recommendations each area produced its own detailed policy for development.

Mid-Hampshire 1970 - 1981.

Throughout the mid to late 1970s the development of Mid-Hampshire was influenced by the Coast and Countryside Policy whose objectives were the conservation of both the natural and economic resources of the countryside and the maintenance and improvement of the character of the rural settlements. Following its recommendations, development outside existing settlement was generally refused, unless essential for the rural economy, and all employment, services and facilities were likewise directed into existing settlements (84).

Thus Conservation Areas were designated in thirty two settlements including both Cheriton and East Tisted (85) and incorporated within the Mid-Hampshire Structure Plan. The policy suggested that villages owed their character:

not so much to buildings of individual merit,
but to the harmony produced by a whole range
or complex of buildings (86).

Whilst the protection of such settlements should be assisted by low growth and the reduction of development pressures, it was important to retain a modest momentum of economic growth to ensure that such areas did not suffer through dereliction, underuse, or lack of funds for maintenance and renewal (87).

During the 1970s, however, Mid-Hampshire underwent substantial pressure for development. Though due to its strategic location and attractive character, increase throughout the county as a whole was less than predicted, household size had been steadily decreasing, resulting in considerable demands for new accommodation and in the fifteen years 1961 to 1976: twenty thousand new dwellings were constructed, an increase in residential property of two point seven per cent per year. Two opposing movements were first identified by the 1966 survey of village life (88): an outmigration for better facilities, employment, or due to lack of transport provision, and a corresponding inmovement by commuters and the retired. Pressure for housing was identified from five main sources: the retired, commuters, natural increase, local demand, and immigrant workers (89).

In response to this demand the Council suggested that 'in principle' new housing in Mid-Hampshire should only

provide for 'local needs', defined in terms of residence, employment and kinship, with the proposed exclusion of the retired and commuters (90). Although this was possible in the public sector, the Council admitted that it would prove problematic in the private sector and concluded that an approach of selective restriction would prove most appropriate. This would ensure that sufficient land was made available to satisfy local housing needs, but that the release of residential land would be unlikely to encourage further immigration. To this end, though larger building plans were to be withdrawn or reassessed, infilling and small developments in villages and towns would continue. This would also satisfy an increasingly important criterion of the County Council's policy, namely the social well being of the existing population. This criterion was formally accepted by the Council only in 1981 although it had been gradually built into the planning policy during the 1970s and included in the 1980 Mid-Hampshire Structure Plan (91).

South Hampshire 1970 - 1985

In South Hampshire the economic recession considerably reduced the growth forecast in the early 1960s, with the subsequent reduction in the immigration of population and industry. Although the population of private households, at eight hundred and ninety one thousand in 1981, was some eleven per cent lower than projected in 1966, the number of households itself was one per cent higher than estimated. Two main reasons are apparent: although the increase in total population was lower than projected, the growth in

those of working age was almost as large as the Structure Plan had assumed (92) and it is these groups which form new households; secondly Hampshire was affected by the national trend towards smaller households, both through a fall in the birth rate, and through the increasing social trend among the young to set up households singularly or in couples. Thus household size in South Hampshire fell from three point nought three in 1966 to two point six nine by 1981 (93).

During the 1970s, however, there was a gradual shift in emphasis from expansion to consolidation, from meeting the requirements of a growing area, to maintaining and reshaping the services and facilities arising with changing economic and social conditions (94). Thus although eighty thousand residential properties were constructed during this period, a shift in policy towards the improvement and renovation of the existing housing stock reduced the requirement for new properties by nearly a fifth (95). Indeed following the rapid growth of housing completions to eight thousand a year in the mid 1960s, the rate fell to five thousand by the mid 1970s and to three thousand during the late 1970s and into the 1980s (96).

Concerns for the remaining countryside within this area led South Hampshire to adopt policies of conservation and land management, already in progress in the rest of the county. Special attention was paid to the rural 'urban fringe' areas, these zones being perceived as providing an environment for agriculture, forestry and horticulture, a landscape setting for individual settlements, and leisure

and service facilities (water, sewage, refuse disposal etc) for the urban zone. Emphasis was increasingly placed on retaining the 'landscape' within existing towns and villages to preserve their character, and wherever possible their conversion for use as formal recreation facilities (playing fields, golf courses, country parks etc). The large area of woodland and heath lying along the western flank of Rowlands Castle, providing a broad space between the village and the sprawling suburban development of Waterloooville, came under close scrutiny during the late 1970s. Assessed in terms of its potential for agriculture, public access, landscape management and recreation, the development of the settlement westwards was strictly prevented and the formal management of the heathland was included within the aims of the 1982 Structure Plan (97).

This policy of conserving the open countryside, coupled with a reduction in overall public spending limits further encouraged infilling and the use of existing land within established towns and villages. Finally there was an increasing shift during the 1970s towards the provision of social infrastructure in new housing development, and as in Mid-Hampshire, elements of this approach were built into the housing policy during the decade (98).

Southern Hampshire, akin to southern Staffordshire, is now in a period of consolidation. The early 1980s appears as a significant period for both rural hinterlands,

a slight pause after a wave of immigration, a turning towards social and economic stabilization. The continued rapid immigration revealed by the 1981 census appears to have been at its strongest during the first part of the decade 1971 - 1981 (99). Now that a firm structure of directives have been established, and frequently updated, rural planning can rest on a concrete framework for the first time.

1. Best 1981. p89
2. Best has suggested that the fall in interest rates during the 1930s, accompanied by decreasing costs in construction, encouraged the entry of larger firms into the building industry and, due to economies of scale, the construction of a large number of sizeable housing estates.
3. Strachen 1974. p. 54. For a contemporary view of this see Bowley 1945
4. Best 1981 p. 86
5. Ibid p. 86-89
6. For a review of these acts see Cloke 1979 p. 74-77 and Cullingworth 1979. A more detailed appraisal is provided by the Scott Committee (note 9). For a general review of this period see Vince 1952. Detailed reports are provided by the Land Utilization Survey.
7. Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population (HMSO London 1940)
8. Ministry of Works and Planning. Eyert Committee on Compensation and Betterment Final Report (HMSO London 1942)
9. Ministry of Works and Planning Committee on Land Utilization in Rural Areas, Report (HMSO London 1942)
10. Cloke 1983 p. 77-81; Gilg 1978 p. 62-63; Hall et al 1973.; Cullingworth 1979 provide an overview of the 1947 Act -and the reports leading up to its introduction. For a contemporary analysis see Fogarty 1948.
11. The Green Belt for London was first suggested in the early 1930s by the Greater London Regional Planning Committee First Report (London 1929); Interim Report on open spaces (London 1931); Interim Report on Decentralisation (London 1931); Second Report (London 1933); leading to the 1938 Green Belt (London and Home Counties) Act which stipulated that preserved land could not be built upon without the consent of the authorities. However this was not finally defined by the surrounding Metropolitan Counties until the formation of the County Development Plans under the terms of the 1947 Act.
12. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Green Belts Circular No. 42/55 (HMSO London 1955), Circular No 80/57 (HMSO London 1957). Few have received statutory or provisional approval, the West Midlands Connurbation receiving approval for its Green Belt only in 1975, but strict planning controls are enforced within all 'proposed' belts. Both fieldwork areas lie just beyond the Green Belt.
13. The abolition of the building licence in 1954 resulted in a rapid acceleration of private development and the provision of cheap spacious accommodation in the countryside as landowners, taking full advantage of the situation, sold agricultural land at inflated prices for building, regardless of amenities.
14. See Clark 1982 p.19-27 for an assessment of rural council house provision during this period.
15. Cherry 1976 gives a brief overview of the increasing mobility of the rural population p.10-17

16. Stamp 1966 p.440
17. An assessment of the Development Plan policy and the resultant planning hierarchy is provided by Cloke 1979 p. 53-69, Cloke 1983 p.89-113; Woodruff 1976; Green 1966; Gilg 1978.
18. An assessment of the 1971 Act and the resultant planning hierarchy is provided by Cloke 1983 p.119-166. See also Mclaughlin 1976; Hancock 1976; Hancock 1976a; Hall et al 1973, Hall 1978; Ash 1976
19. Strategic plans established under the terms of the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act.
20. For example Cloke 1983. Provides an extensive, detailed examination of rural settlement planning: theory, policy and implementation.
21. Hampshire County Council 1955
22. Staffordshire County Council 1951, 1958
23. Hampshire County Council 1966
24. HMSO The South East Study 1964
25. West Midlands Reveiw Board 1965.
26. Staffordshire County Council 1967
27. Staffordshire County Council 1951. One chapter of the Plan was allocated to rural communities; the lone source of rural information from the Parish Councils, Parochial Church Councils and Womens' Institutes. The main concern for rural areas was the loss of agricultural land.
28. Ibid p. 150
29. Ibid
30. In many respects this laissez faire attitude to rural growth was an appropriate reaction to the population data: although between 1921 and 1951 the population of the Rural Districts had been steadily increasing, rising by thirty per cent compared with a nine percent growth rate in urban areas, the Rural Districts, which comprised eighty per cent of the land, still housed only thirteen per cent of the population.
31. Staffordshire County Council 1958 p. 6
32. Ibid p17
33. Private communication- Staffordshire County Planning Department.
34. For example, while the West Midlands Region as a whole grew by under one per cent and the Administrative County of Staffordshire by one point five per cent, Central Staffordshire increased in population by seventeen per cent in the decade 1951-61.
35. Staffordshire County Council 1967 p.11
36. West Midlands Economic Planning Board 1979 p. 16
37. Staffordshire County Council estimate that between 1961 and 1964 eight thousand people left urban zones throughout the West Midlands region, for neighbouring Rural Districts, with two thousand moving in the year mid-1964 to mid-1965 alone.
38. West Midlands Reveiw Board 1965.
39. Ibid
40. Staffordshire County Council 1967
41. Ibid p. 26
42. Ibid p. 26-32
43. Ibid p. 32. In actuality the additional houses were taken up by inmigrants to the area. Staffordshire County Council private communication.

44. Ibid p. 34-37
45. Staffordshire County Council 1978 p. 4 para. 2.9
46. West Midlands Economic Planning Board 1979 p. 15
47. Ibid p. 16
48. Ibid p. 12
49. Staffordshire County Council 1978 p. 10
50. Ibid p. 10 para 2.65
51. Ibid p. 11 para 2.71
52. Ibid p. 29
53. Cloke 1983 p. 6
54. Cloke 1983 provides an extensive account of the implementation of planning policy p. 197-256
55. Private Communication Stafford District Council.
56. Hampshire County Council 1955
57. Hampshire County Council 1959
58. Hampshire County Council 1955 p. 5. The fourteen major centres and the 1971 population predictions were Aldershot, Farnborough and Fleet (67,000) Andover (17,000) Basingstoke (33,000) Christchurch (25,000) Eastleigh (34,000) Fareham (36,000) Gosport (62,200) Hythe (10,000) Ringwood (6,000) South Hayling (11,000) Totton and Millbrook (33,000) Winchester (30,000) Havant (to be decided-a reserve site).
59. Ibid p. 7
60. Ibid
61. Ibid
62. Ibid
63. Hampshire County Council 1966 p. 27
64. Hampshire County Council 1959 p. 3
65. Census 1961
66. Ibid
67. These were Havant and Waterlooville Urban Borough; Droxford Rural District; Romsey Municipal Borough ; Romsey and Stockbridge Rural District and the New Forest Rural District; they were to remain undeveloped for as long as possible.
68. Hampshire County Council 1959 p. 8
69. HMSO The South East Study 1964
70. Ibid para 13/8; Since 1951 South Hampshire, defined by Hampshire County Council as Portsmouth County Borough, Southampton County Borough, Eastleigh Municipal Borough , Fareham Urban District, Gosport Municipal Borough , Havant and Waterlooville Urban District, Winchester Municipal Borough, Romsey Municipal Borough and the Rural Districts of Winchester, Droxford, New Forest, Petersfield and Romsey and Stockbridge had risen at twice the national rate due to a high natural increase, (the areas' birth and death rates were seven per cent above and seven percent below the national averages respectively) and inward migration; net inward migration into South Hampshire was 41,000 people during this decade. See South Hampshire Study 1966 p. 4
71. Hampshire County Council 1966 p. 4
72. Hampshire County Council 1966
73. Ibid p. 10 para 17.

74. Ibid p. 56 para. 130; Model R2A
75. Hampshire County Council 1968
76. Ibid p. 13
77. Hampshire County Council 1966 p. 81 para 214
78. Hampshire County Council 1968 p. 31
79. Hampshire County Council 1980
80. The Coast and Country Conservation Policy 1976 (updated 1979).
81. HMSO Strategy for the South East 1976
82. Planning Area 8
83. Planning Area 27
84. Hampshire County Council 1980 p. 13
85. Ibid p. 77 para 6.3
86. Ibid p. 78
87. For a statement of the Council's objectives see Hampshire County Council 1978a
88. Hampshire County Council 1966a
89. Hampshire County Council 1978 p. 3 para 2.3
90. Ibid p. 7 para 4.1-4.8
91. Hampshire County Council 1980 p. 22 para 2.41
92. Hampshire County Council 1983a p. 5
93. Hampshire County Council 1983 p. 23
94. Hampshire County Council 1982 p. 4
95. An account of Hampshire County Councils housing policy is provided by Hampshire County Council 1983 p. 17-27 and Hampshire County Council 1983 b
96. Hampshire County Council 1983 p.19
97. Hampshire County Council 1982
98. Hampshire County Council 1982 p. 41 para. 43
99. Champion 1981

P A R T T H R E E

THE PLACE

CHAPTER 5

The case study settlements

The broad planning outline provided in Chapter 4 has revealed the contrasting demographic pressures affecting each case village, and their inclusion within the resultant planning framework. Each village also possesses a particular history. There appeared broad historical correlations between village types which suggested that an analysis of the village prior to formal planning was important for an understanding of its modern structure. A short history is thus provided for each settlement. This is followed by a model of residential growth which demonstrates the importance of the former land tenure of the village in relation to its subsequent development.

5.1.The Development of the Case Study Villages.5.1.1.The Estate villages.

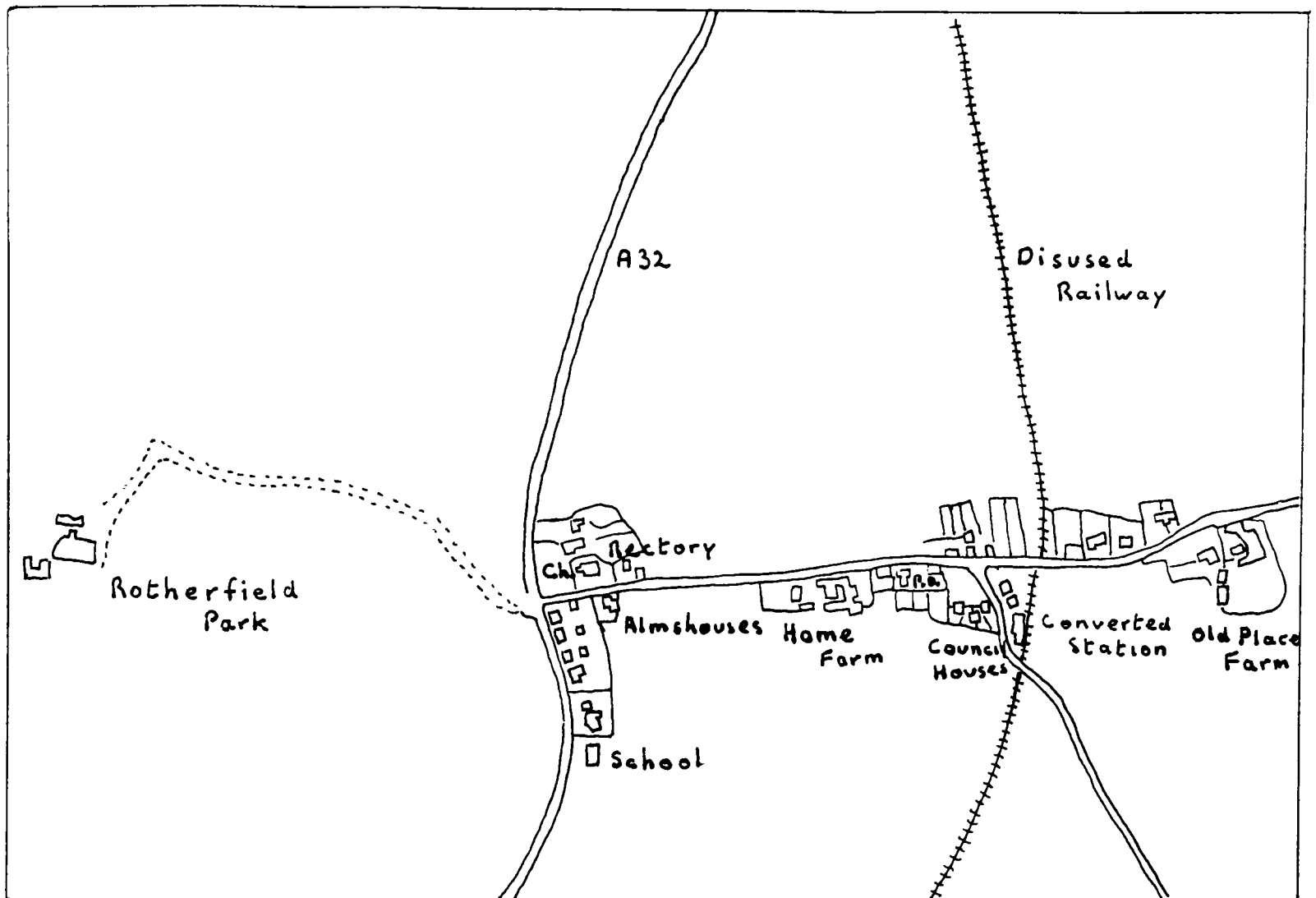
East Tisted, a village (1) of forty-nine residential properties with a population of seventy-four adults (2) in 1981, is the estate village of Rotherfield Park, the home of the Scott family. It lies adjacent to the main A32 Fareham to Alton road, on rolling chalk land, four miles south of Alton (map 3.6). Spacially it comprises two distinct parts: the western section of the settlement, a Conservation Area, has remained unaltered since its Nineteenth century landscaping, still a visual component of Rotherfield Park itself; to the east on higher ground lies the present village centre, scattered buildings which have been added to during the twentieth century. (map 5.1).

Weston under Lizard, the estate village of Weston Park, home of the Earl of Bradford, lies astride the A5 (T) road, six miles east of Telford new town (map 3.3). The majority of the fifty-three dwellings line both sides of the A5, though several are scattered throughout the estate grounds; the village containing one hundred and fifteen adult residents in 1981. Both the village and the Park have been designated a Conservation Area, and lie among mature woodlands (map 5.2). Weston under Lizard, has a sister estate village, Blymill, which lies one and a half miles to the north of Weston Park.

The development of the two closed villages of East Tisted and Weston under Lizard, has been, and fundamentally still is, controlled by the actions of one individual - the landlord. As both villages were substantially rebuilt during the eighteenth century, this forms a convenient starting point.

Map 5. 1

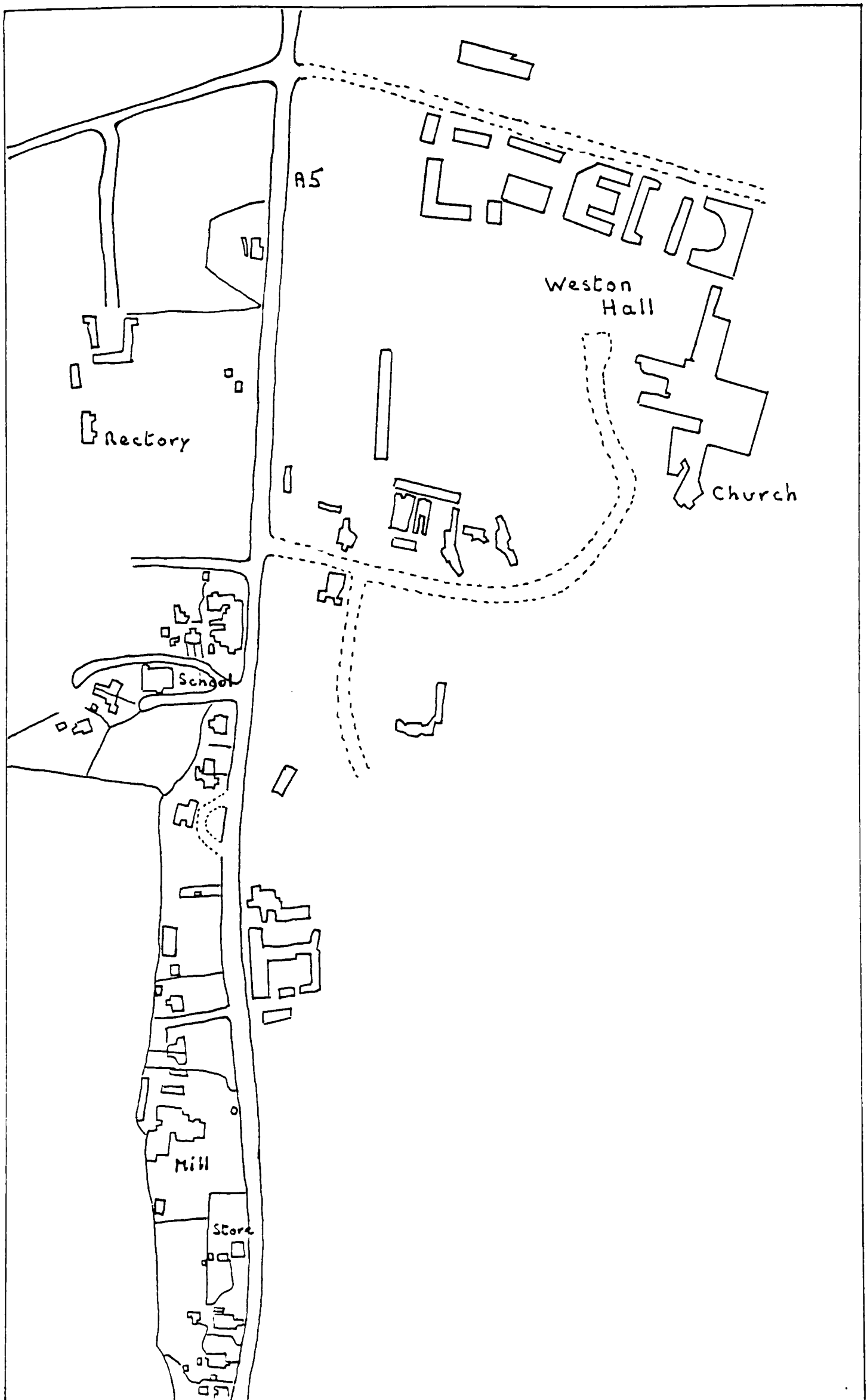
The settlement of East Tisted



Scale 6 ins to 1 mile

Map 5. 2

The settlement of Weston under Lizard



Scale: 300 feet to 1 inch

Both estate villages were caught up in the eighteenth century model village movement, whereby the traditional, spasmodic and unplanned growth of rural settlements was replaced by a new village, laid out in symmetrical rows, but an appendage to the overall landscape of the park (3). In this fashion East Tisted was extended in 1760 from its centre in the east near the pond to the west side of the main thoroughfare (now the A32) as a series of cottages were built in Rotherfield Park itself (4). Similarly in 1768 Capability Brown landscaped Weston Park, constructing lodge houses at the entrance to the estate and a group of cottages on the north side of Watling Street, (the A5) (5).

The essential feature of these villages was thus the separation of the main house from the agricultural dwellings, the latter forming the 'dark village', a locally based, working-class sub-culture which stood in distinct contrast to the 'official village' which included farmers, clergy and professionals (6). This setting apart of the landlords, often on higher ground, established and maintained deference (7), while the grouping of agricultural labourers ensured that standards of behaviour and status determined at work were reinforced outside the work place (8). The physical layout was thus both an overt representation of, and the power behind, the paternalism of the landed classes (9).

The turn of the eighteenth century saw a second major change with the advent of the Picturesque movement. Within rural architecture the Picturesque found expression in ornate, highly decorated buildings, the very antithesis of the model village. This resulted in the demolition and reconstruction

of parts of both East Tisted and Weston under Lizard.

Within the settlement of East Tisted the eighteenth century model cottages inside Rotherfield Park, were removed and rebuilt on the western side of the road, as symmetric cottages, with overhanging eaves and colour washes (10). A new school with adjoining teacher's house was added in 1827, along with a Gothic lodge, with Tudor chimneys (11). Coinciding with this aesthetic movement, was the growth of small scale rural industry, which required fitting into the feudal estate structure. The juxtaposition of two potentially opposing aims was resolved through the landscaping of the industry into the estate itself. Thus within East Tisted a woodworks and brickworks were discreetly tucked away in the west section of the park (12).

It is the perfect example of English landscape scenery: at exactly the right point in the composition East Tisted church tower rises white among the setting of dark yews. Rotherfield Park with East Tisted.....forms one of the most complete and delightful instances of Picturesque theory put into practice (13).

At Weston under Lizard the brickmakers' cottages were converted into a 'rustic dwelling' and the seventeenth century parsonage replaced. The eighteenth century cottages along Watling Street were added to by an aesthetic cluster formation, and additional cottages in the Picturesque mode were constructed on both sides of the road (14).

It was during this period that the traditional view of the rural scene, with its emphasis on the idyllic was established (15). Yet neither building nor village structure took into account the practicalities of rural life, and the existence of whole communities still hung on the whim of a

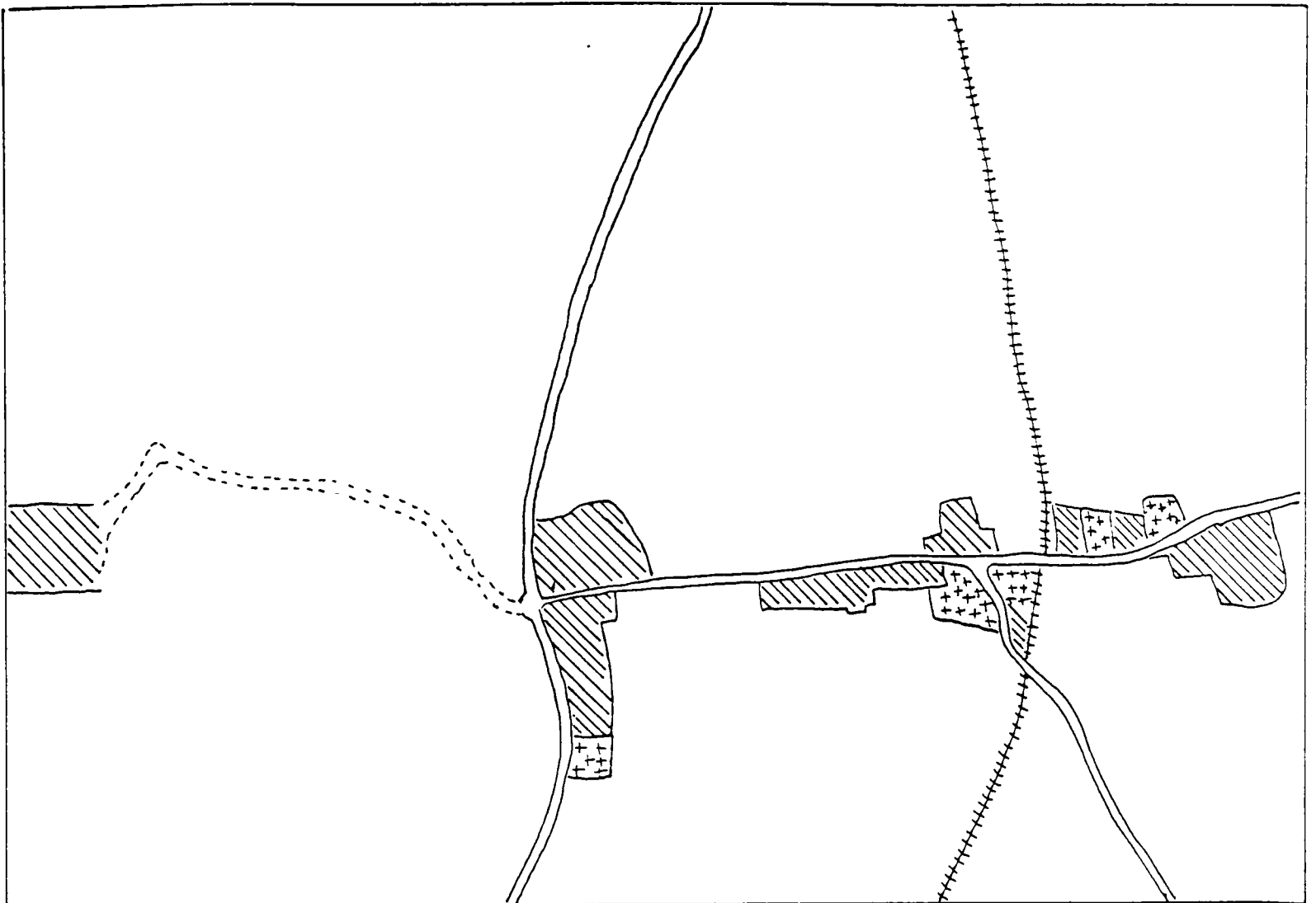
fashionable landscape gardener or on the patron's interpretation of Picturesque theory.

As the 19th century progressed there arose mounting pressure for housing reform, predominantly an urban movement but with rural reflections (16), and although philanthropy was still a rare motive behind village construction, social reformers began to consider rural housing conditions (17). However in the majority of estate villages, including both case studies, the gentry held such control that social reformers were unable to penetrate. Even so while the rebuilding of East Tisted church in 1846 with a Gothic style rectory, may have been motivated by other than purely philanthropic aims, it can be argued that the building of alms houses in the same year (18) and the construction of two 'homes for the aged' in 1879 (19), did occur in the light of growing social awareness. Similarly the four alms houses introduced into Weston under Lizard in 1874, and a village school a year earlier (20).

In 1903, during the Crimean War, the Meon Valley railway line opened to assist with the transport of horses and armaments to the south coast, and a station and six railway cottages were constructed at East Tisted. The station employed five men and shared a station master with the nearby village of Droxford (21). For the first time non-estate workers were resident in East Tisted. In 1920 a shop was opened in a converted tenant's cottage and this was followed by the construction of six council houses near the original centre (map 5.3). However until the Second World War, all those residing in East Tisted

Map 5. 3

The development of East Tisted



 - - before 1909

 - after 1909

worked within the confines of the parish, and with the exception of the railway workers, the shop keeper and school mistress, all were directly or indirectly employed by the estate. There now existed two tenant farms, a blacksmiths, iron works, bicycle repair works, a timber yard employing carpenters and wheelrights, and a brickmaking industry which supplied builders throughout the local area (22).

In 1955 the Meon Valley Line closed and the railway cottages passed to non-estate workers. The following two decades also saw a fall in estate employment by forty per cent (23), the timber yard and brickworks failed to open after the war and all other independent works were absorbed into the maintenance department of the estate; in addition the rationalisation of farming reduced agricultural employment. Two modern detached houses were built in 1966 on the allotments of the railway cottages, which occupied freehold land on the eastern periphery of the village. These were privately purchased, and in recent years the estate has allowed short-term tenancies to outsiders who also use the village purely for residence. However, owing to the large number of retired estate workers who still reside in the village (24), in only a quarter of the households does the main employee leave the parish for employment.

In 1974 the western area of East Tisted was designated a Conservation Area (25); all new development within this part of the village must be appropriate to the area in terms of scale and design.

At present the facilities of the village are limited. There is a small shop with sub-post office and a twice weekly bus service to the small town of Alton, four miles distant.

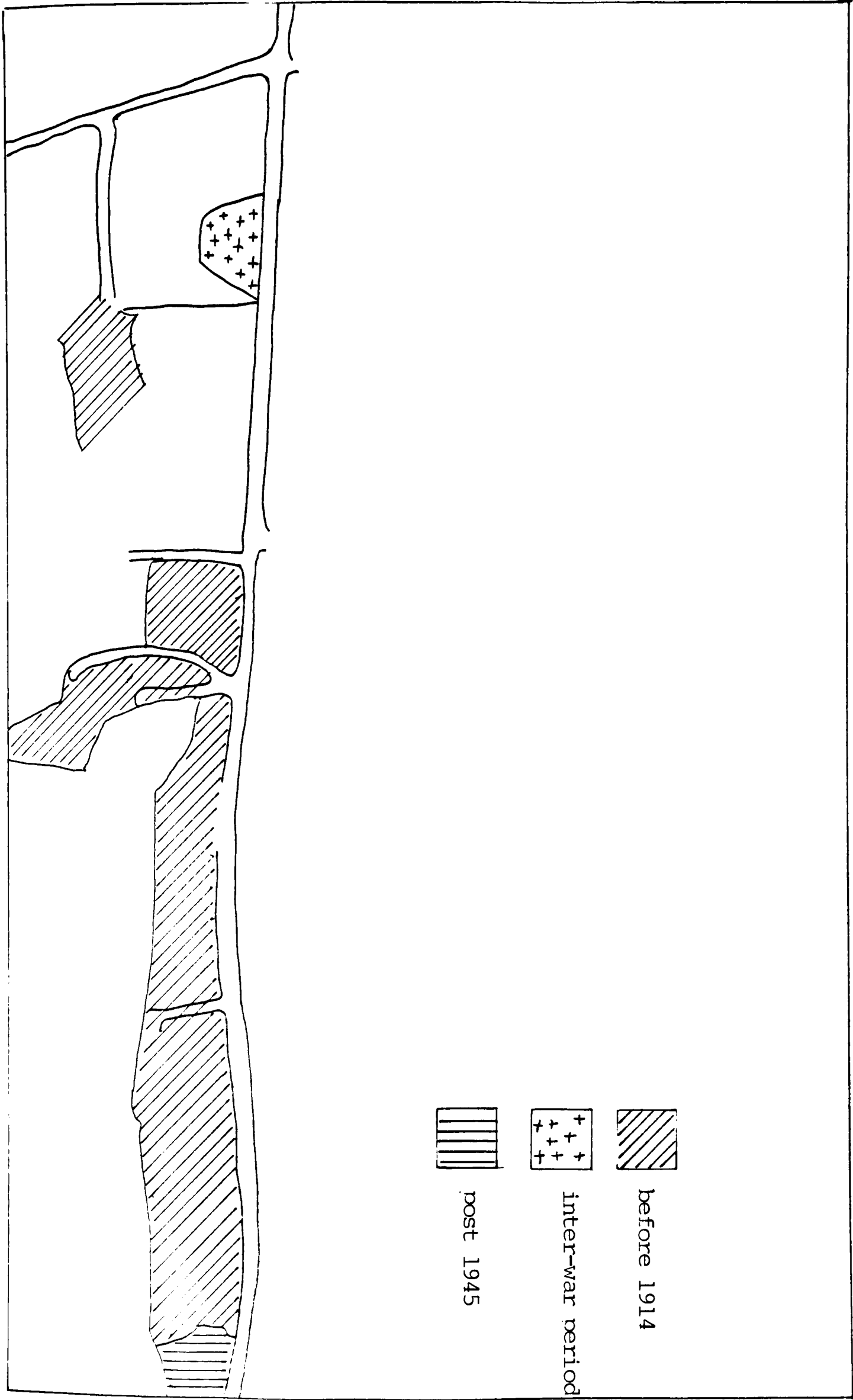
The nearest medical provision is three miles away at Ropley, or at Four Marks. With the closure of the village junior school in 1981 (26), pupils must travel to Ropley; the secondary schools are four miles, seven miles and eight miles away at Alton, Petersfield and Alresford, respectively. The village lost its incumbent rector on his retirement in 1984, although weekly services are still held in the parish church. There is a recently opened leisure centre at Alton.

The village of Weston under Lizard remained closed to non-estate employees until the inter-war years when two houses, one a police house, were built on the eastern edge of the settlement (map 5.4). During this time two shops were also opened - one a general village store, the second a small shop and post office, both in the centre of the village, and a reading room was erected near the village school. The last building programme occurred in the early 1950s with the construction of four new estate houses at the west end of the village.

As in East Tisted, estate employment has steadily declined since the Second World War (27), although the estate still retains an active forestry department which supplements agriculture and estate maintenance. In addition the stately home of Weston Hall is open to the public between April and September, the Park supporting a large adventure playground and regularly holding outdoor displays and carnivals. This provides considerable summer employment, in particular for female residents.

A Conservation Area was designated in 1973 embracing Weston Hall, the landscaped park and the estate village (28). This limits future opportunities for infilling or redevelopment

The development of Weston under Lizard



within the village.

The facilities of the settlement are similarly limited. There is a small shop and separate sub-post office. Buses run twice weekly to Telford, six miles away, Newport, eight miles, and to Wolverhampton, a distance of twelve miles. The nearest medical facilities are in Brewood, five miles from the village. Weston under Lizard primary school closed in 1979; children now travel two miles to the First school in Bishopswood, three miles to the Middle school in Wheaton Aston and eight miles to the High school at Penkridge. The rector of Weston under Lizard and Blymill, a sister estate village, was replaced in 1981 by a part-time Diocesan Missioner. Services are held weekly in Blymill, rarely at Weston under Lizard.

5.1.2.

The Growth villages.

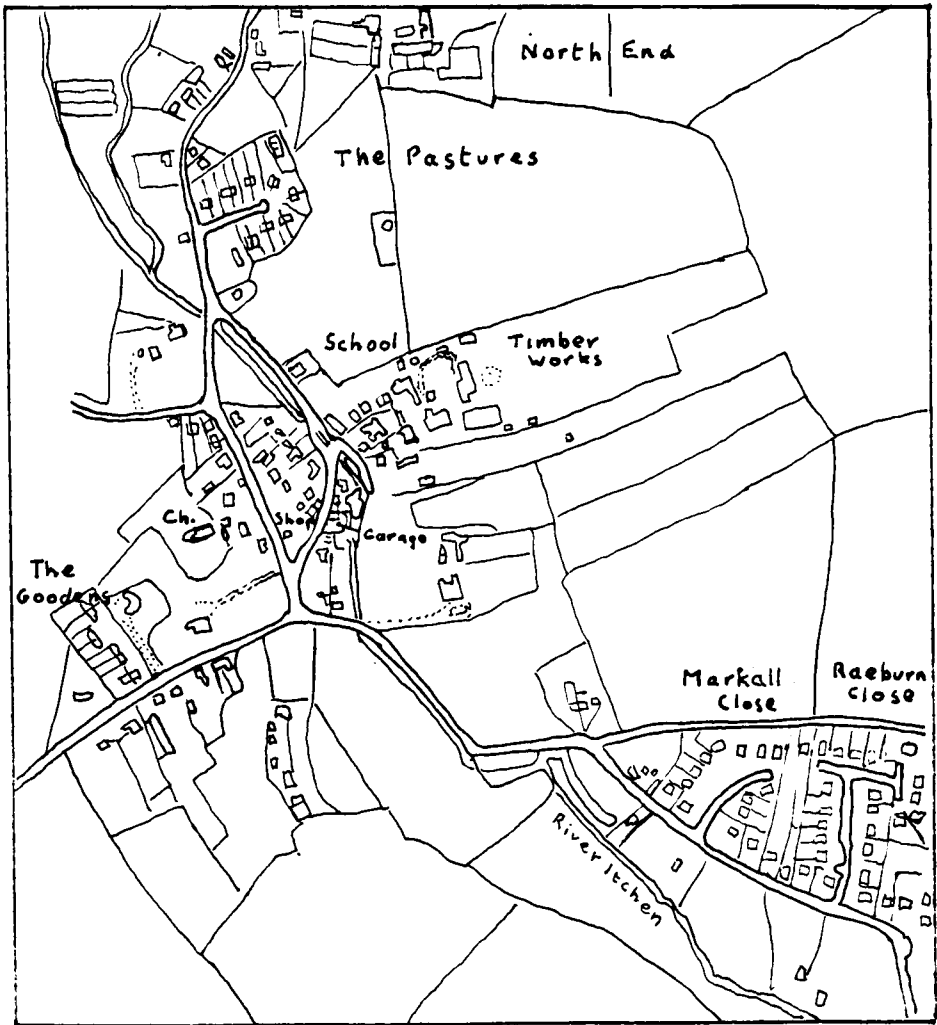
Cheriton, Hampshire.

The village of Cheriton, a settlement of one hundred and sixty nine residential properties, with an adult population of three hundred and twenty four in 1981, lies in the valley of the River Itchen seven miles west of Winchester (map 3.6). A compact nucleated settlement nestling round an attractive village green, the village is surrounded by high quality agricultural land, the major barrier to development being the low lying ground to the east, which supports thriving watercress beds (map 5.5).

Cheriton, whose history is closely linked with the Civil War, one of the last battles being fought on hills to the north, was an active agricultural village by the early nineteenth

Map 5. 5

The settlement of Cheriton



Scale: 6 inches to 1 mile

century, highly recommended for its maturity by Cobbet in 1823 (29). Owned by the Bishop of Winchester until 1869, the village then passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (30), who remain Lords of the Manor today, their main contemporary power being the selection of the vicar, who is still subject to royal approval. The present centre of the village was firmly established by the late eighteenth century, comprising three inns, three large houses, three farms, and a group of thatched and timbered cottages, clustered around the green and running along the river bank. The village school was added in 1875 (31).

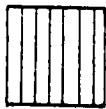
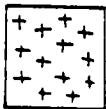
Shortly before the First World War, the village was extended through the construction of 'obtrusive modern villas' (32) in a linear form, running northwards along the main north-south thoroughfare, to a collection of thatched cottages at North End Farm. In the inter-war years two large council estates were established, one of wooden properties, The Goodens, to the west of the village, opposite the Flower Pots Inn, the second, The Pastures, to the north of the centre, between the old village and the pre-First World War villas (map5.6).

The main growth occurred after the Second World War, on the eastern flank of the village, a quarter of a mile from the original centre. The selling of a large property in the early 1960s allowed two estates of low density, detached bungalows and small houses, Markall Close and Raebarn Close, to be constructed on a slight incline overlooking the watercress beds in 1964. Three modern bungalows were also built to supplement the row of post war tied accommodation at North End, and three large detached houses constructed alongside the school. However, growth in Cheriton has generally been unob-

Map 5. 6

The development of Cheriton



-  - before 1908
-  - 1908 - 1962
-  - 1963 - 1970

trusive, and the retention of three large properties with extensive grounds within the settlement, has prevented large scale residential development of the village centre. Cheriton remains an aesthetic, structured village, with old properties clustered round a village green, gently dissected by the River Itchen.

The village possesses a small shop with sub-post office, and a garage. There is a thrice daily bus service to Winchester, twice weekly to Alresford, three miles away. The nearest medical facilities are in Alresford, although a weekly surgery is held in the village hall. The village has a junior school, with secondary education provided in Winchester and Alresford. The parish church, which stands in the centre of the village, was in a state of interregnum at the time of field work. The village has two public houses and a village hall.

Local employment is provided by two farms, resulting in fourteen jobs; the garage and shop; five of the houses have full time domestic staff; and the village has a timber works employing a dozen men.

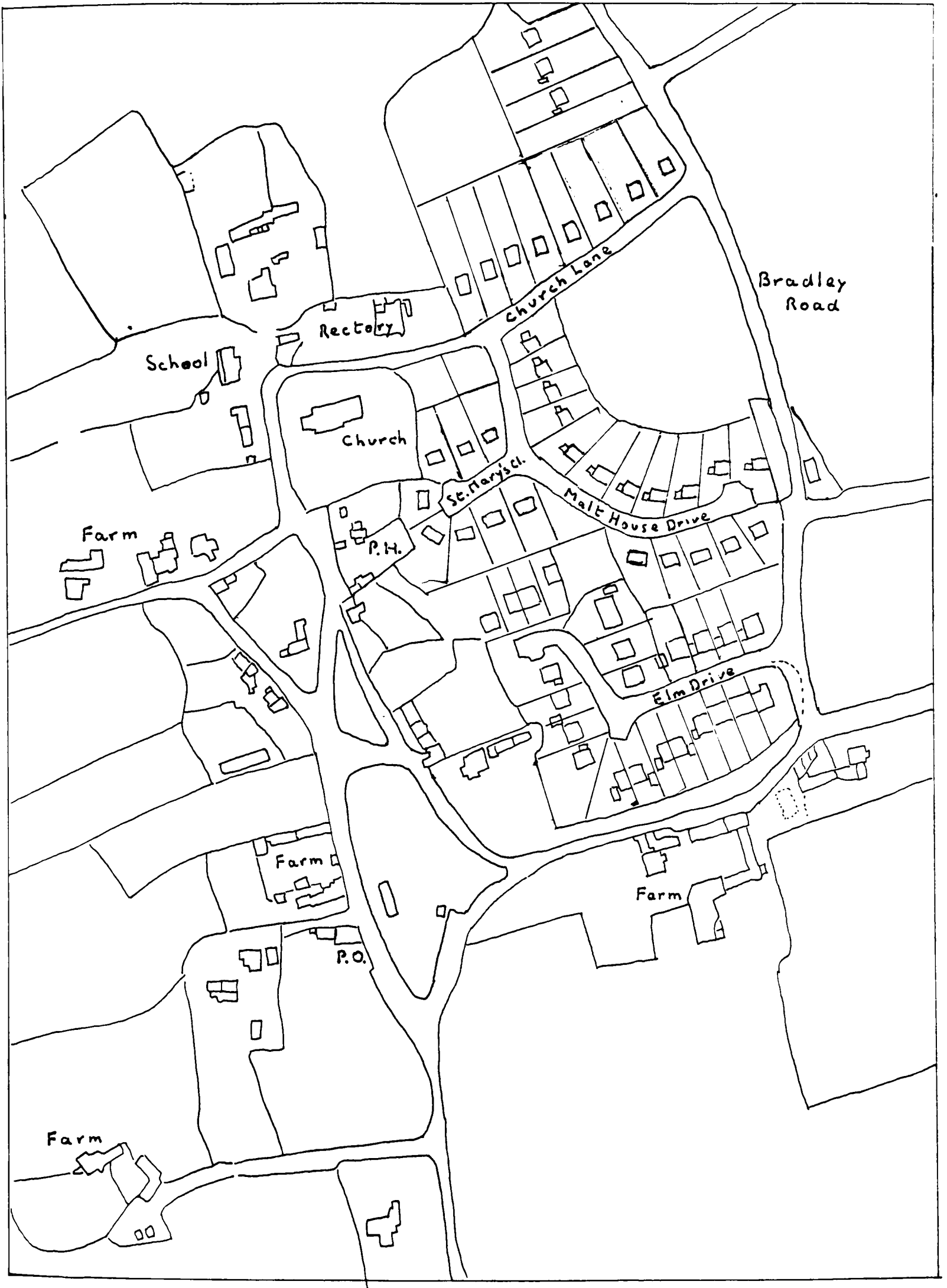
Bradley, Staffordshire.

The village of Bradley lies on marls, four miles south west of Stafford (map 3.3). To the north and east lie flat agricultural land, appropriate for residential development, while the ground falls gently to the south and west. It is a compact settlement with a housing stock of eighty seven properties and an adult population of one hundred and ninety in 1981 (map 5.7).

In the early nineteenth century the parish of Bradely lay

Map 5. 7

The settlement of Bradley

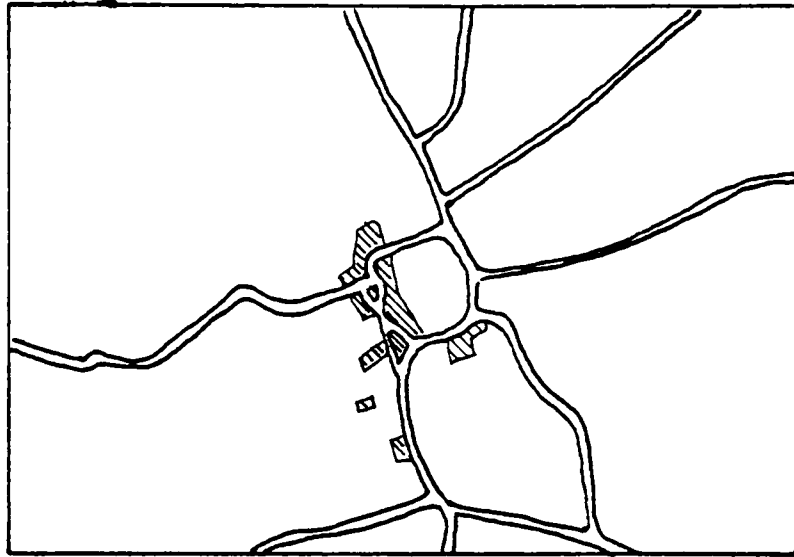


Scale 230 feet to 1 inch

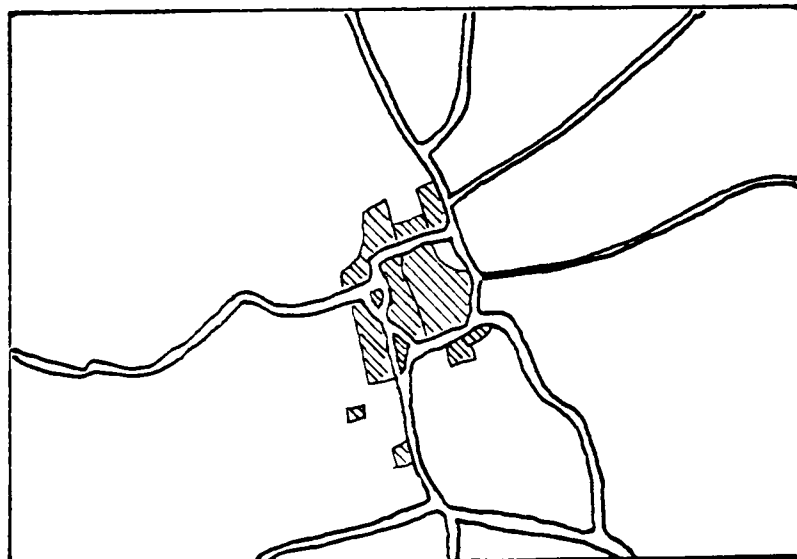
on land at the periphery of the Litchfield Estate, while the village formed part of the manor of Bradley (33). In 1834 this manor and its settlement, 'a small ancient village with a few good houses and a number of thatched cottages, many of them in a very decayed condition' (34) was sold, and the small holdings purchased by the tenants. Over the next hundred years the village faced gradual decline and depopulation, with the deterioration and demolition of many of the cottages, including the destruction of a large malthouse in 1932. However in the mid 1930s a private builder moved into Bradely and commenced a programme of purchasing dilapidated tenant property and converting it into fashionable holiday and country residences for town people. Several houses in the middle of the village were restored and passed into private hands in this way, including the old public house which had closed in 1927. Following the Second World War two semi-detached houses were constructed adjacent to the school, which dates from the seventeenth century, and there was gradually linear development of houses along the western boundary of the settlement, Church Lane, and the northern boundary of Bradley Road (map^{5.8}). In the late 1960s a large property in the centre of the settlement sold seven acres for development, and the three Closes of St. Marys, Elm Drive and Malthouse Drive, a mix of detached and semi-detached bungalows and houses comprising a total of forty four properties, doubled the population of the village by the early 1970s. The latest development is a Close of four bungalows tucked behind the village centre.

Map 5. 8

The development of Bradley



1960



1979

Bradley contains one general store with sub-post office. The bus service to Stafford runs three times a week, and a community mini-bus service has recently been abandoned. The nearest medical facilities are in Stafford. Bradley Junior school is under threat of closure, the nearest alternative being two miles away in Church Eaton. The Middle and Secondary schools are at Stafford. The school hall serves as a village hall, and there is a small public house and restaurant in the centre of the village. The parish church of All Saints still retains its own vicar.

Employment in the village is limited, three of the four farms are family farms employing no outside labour, though there is a thriving nursery and garden centre which employs both regular and seasonal workers. The shop employs a casual helper.

5.1.3.

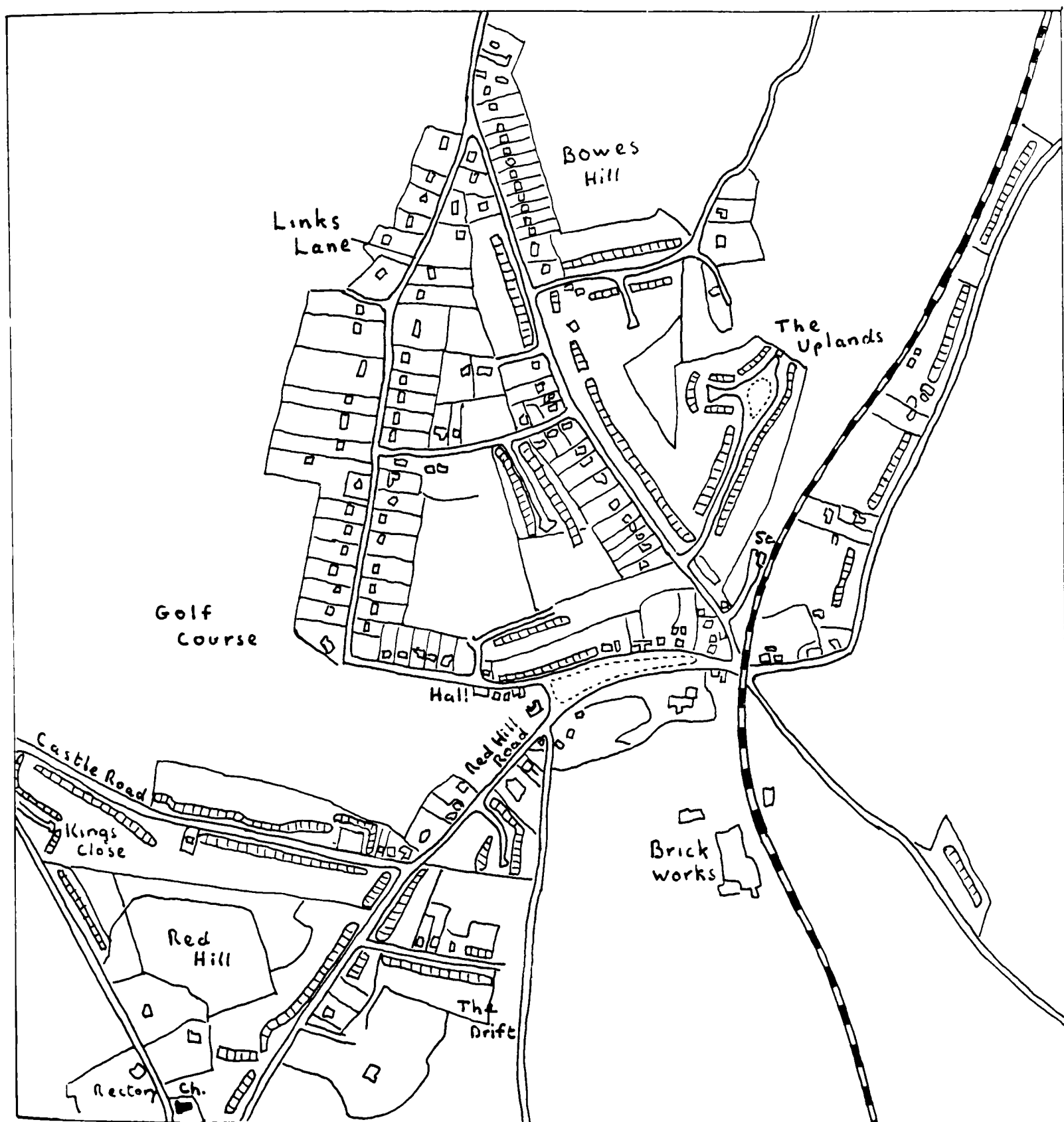
The Metropolitan villages.

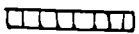
Rowlands Castle, Hampshire.

Lying at the north-easterly tip of the residential complex which flows northwards from the city of Portsmouth, Rowlands Castle, a village of six hundred and twenty six dwellings and an adult population in 1981 of one thousand four hundred and five, is separated from the area known as Cowplain by a thin strip of scrubland along its southern border (map5.9). To the east lies the county border of Sussex with a large area of farmland and mixed woodland, to the west is a sizeable tract of forest and heathland, now dissected by the A3 Trunk Road (map 3.6).

Map 5. 9

The settlement of Rowlands Castle



 Detached or semi-detached houses in close proximity to each other

Scale: approx. 6 inches to 1 mile

In 1789 the Manors of Chalton and Idsworth combined under the ownership of the Clerk-Jervoise family, to form the parish of Chalton. At this time the parish comprised scattered farmsteads with a small settlement at Chalton. However by the mid-nineteenth century, the southerly part of the parish had sufficiently grown that in 1849 it was joined to portions of Havant and Warblington, given the church at Redhill and designated the parish of Rowlands Castle (35). The settlement of Rowlands Castle itself a small cluster of farms and cottages, lay about a mile from the church, in a hollow of the downs.

During the 1850s the Clerk-Jervoise family released land on the periphery of their estate for the construction of the Portsmouth branch of the London-South West Railway, the Godalming - Havant Line, and in 1859 a small station opened adjacent to the settlement of Rowlands Castle (36). This formed the catalyst for the development of the village. The Rowlands Castle Brick and Tile Company set up on the outskirts of the settlement erecting two brickworks and a tile factory on land near the station, and a charitable organisation bought the adjacent land to construct Stanstead College, a home for 'retired merchants'. This area continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century with houses nucleating around a large green in the centre of the settlement, and during the early twentieth century ribbon building occurred along the road linking the village with the church at Redhill.

This slow growth continued after the First World War with linear development occurring along the roads leading from Redhill Road, running to the east along The Drift, and the west down Castle Road to join the newly constructed council estate, Kings Close, on the western edge of the village (map5.10).

Map 5. 10

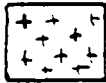
The development of Rowlands Castle



before 1931



1931-1962



1962-1969

The gradual encroaching was replaced by rapid growth after the Second World War with the construction of low density large detached houses along Bowes Hill and Links Lane, which formed the north-west boundary of the village, and a linear settlement of small semi-detached properties ran north along The Uplands to join a second council estate, again relegated to the periphery. During the 1960s and 1970s the settlement was infilled with a mix of property, using the linear residential zones as boundaries, with the construction of six housing estates and the erection of property along all existing internal roads.

Rowlands Castle possesses a variety of consumer facilities: a post office, chemist, bank, bakers and coffee shop, gardening centre and hairdresser cluster around the green in the centre of the village, while a small precinct near the station holds a supermarket and newsagent, and a similar zone along Redhill Road comprises an electrician, fruitshop, grocer and newsagent. A regular bus service runs several times a day to Havant just over a mile away, and to Portsmouth a distance of five miles, and there are fast train links with both Portsmouth and London. There is a doctor's surgery within the settlement and the village also possesses a large primary school. An Anglican church is located on the village's southern boundary, and a Congregational church has stood by the village green since 1881. There are two public houses and a village hall in the centre of the settlement, and a third public house on the southern outskirts; Rowlands Castle also possesses a large eighteen hole golf course.

Local employment is provided by the shops, garage, and golf course; there is a little light industry at the site of the old brick works, and there are plans to introduce a small complex of industrial warehouses on to the site; the village contains a small long distance lorry driving company, and employment is also provided by the station and railway.

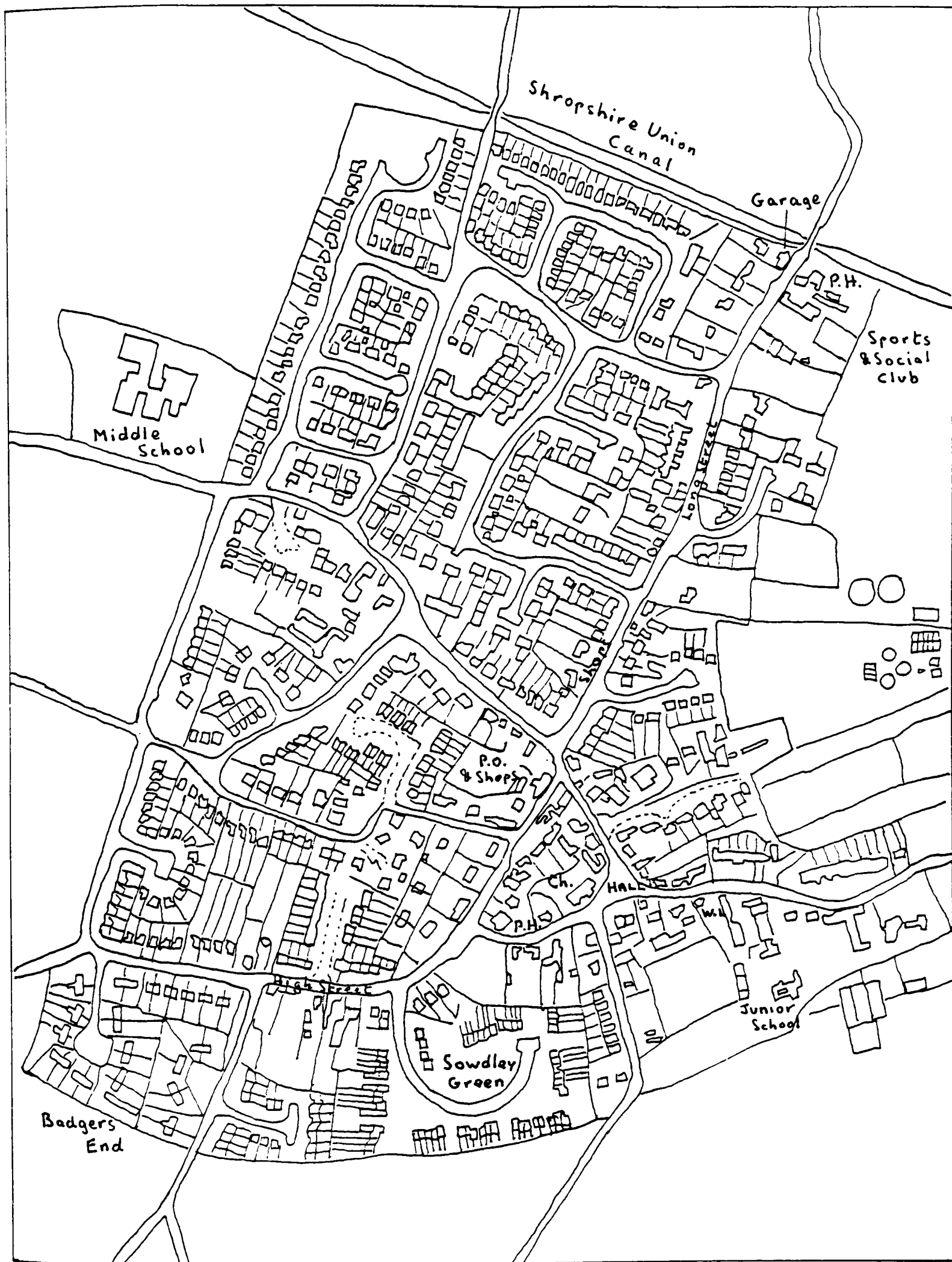
Wheaton Aston, Staffordshire.

Wheaton Aston, a settlement of six hundred and forty two residential properties, with an adult population of one thousand two hundred and forty two in 1981, lies nine miles south west of Stafford, in the centre of a large clay plain (map 3.3). Surrounded by flat agricultural land its only physical hindrance to development is the Shropshire-Union Canal, which flows along its north - eastern boundary (map 5.11)

The village of Wheaton Aston developed on peripheral land owned by the Manor of Lapley. A nucleated settlement of farmsteads and cottages, it vied with the compact estate village of Lapley, clustered around the manor some two miles away, as the most populous part of the parish. During the eighteenth century the Manor divided Wheaton Aston between two families: the Crocketts of Little Orm and the Shushions from Church Eaton. In 1837 the entire settlement was sold to a businessman called Thorneycroft; the village remaining with his family until the early twentieth century when the land was divided between six large farms (37).

Following the First World War, linear growth occurred along the settlement's main north-south thoroughfare, Long and High Streets, and a council estate, Badgers End, was built in 1939 on the south-western outskirts (map 5.12). The 1886

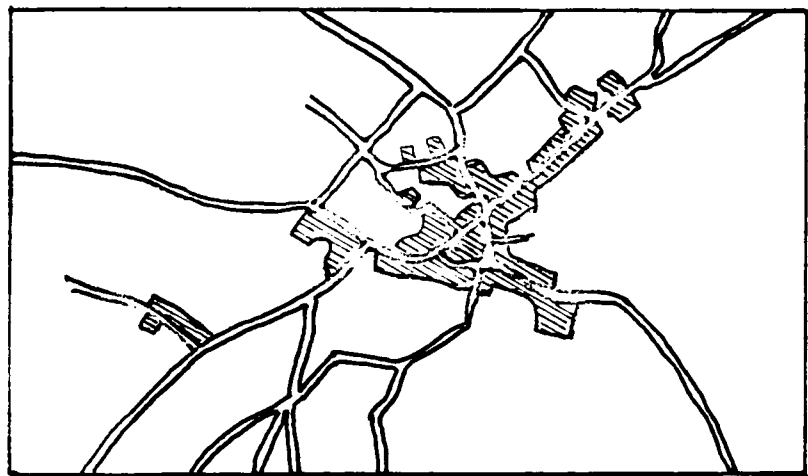
The settlement of Wheaton Aston



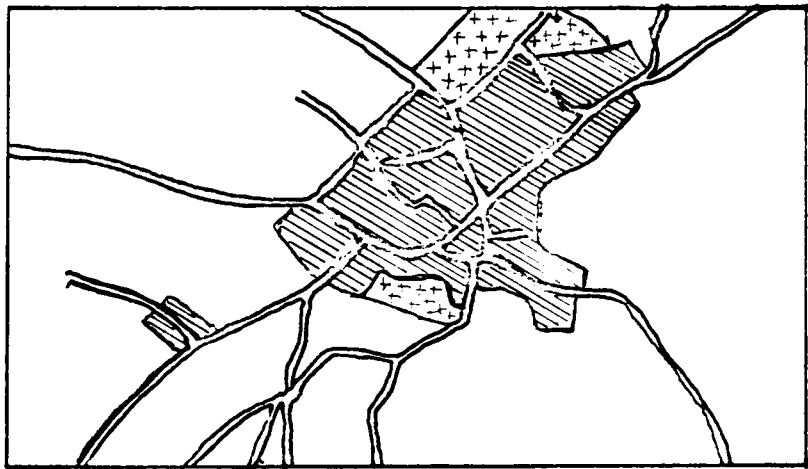
Scale: approx. 400 feet to 1 inch

Map 5. 12

The development of Wheaton Aston



before 1961



1972 - 1981

 1961 - 1972

 1972 - 1981

Reading Room, erected in the centre of the village was supplemented in 1927 by a W.I. Hall, and in 1955 by a Men's Club and Village Hall (38). Growth was slow however, until the early 1960s when a farm sold several acres of land lying to the west of Long Street for residential building. Rapid development followed as other landowners copied the example and residential sprawl, in the form of fourteen large housing estates, typically of high density small semi-detached properties, spread south of the initial development, swamping the entire area west of High Street, and spilling beyond the village boundary to the south. Concurrent with this widescale development, occurred infilling, in particular around the old village centre, and along lanes travelling south and east. Within a decade Wheaton Aston trebled in size. This infilling and linear development continued during the 1970s. In addition a large estate of low cost housing was constructed to the north of the original modern development, and a complex of contiguous houses and flats, Sowdley Green, was built to the south of the old village centre by the Housing Association. In 1978 a Conservation Area was designated to protect the scale and character of the old village centre which was still under considerable pressure for infilling.

The consumer facilities are of a relatively high standard and scattered throughout the village centre, comprising a post office and general store, a butcher, a baker, a newsagent, two boutiques, a wool shop, a bric a brac store, a garage, an ironmonger and a supermarket. Bus services are regular, covering a distance of five miles to Penkridge, six to Brewood, nine to Stafford, ten miles to Wolverhampton and to Cannock, and twelve miles to Telford. A doctor's surgery is held each

weekday morning in the village. Wheaton Aston has a Junior school, and a large Middle school serving a wide rural area, was opened in 1979 on its western boundary. There are two public houses, a restaurant and a village hall within the settlement and in the village centre stand both an Anglican church and a Methodist chapel.

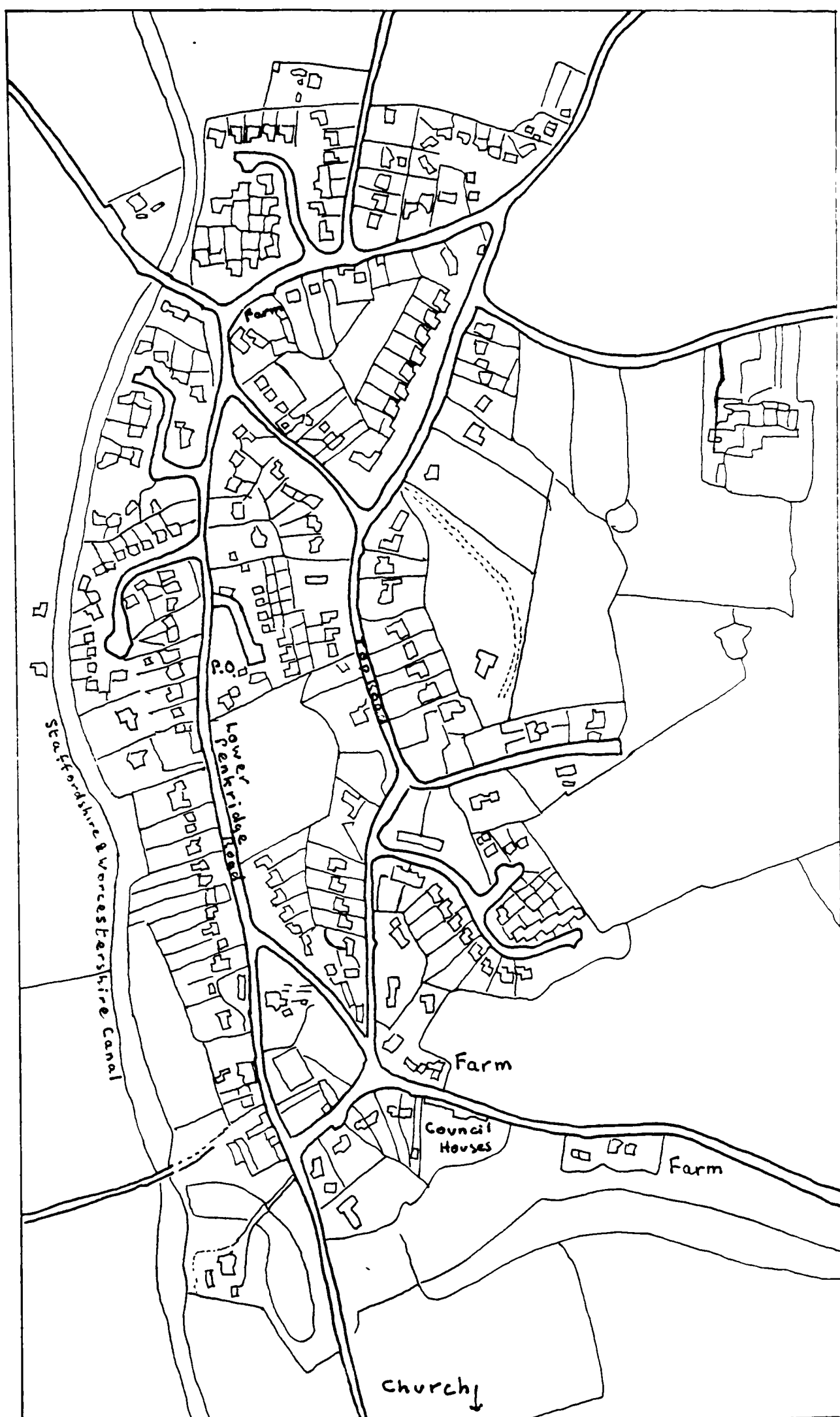
Local employment is limited to the shops, the restaurant, and public houses, the garage and the two schools, with occasional work on the canal.

Acton Trussell, Staffordshire.

Acton Trussell, a compact settlement of one hundred and ninety three dwellings with a population in 1981 of four hundred and twenty one adults, lies in the centre of the clay lands immediately south of Stafford, in the valley of the River Penk (map 3.6). Bounded to the west by the Stafford and Worcester Canal, to the east lies the twenty six miles of forest and heathland forming Cannock Chase, now designated an area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. The area is one of rich pasture land supporting dairy farming, and still contains numerous small hamlets and isolated farmsteads. In 1964 the north Midland extension to the M6 was built one mile west of the settlement (map 5.13).

The present settlement of Acton Trussell began as a scattering of isolated farmsteads and cottages lying half a mile from the fifteenth century church of St. James, on peripheral land adjoining three large estates: the manor of Acton Trussell and Bednall, to the south-east, the estate of the Earl of Litchfield in the north east and the Littleton estate in the west. Separated in all three cases from the main estate and park there was little attention to the property during the eighteenth

The settlement of Acton Trussell



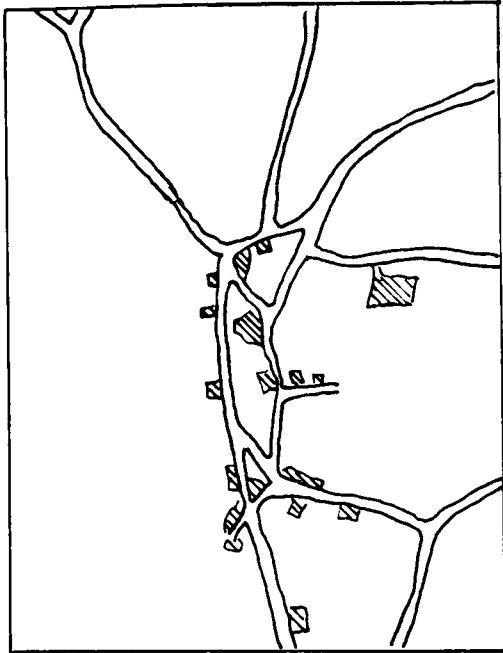
Scale: approx. 400 feet to 1 inch

and nineteenth centuries except by Lord Hatherton who replaced several of the cottages within the section belonging to the manor of Acton Trussell and Bednall, with those in the Picturesque mode (39). The break up of both the Hatherton and Littleton estates immediately after the Second World War, allowed individual farmers access to landownership for the first time within the settlement, which now comprised five farms and five houses, with a row of four Local Authority houses being constructed in the east of the settlement in this immediate post-war period (map5.14).

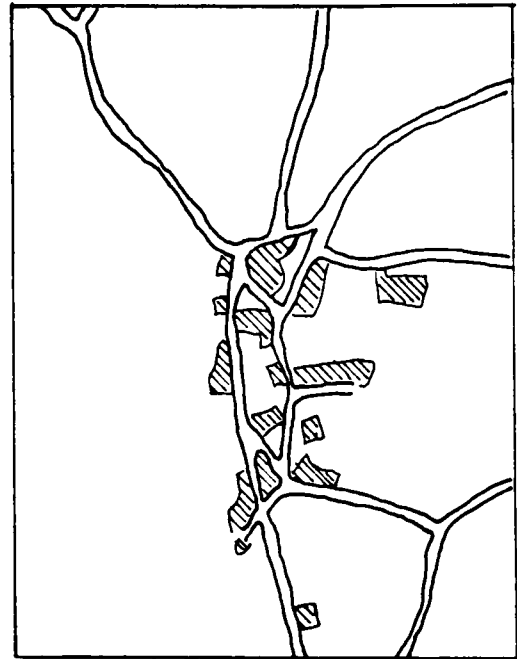
By 1960 the area presently covered by Acton Trussell was in the hands of four landowners: the owner of Ivy Farm held the west area, a smallholder possessed the central zone, Bottom Farm held the east section and the north-east remained under the control of the Earl of Litchfield. The catalyst for development occurred with the extension of the M6 motorway between Birmingham and Manchester in 1964. As no guidelines had been established in either the Development Plan or its Review, nor in departmental memos for the delimitation of private buildings, the owner of Ivy Farm who was also a Parish and District Councillor, was able to take full advantage of the proposed M6 exit junction adjacent to the village, to sell a strip of land aside Lower Penkridge Road for private residential building. This introduction of modern linear development into the settlement rapidly spread: the owner of Bottom Farm extended the ribbon growth eastwards along Lower Penkridge Road and the smallholder sold his land adjacent to Top Road for residential building. Over the next decade seven small housing estates, typical low density, detached properties, were built within the linear boundaries, and extensive infilling

Map 5. 14

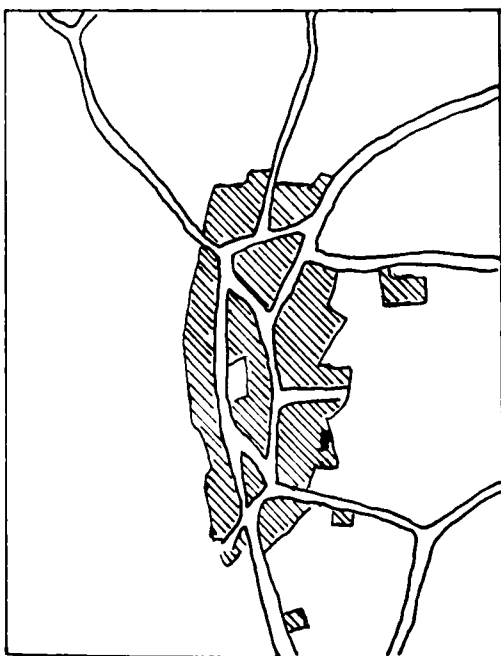
The development of Acton Trussell



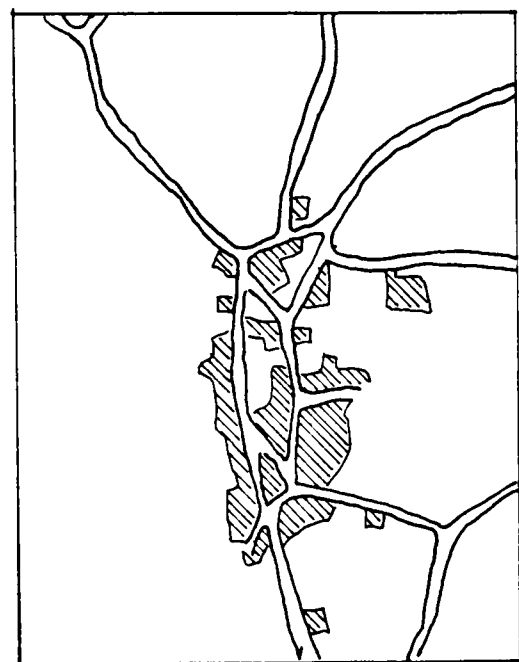
early 20th century



before 1960



1981



1972

occurred along the internal roads. Finally in 1974 Lord Litchfield released land in the north-east of the village for the construction of two housing Closes.

The village of Acton Trussell is served by extremely poor provisions. There is one small shop and sub-post office in the centre of the village, and a single daily return bus service to Stafford, one and a half miles from the village, and to Wolverhampton thirteen miles distant. In addition a 'shopping service' is provided twice a week to Penkridge, two and a half miles away. The nearest medical provision is in Stafford and Penkridge. There is no school in the village, pupils travelling a mile and a mile and a half respectively to the First school in Dunston, or the Primary school in Bednall. There are Middle and High Schools in both Stafford and Penkridge. The Anglican Church stands half a mile outside the village and there is a small village hall.

Employment within the village is limited to three farms and the shop.

5. 2.

The residential growth of closed and open villages.

The analysis of the rationale behind the residential growth of specific rural settlements has tended to concentrate on the geographical influences of topography, communications and the existing infrastructure. An examination of the development of the case study villages revealed that such factors provided an incomplete explanation of the process and that the existing land tenure at the time of initial demand for development is of equal importance.

In both the South and the Midlands, initial widescale demand for residential land within rural settlements, occurred in the immediate post-war period at a time when formalised planning guidelines and directives had yet to be fully established. This was particularly the case in South Staffordshire where it was not until the late 1960s that detailed village plans were drawn up. Under conditions of demand for residential land in rural settlements without a structured framework, the response to this demand remained primarily under the control of the land owner; the later introduction of planning directives for the area, typically conforming to the resultant patterns of residential development (40).

The pattern of landownership operates on two levels. Large estate owners with a paternalistic attitude towards their villages, and small farmers, with minimum land for economic survival, are reluctant to sell for residential development. Alternatively large farmers who can maximize their profits by releasing small acreages of land for residential development, while still retaining a viable agricultural livelihood, and a small number of smallholders and market gardeners, who can intensify production elsewhere, are eager to develop. The response of each of these landowners and the resultant residential growth of rural settlements is illustrated by Figure 5.1 which presents a theoretical model of the process.

In Figure 5.1 the demand for residential building is taken as constant on three settlements owned by a sole landlord. Each has uniform topography, communications and infrastructure. As time progresses the large estate breaks up and the landlord

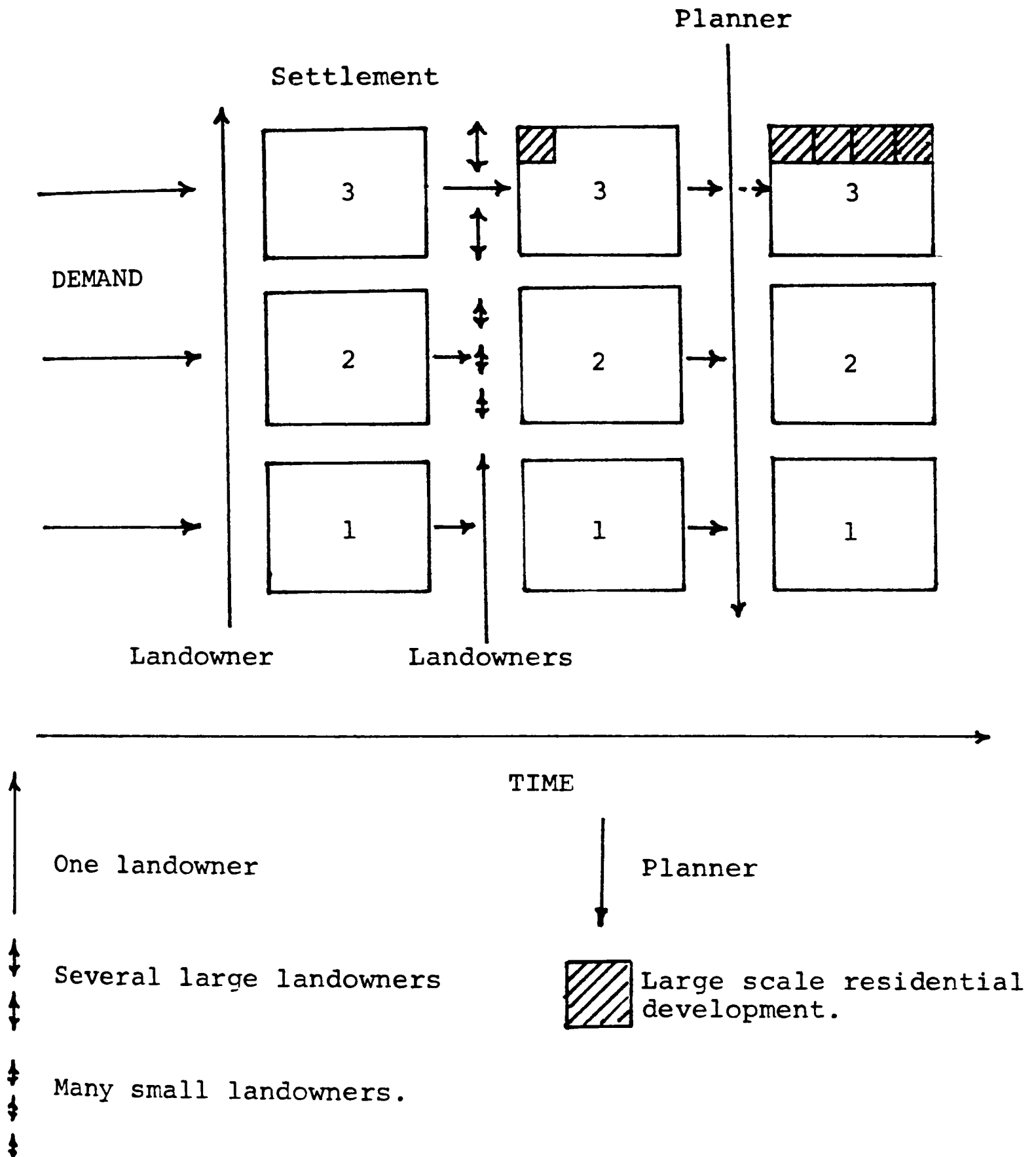


Figure 5.1 The residential growth of closed and open rural settlements.

sells two of the settlements, retaining control over the third, settlement 1. This occurs at a time when rural planning is without a coherent framework. There is no development of settlement 1, settlement 2 is partitioned between small farmers who cannot afford to lose an area of land and still remain agriculturally economic; again no development occurs. Settlement 3, however, is divided among a few large farms, the holding of each is sufficient to allow small areas to be sold for residential development and still remain a viable agricultural unit; settlement 3 opens to development. The final stage occurs with the rationalisation of rural planning. The random granting of planning permission is now replaced with an ordered schemat based upon growth and protection zones, within an overall planning framework. Settlement 1 is still closed; settlement 2, though open, has had limited development and is designated a protection zone, even if planning permission is now sought it has little chance of being granted; settlement 3 has already been opened by wide-scale residential building and is thus designated a growth area.

A comparison of the development of the case settlements provides an illustration of this descriptive model. The three villages of Weston under Lizard, Bradley and Wheaton Aston all lie on the soft Keuper Marls south-west of Stafford, each surrounded by an area of flat land suitable for development. All three are situated near a main communications route: Weston straddles the A5; Wheaton Aston is two miles to the north of this trunk road and Bradley two miles south of the main Shrewsbury to Stafford route, the A518 (map 3.3). At the beginning of the century all contained a basic infrastructure of shops,

school, public house and recreational facilities. Weston under Lizard is a closed settlement of type 1, controlled by a sole landowner, Lord Bradford, who refuses access to private developers, consequently there has been no widescale residential development within the village. Bradley, a settlement peripheral to the main estate village was divided and sold at the end of the nineteenth century, the small amount of agricultural land being apportioned among six farmers, with an average farm size of fifty to sixty acres. Four of the six present owners have retained family control of the land for at least the past fifty years, and none of the farms are considered sufficiently large by their owners to be capable of supporting the loss of a large area for residential development without the demise of the farm as an operational agricultural unit. Bradley, thus a type 2 settlement, has undergone little residential development since it became an open village, and in 1967 the village was designated a Conservation Area and future private development restrained. That there was demand for building land during this time, is revealed by a growth of fifty seven houses within the parish between 1961 and 1971, and this following a period of continual decline since the First World War. All these, however, were in the form of infilling or gradual linear development, with little loss of agricultural land. Wheaton Aston, also a settlement peripheral to the main estate, was divided among six large farms, with an average farm size of over one hundred acres. During the post war years, in particular the early 1960s, local landowners responded to the increasing demand for residential land in South Staffordshire, by freely selling land for development, and South Staffordshire District Council admit that in this period planning permission

was granted randomly with apparently little formal control. In 1965, following an increase in the population of Wheaton Aston of a third, the District Planning authorities responded to the dramatic growth forecast for Central Staffordshire by assigning to Wheaton Aston a planned population of one and a half thousand, twice the number of those resident in 1961. By 1971, the settlement had already exceeded this by five hundred people. Wheaton Aston provides an example of a Type 3 settlement.

A comparison of the development of Acton Trussell with its two neighbours, Bednall and Dunston, also provides an illustration of the model. All three settlements lie within four miles of each other, to the south-east of Stafford, on land suitable for residential development (map 3.3). All three have easy access to the M6, but whereas Acton Trussell has no school, no public house, and in the early 1970s when development first occurred, no shop, both Dunston and Bednall have Junior Schools, shopping and leisure facilities. However Bednall is a Type 1 settlement, a closed estate village under the control of Lord Litchfield and Dunston is a type 2, being divided among several small landowners. Farming land near Acton Trussell, however, is owned by two large farms. When the M6 opened in 1964 one of these farmers, who was also a Parish Councillor, applied and received permission for residential development on his land, thus opening the village for building. This was despite the 1965 decree by Staffordshire County Council, that rural settlements suitable for growth must be 'large villages which already have an adequate range of facilities and services' (41)

In south Hampshire the pressure for growth was so great and so rapid, that planning regulations were formalised at an earlier date, before many of the landowners could take advantage of the demand. However, the ownership of land undoubtedly played a part in the contrasting development of the case villages of East Tisted and Rowlands Castle. In the mid-nineteenth century both comprised a small collection of houses with a public house, village school, and a station on a branch of the Portsmouth Line. In addition East Tisted was situated on the A32, the main Alton to Portsmouth trunk route highway and but four miles from this former rapidly expanding town. Rowlands Castle was eight miles from Portsmouth and one and a half miles across woodland from the A3. Yet following the initial demand for growth East Tisted remained firmly closed, despite its strategic road and rail position, the residential pressure from Alton being taken by the two neighbouring settlements of Ropley and Four Marks, lying beyond the western boundary of the estate in a zone of large farmsteads. Similarly while Rowlands Castle grew rapidly, the two neighbouring former estate villages of Idsworth and Chalton, remained closed to widescale development (map 3.6).

It is thus argued that the pattern of landownership at the time of the initial demand for residential land is an important influence on the future development of the rural settlement, and should be taken into consideration along with traditional geographic factors such as topography and communications. As has been illustrated landownership was particularly important in south Staffordshire, where the demand for

residential land, though substantial, occurred at a slower pace, allowing local landowners time to respond to the pressure before the planning authorities realised the need to formalise their framework for development. Land tenure and the ambitions and achievements of individual landowners, thus makes an important contribution to the self-selection of village settlements, prior to formal rural planning concepts.

1. Estate villages were defined as including property within the village and within the adjoining estate, but did not include outlying farms or cottages. All other villages were defined as the major settlement and did not include outlying farms or cottages within the parish.
2. The population number refers to adults registered on the electoral roll as resident within the village at the time of field work. While it is acknowledged that use of electoral rolls may lead to a reduced population number, in particular within the larger villages with a transitory population, this appears the most reliable source of the number of village as opposed to parish residents.
3. For an account of the architecture of this movement see Darley 1978 Chapter 1. Bray 1777 produces a vivid account of the uprooting of communities to enable the construction of new villages.
4. Hampshire County Council 1977 East Tisted Conservation Area, p. 2
5. Victoria County History V. 1V. p. 170
6. Hobsbawn and Rude 1969 p. 62
7. The nineteenth century architect J.C.Lounden describes the social and physical effect of this spacial arrangement when he writes: 'A villa should always form part of a village and be placed, if possible, on rather higher ground that it might appear to be a sort of head and protection of the surrounding dwellings of the poor'. Lounden J. 1853 p. 791
8. Newby suggests that through the encouragement of adherence to a single territory, identification with the existing social system was increased. Newby 1977 p. 52
9. Davidoff et al. 1976 argue that the landowning classes managed to conceal their monopoly of power behind an overt ideal of 'community'.
10. Victoria County History, V.111 p. 30
11. Mrs. F. Dennis, private research. The Victoria County History gives 1837, but the date stone on the school reads '1827'
12. Private correspondence estate manager, Rotherfield Park.
13. Hussey 1948 p. 1
14. Victoria County History. V. 1V p. 170
15. This theme of the 'idyllic' is illustrated by Ditchfield 1908
16. See for example Howitt 1838
17. Pioneer housing schemes were established at Southill in Bedfordshire by Whitbread, and at Cardington also in Bedfordshire by Howard.
18. Victoria County History V. 111. p. 30
19. Hampshire County Council 1977 p. 3
20. Victoria County History V. 1V p. 170
21. Dennis Unpublished B. Ed. thesis. East Tisted. 1926
22. Private communication R. Mitham, estate manager, Sir James Scott, landlord, Rotherfield Park, F. Dennis, retired school mistress
23. In 1955 there were 49 estate workers, by 1981 this had fallen to 30
24. Twenty per cent of the households in 1981 were retired.
25. Under the auspices of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971.

26. The village school closed in July 1981, after the completion of fieldwork in the village.
27. In 1981 there were fifty one full time estate workers.
28. Under the auspices of the Civic Amenities Act 1967
29. Cobbett 1957 p.131-132.
30. Victoria County History. V. 111. p. 312
31. Private communication Crockford E. Local Historian
32. Victoria County History. V.111. p. 312
33. Victoria County History. Vol.IV. p. 478
34. Whites Directory of Staffordshire 1843 p. 76
35. Victoria County History. V. 111. p. 102
36. Victoria County History V. 111. p. 94
37. Victoria County History. V. 1V. p. 143
38. Weate unpublished local history of Wheaton Aston.
39. Victoria County History. V. 1V p. 4
40. Private communication, Chief Planning Officer, South Staffordshire District Council.
41. Staffordshire County Council 1967 p. 32

CHAPTER 6.

A framework of Typologies.

The case study settlements have thus been selected and a brief historical account of their development provided. It is now important to provide a comparative typology of house type within the various settlements and to describe the population types which emerged.

It must be noted that both the more detailed typology of housing and that of residents is based on data from the seven case-villages alone. However, the typologies are consistent across a variety of settlements and between two regions of the country and the housing allocation described within the villages is broadly verified by the cluster analysis of nearly two hundred rural settlements.

The framework provided will be recalled at a later stage of the study for it is proposed that knowledge of the probable housing mix of a rural settlement will enable a prediction of the ensuing population and through an awareness of this population mix, an evaluation of the settlement character.

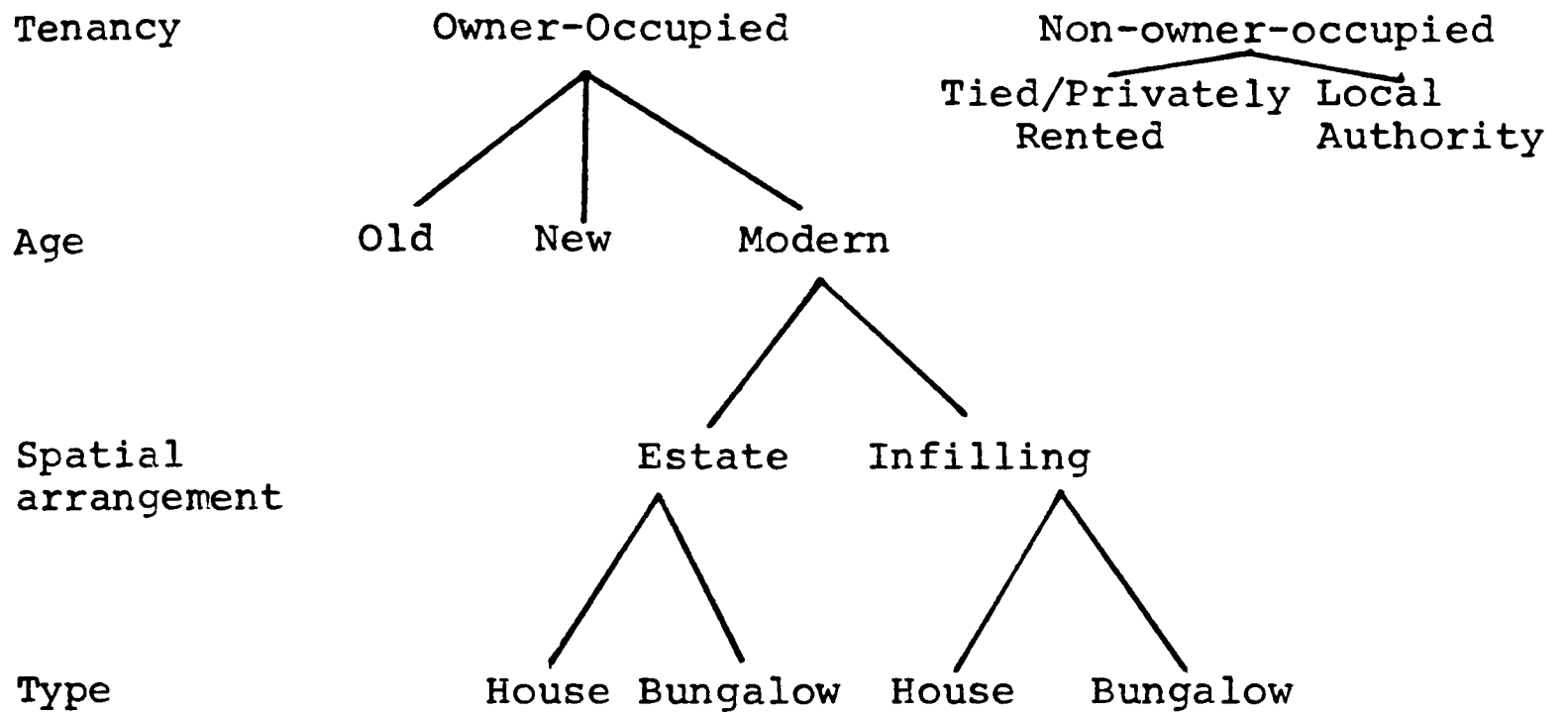
6.1The Typology of housing.

When fieldwork commenced the house classification by which the villages had initially been selected (recall Chapter 3.1) was refined and five broad types of housing were identified, categorized by ownership and age of property. Local Authority Housing (LA), that is accommodation rented from a Local Authority was added to the original division between owner-occupied property and Tied or Privately rented Property (T/PR) defined as accommodation tied to employment or rented from a private landlord(1). Owner occupied housing was further classified, on the basis of age, into three broad groups. Old Village Property (OVP) consists of pre-First World War housing. This property contains a mixture of farmhouses, manor houses and large family houses, as well as a large proportion of previously tied or privately rented property, now owner-occupied, typically following conversion or modernization. New Village Property (NVP) was constructed in the inter-war years, usually in the form of linear development or infilling and Modern Village Property (MVP) is classified as Post-Second World War housing, although the majority of this housing was built from the early 1960s. Within this last category four sub-categories were identified, defined by type of property, house or bungalow, and spacial arrangement, estate or infilling. Three quarters of the modern property within the case-settlements is in the form of large housing estates.

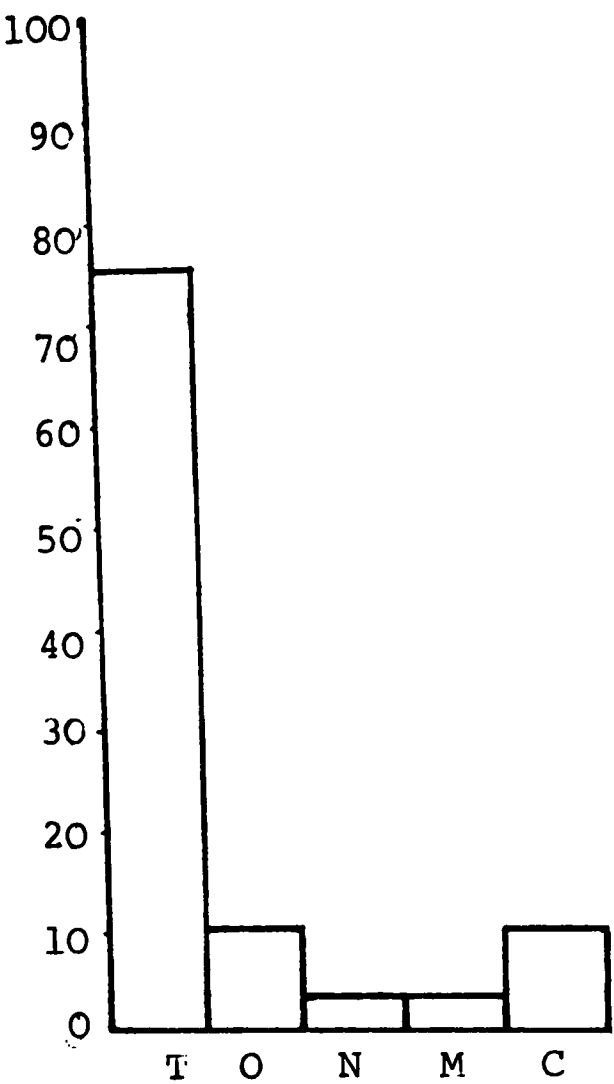
Figure 6.1 illustrates this classification of settlement property. The relation of housing mix to village type may now be considered. Figure 6.2 illustrates a typical housing composition for each of the settlements.

Cluster analysis revealed that an average of nearly sixty per cent of property in Estate villages was Tied or Privately Rented. In these settlements over half of this property will typically be tied to employment, although an increasing proportion is privately rented by employees or by retired workers (2), and as estate employment dwindles, property is also occasionally rented by non-estate employees. Typically a small proportion of this housing will have been sold to owner occupiers, this then being classified as Old Village Property. In addition a small amount of New or Modern Property may have been constructed, forming on average under a quarter of the accommodation and the landowner may have given permission for Local Authority Housing.

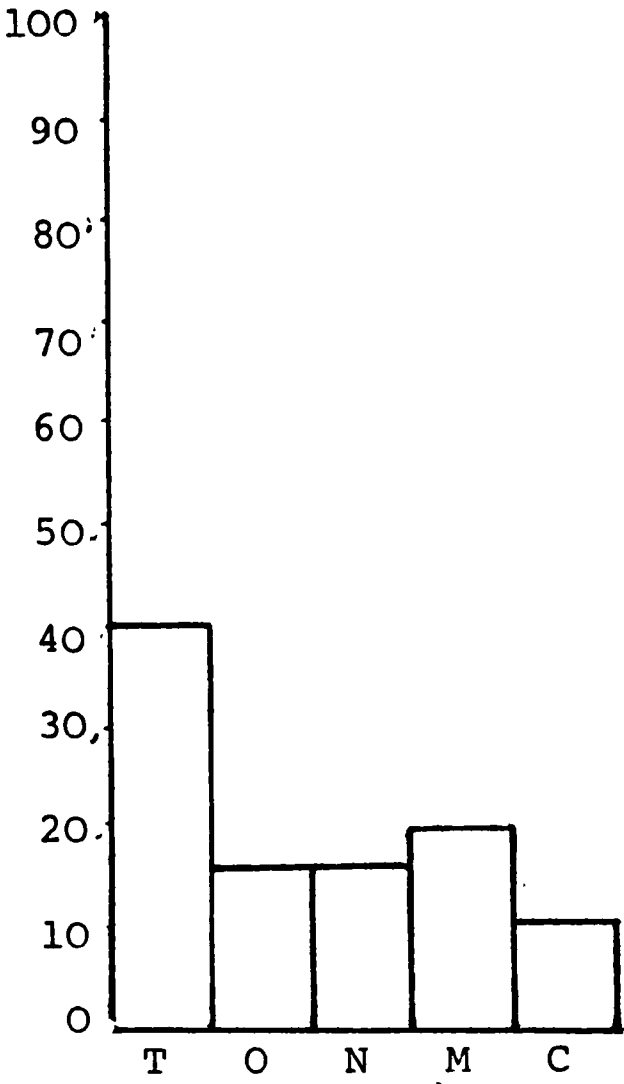
Growth villages contain a variety of property, although as these villages are in the process of transition this housing mix may vary significantly between settlements. A typical Growth village started as the primary or secondary settlement within a closed land estate. As this system declined, so the property was sold to private individuals allowing access for development. Cluster analysis suggested that on average a quarter of the housing will be tied to employment or privately rented, however such property is typically

Figure 6.1.Classification of settlement property.

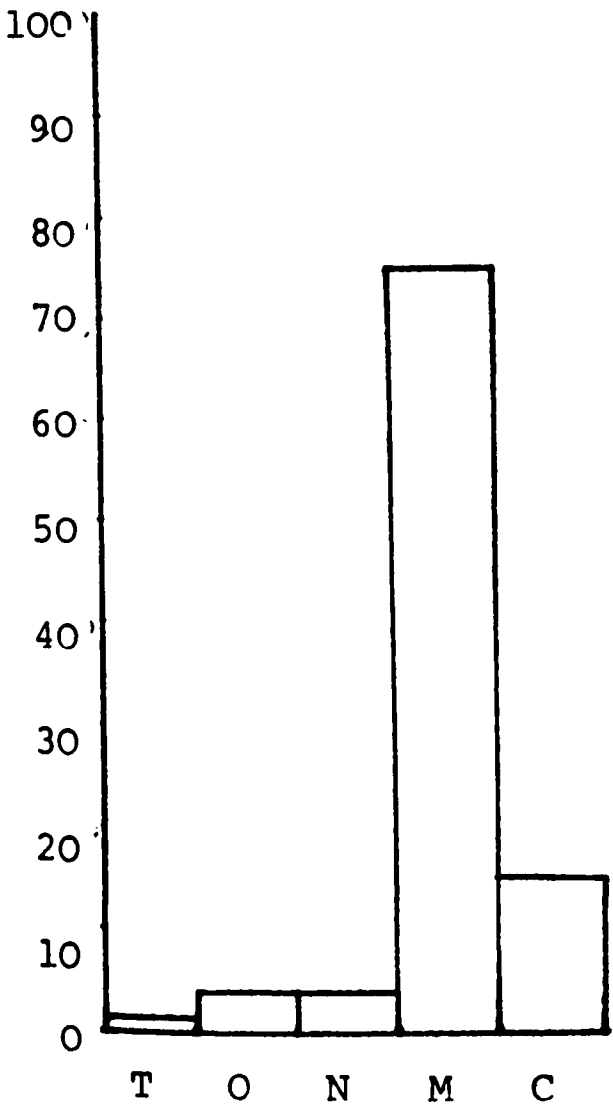
Property distribution for each settlement type



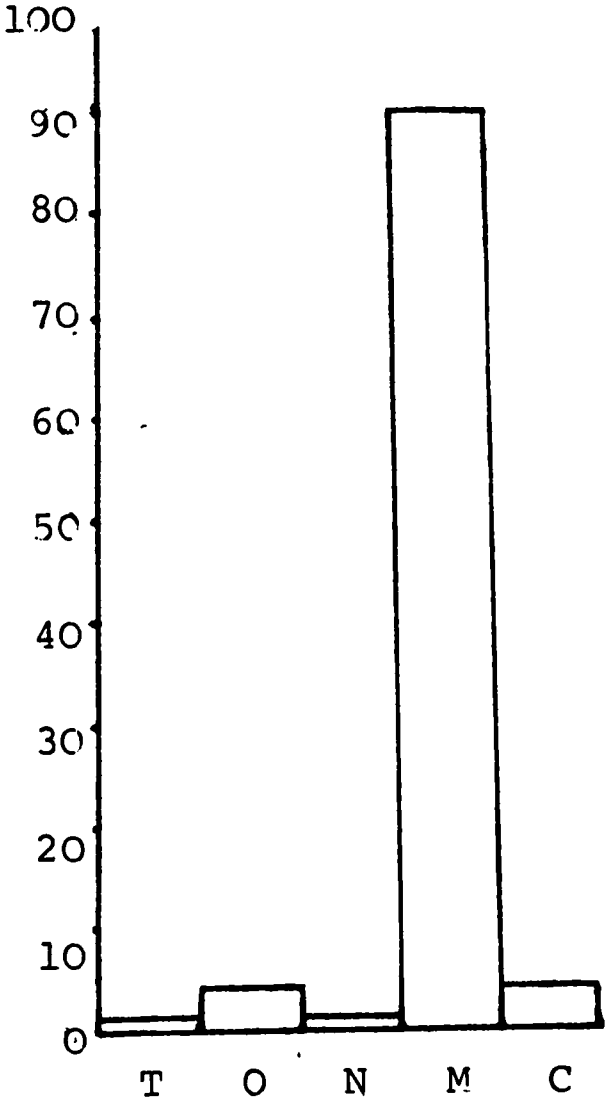
Estate villages



Growth villages



Metropolitan I villages



Metropolitan II villages

Key. T = Tied and Privately Rented; O = Old; N = New; M = Modern; C = Local Authority.

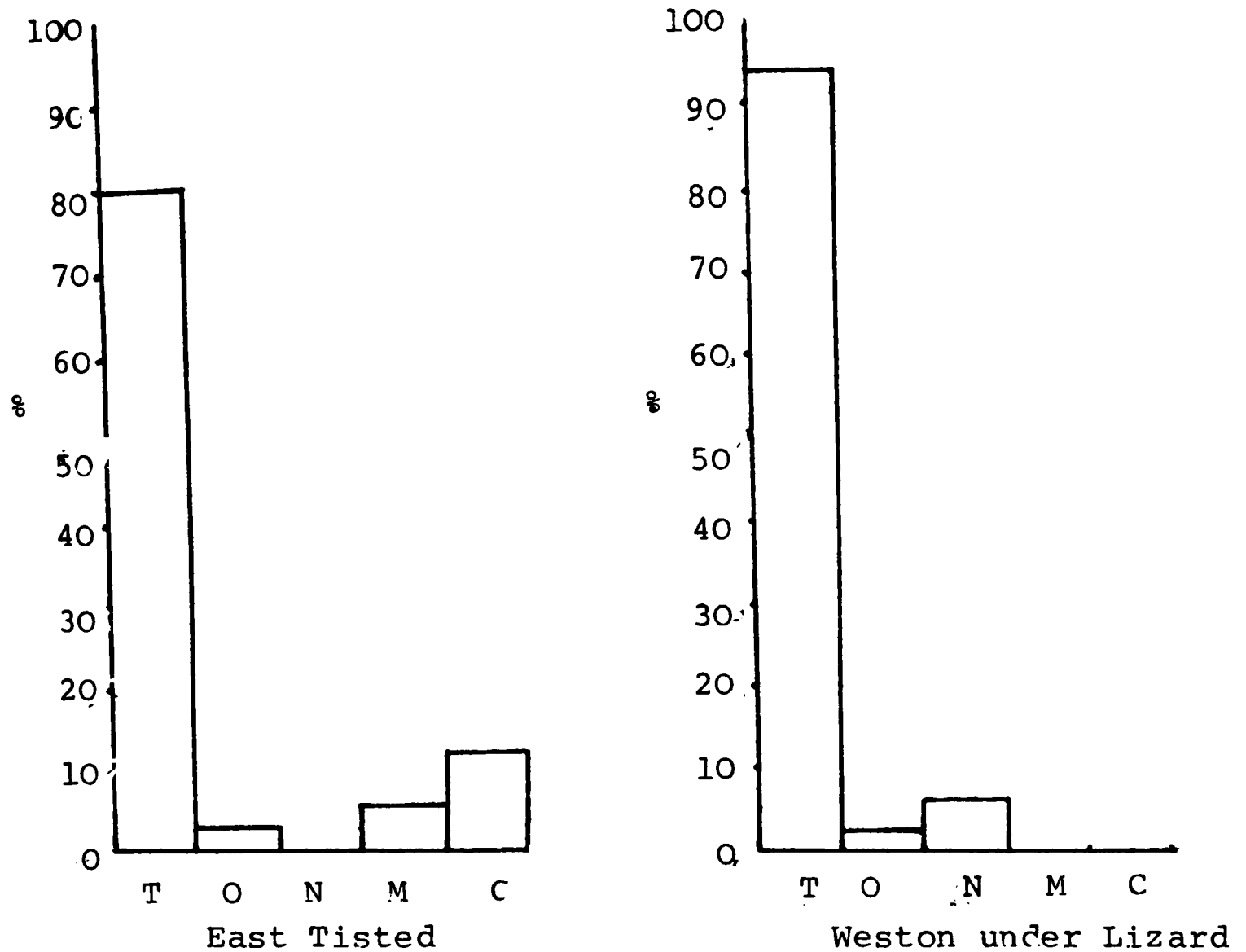
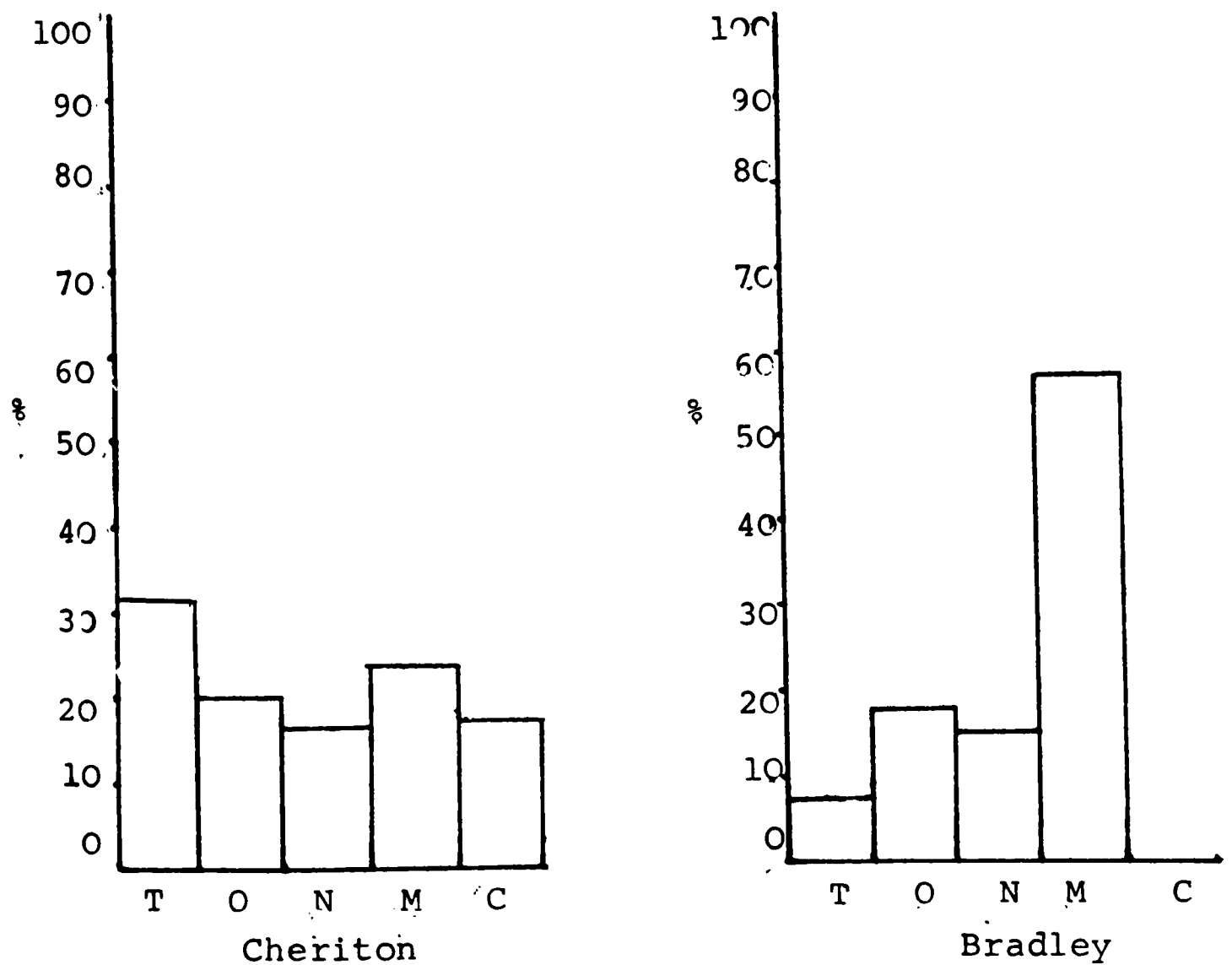
linked to individual farms rather than to one large landed estate. In the opening up of an Estate village, Tied or Privately Rented Property is converted to owner occupied Old Village Property and New and Modern housing constructed. Initially this tends to occur in the form of isolated infilling, prior to the construction of small Modern housing estates. During this time the settlement may be considered appropriate for Local Authority Housing and a small estate constructed.

Cluster analysis suggested that three quarters of the property in Metropolitan Villages will be owner occupied. The metropolitan type settlement has typically appeared since the war and it is thus inevitable that a large percentage of the property should be Modern, usually in the form of estates. Thus although the village typically contains all property types they are dominated by large Modern housing estates. These settlements are usually able to support a range of facilities and are thus considered suitable for Local Authority development, though this will still form a small percentage of the overall housing provision.

Metropolitan II villages comprise almost exclusively large Modern housing estates. Typically emerging from a small hamlet or farmstead, they may contain a small proportion of Tied or Privately Rented Property, although more often these have been converted into old village housing for the owner occupier. New property is negligible and these

settlements rarely possess the facilities to support large Local Authority Housing.

A consideration of the residential structure of the case study villages can now be made. Figure 6.3 describes the structure of the two Estate Villages which were illustrated on Maps 5.1 and 5.2. In both East Tisted and Weston under Lizard over eighty per cent of the property is Tied or Privately Rented. Only two per cent was originally or has been converted to Old Village Property. In each village two houses have recently been constructed on the outskirts of the main settlement, forming New property in Weston under Lizard, Modern in East Tisted. This latter village also contains a collection of six Local Authority bungalows in the centre of the village. Figure 6.4 describes the structure of the two Growth villages which were illustrated in Maps 5.5 and 5.7. In Cheriton thirty per cent out of the total thirty three per cent of parish Tied or Privately Rented Accommodation lies within the settlement itself. This property was owned by large farms and a small group of lifelong residents who had accumulated property within the village and now privately let it. In Bradley the proportion of Tied or Privately Rented Property within the village is smaller, comprising just under ten per cent out of a parish figure of sixteen per cent. This property was divided between a collection of small family farms, possessing neither the resources nor the requirements for a large number of paid workers. In both villages one fifth of the property is Old Village

Figure 6. 3Property distribution in the two Estate villages.Figure 6. 4Distribution in the two Growth villages.

Key. T = Tied and Privately Rented; O = Old; N = New;
 M = Modern; C = Local Authority

Property, divided between converted tied or rented property, and larger farmsteads, manors and family housing dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The limited new housing is in the form of infilling, while the Modern Property is primarily detached bungalow development forming small compact estates on the periphery of each village (3). In both cases smaller developments of detached housing lie adjacent to the bungalows. Cheriton also supports two small Local Authority Housing estates.

The structure of the Metropolitan villages of Wheaton Aston and Rowlands Castle, illustrated in Maps 5.9 and 5.11, is described by Figure 6.5. As is expected the overwhelming majority of the housing is in the form of Modern Property. Both support sizeable Local Authority Housing, with a very small percentage of Tied or Privately Rented Property, in both cases under two per cent, within the settlement itself (4). However the type of Modern Property, an important factor in relation to the eventual population mix, varies considerably between the two villages. Whereas Rowlands Castle has large number of four bedroomed, two bathroomed, detached housing with large gardens, Wheaton Aston contains lower grade detached and semi-detached, two or three bedroomed property. As described in Chapter 5 both villages were formerly outlying settlements on the periphery of a large landed estate, and both lack the compact original village structure found in Cheriton and Bradley. However both do possess a village centre dating predominantly

Figure 6. 5

Property distribution in the two Metropolitan villages.

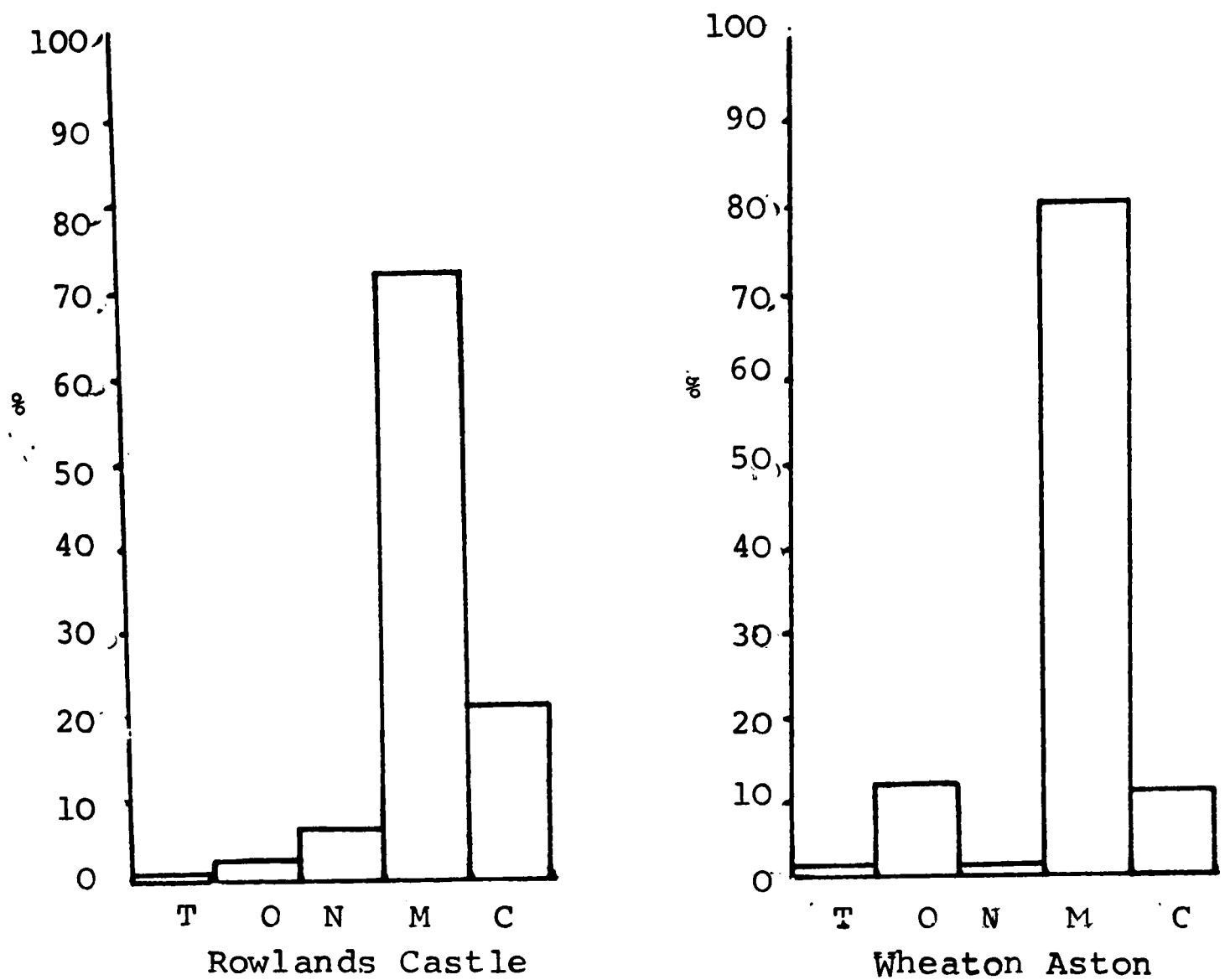
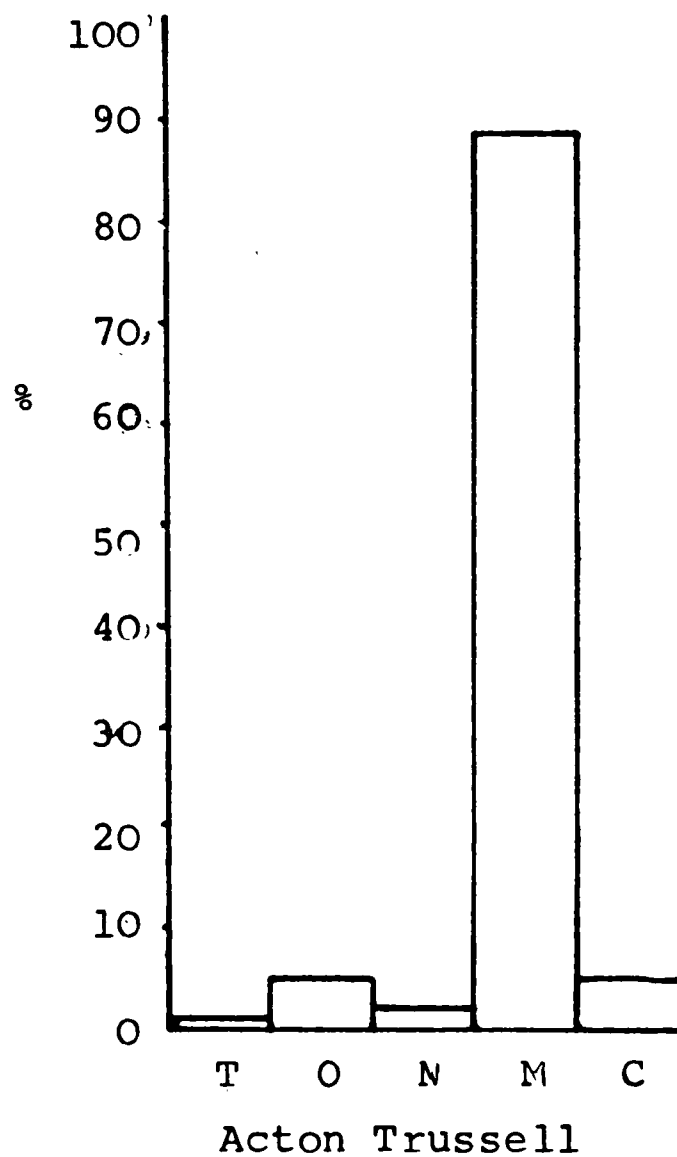


Figure 6. 6

Property distribution in the Metropolitan II village.



Key. T = Tied and Privately Rented; O = Old; N = New;
M = Modern; C = Local Authority

from the nineteenth century. Former privately rented or tied property away from this centre typically has been demolished for Modern building rather than sold as Old Village Property.

The Metropolitan II village of Acton Trussell, illustrated in Map 5.13, is described in Figure 6.6. Eighty eight per cent of this settlement is in the form of Modern Village Property, typically large high grade housing in small estates or as linear development within the settlement boundaries. Originally a collection of farmsteads on the periphery of a large land estate, the village has retained two farms, one with a Tied house and a row of former tied cottages which have been converted to form part of the settlements's small allocation of Local Authority Housing.

6. 2.The Typology of Residents.

Once fieldwork commenced within the case settlements, it became apparent that contrasting relationships between People and Place were emerging from the data. When analysed, these relationships were formed by distinct groups of inhabitants which could be defined with reference to tenancy, length of residence, age, social class, and life style. Nine groups eventually emerged from the data. The break down of the population is illustrated in Figures 6.7. & 6.8.

Even when distinguishing solely on the basis of tenancy, it became apparent that there were significant intra-group differences between the reciprocal relationship experienced by the residents of owner occupied property and that of those who rented accommodation. Within this latter classification two distinct groups emerged, those who inhabited Tied or Privately Rented Property and those who rented Local Authority Housing. The first group will be referred to as Tenants, the second as Council residents. These two groups will be referred to collectively as Restricted Residents since their choice of accommodation is directly restricted by external criteria. In the case of the Tenants the provision of employment is the main restriction with eighty five per cent inhabiting property connected to employment; the remainder are restricted by a very limited rural market in rented accommodation. The Council residents are restricted by virtue of the external control over their

Figure 6. 7

Breakdown of population

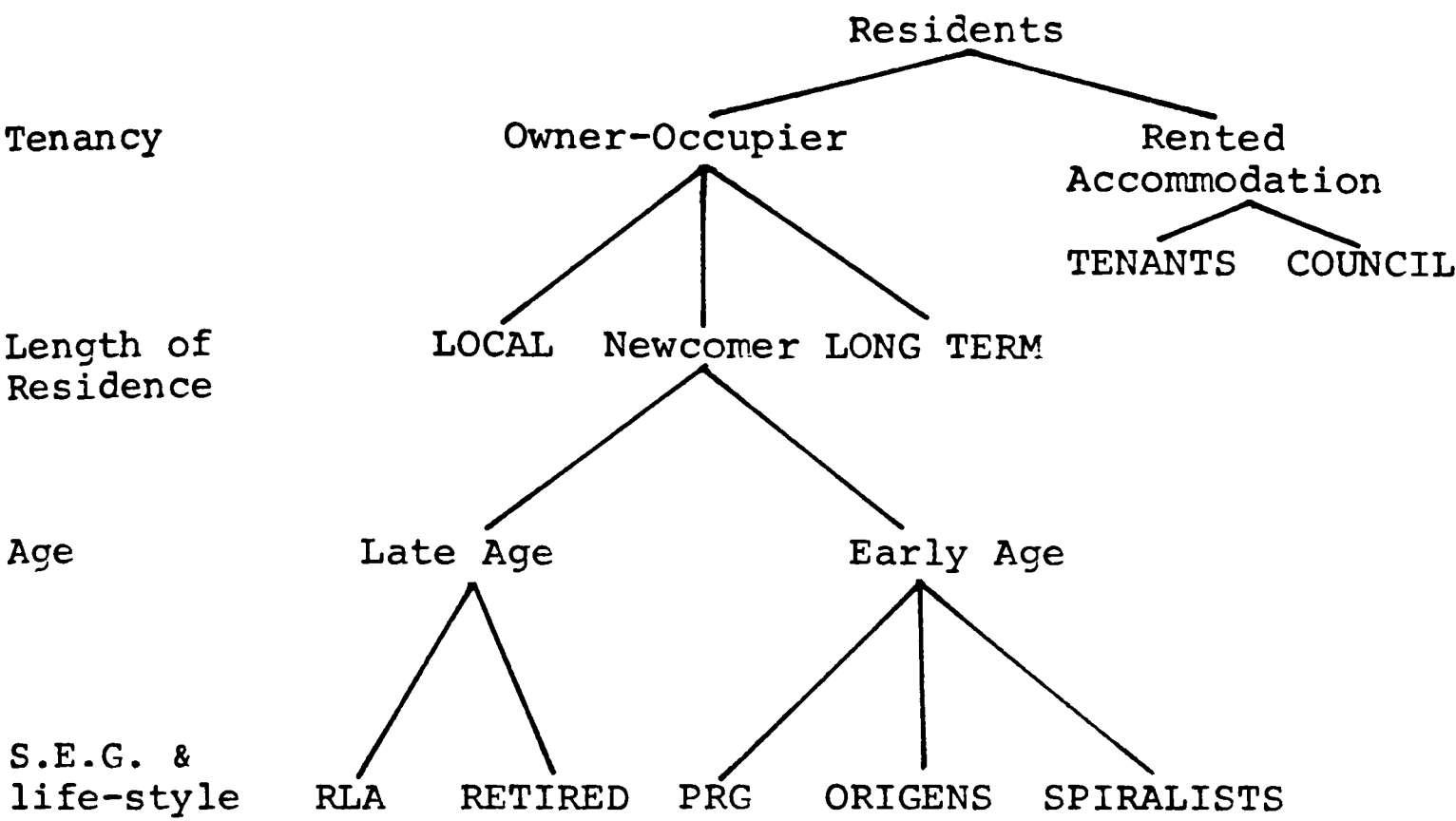


Figure 6.8

Numerical breakdown of population

Owner occupiers							Renters	
Incomers							Tenant	Council
Newcomers					Long Term	Local		
Late age		Early Age						
RLA	Retired	Early	Origens	Spiral-ists				
23	57	140	51	74	43	44	87	63
80		265			150			
388								
432								
582								

selection of accommodation by Local Authority managers and the limited availability of rural council property (5). Three quarters of these two groups have moved in to the settlement and these will be known as Restricted Incomers. Although a quarter have lived all their lives within the settlement, the variable of tenancy, linked to social class, appears to override differences in length of residence and both in terms of the groups' own self perceptions, and their external characteristics, they identify with the Restricted Incomers rather than owner occupier life long residents.

The owner occupiers clearly fell into two broad categories - those who had lived all their lives within the settlement, who will be referred to as Locals, and the Mobile Incomers. This latter group is distinguished as 'mobile' as they are free to move within the constraints of the open housing market. There is also a clear distinction between those Mobile Incomers who have been resident within the settlement for several years and those newcomers who have only recently arrived. The former group, who will be referred to as the Long Term, moved to the settlement during the late 1950s and early 1960s with the first major expansion of rural areas as residential zones for non-indigenous rural people, and while not 'established' can be described as 'settled'. The remaining incomers form a spectrum with various groups emerging.

Those whose households relocated during the later age stage revealed characteristics in contrast to those moving

earlier in life, and on closer examination further divisions, based on socio-economic criteria and lifestyle, emerged. Within the later age group two separate groups became apparent. Most of those who moved in late age tend to be of social class 2 or 3 and relocate their household on retirement. These will be referred to as the Retired. A smaller group of social class 1 or 2, possess high incomes and are able to purchase large country properties. These have been designated the Rich Late Age and will be referred to as the RLA.

The majority of the newcomers in earlier life stages emerged as a broad group described as the Principal Relocating Group, referred to as the PRG. However as the respondents became known, two small groups emerged with reference to life style. Spiralists (6) have been recognised elsewhere, and can be described as those who move round the country at frequent intervals for purposes of employment. There also appeared a small group of residents who have typically moved to the village to purchase cheap property, yet still retain strong ties to their place of origin. These are thus referred to as Origens. Chapter 7 discusses the emergence of these nine groups and describes their characteristics in greater detail.

The groups revealed a strong preference for specific house types. This is described in Table 6. 1. With the exception of the RLA, there is a strong selection preference by all newcomers for Modern housing. The young Mobile Incomers typically selected Modern housing, with an emphasis towards Modern estate property. However

Table 6. 1.House type preference by group

	No	Old	% New	Modern	Estate	In- filling	T/PR	LA
RLA	23	59	23	18	-	18	-	-
Retired	57	4	14	83	60	23	-	-
PRG	140	9	9	83	57	24	-	-
Origens	51	13	6	81	65	16	-	-
Spiralist	74	10	5	87	73	14	-	-
Long Term	43	24	26	50	24	26	-	-
Local	44	33	21	46	34	11	-	-
Tenant	87	-	-	-	-	-	100	-
Council	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	100

while the PRG purchased a range of such property the Origenes tended towards the selection of small, detached and semi-detached houses, while the Spiralists were typically able to commit themselves to large detached properties. The Retired generally inhabited small bungalow developments, while the RLA chose mainly Old Village Property. The Long Term selected a range of properties within the initial housing estates, and in the wider village itself. Their inhabitation of Old and New houses thus deprived the later incomers access to these properties. It is of interest that while the Locals reside within a selection of housing types, the majority inhabit Modern estate property. These typically comprise younger members of the group who have managed to remain within the village on setting up their own household. The majority of those residing in Old Village Property are farming households, although a small percentage of this property had been acquired by non-agricultural families. A very small proportion of Locals had built their own Modern houses. By definition all the Council group and Tenants reside in Local Authority Housing and Tied or Privately Rented Property, respectively.

6. 3Settlement selection by Group.

The previous section has introduced various distinct types, or groups, of residents, and noted their preferences for particular types of property. The reasons behind these preferences will be considered later. Section 6.1 gave a classification of settlement property, and discussed the property mixture associated with each type of rural settlement, and with the case study villages in particular. A more thorough understanding of the decision making process of incoming residents should enable prediction of the population mixture to be associated with a particular settlement, or type of settlement, by virtue of the fact that its property mixture will be known. This task will be undertaken later. This section contents itself with a description of the population mixture to be found in the case study settlements.

Table 6.2 gives the percentage of the various groups to be found in the three types of case study settlements. Table 6.3 illustrates the breakdown into groups of the residents of each village, and Table 6.4 shows the breakdown of the groups (made up of all those interviewed) into the respective villages.

In summary it can be seen that while small Estate settlements are dominated by Tenants, typically agricultural workers, the population mix shifts during the period of transition to produce a more balanced distribution of

Table 6. 2

Breakdown of the population mix of each settlement type

	No.	Owner-occupiers				Renters	
		Mobile Incomers				Restricted Residents	
		Late age %	Early age %	Long Term %	Locals %	Tenant %	Council %
Metropolitan	364	12%	58	5	8	1	16
Growth	150	24	33	7	9	18	9
Estate	68	3	3	1	3	87	3

Table 6. 3

Breakdown of each settlement with respect to its population mix.

	No Tenants		Council Locals		PRG	Bpiral-ists		Origens	RLA	Retired		Long Term
		%		%			%			%	%	
Estate	East Tisted	25	80	8	-	4	-	-	4	-	4	
	Weston under Lizard	43	91	-	5	2	-	-	-	2	-	
Growth	Cheriton	94	28	14	7	6	13	3	12	10	7	
	Bradley	56	-	-	11	34	5	13	9	20	9	
Metropolitan	Rowlands Castle	143	-	15	5	22	26	7	4	11	9	
	Wheaton Aston	141	-	16	12	40	6	11	-	7	7	
	Acton Trussell	80	3	4	6	31	16	19	-	13	9	

Table 6. 4

Percentage of each Group within each case settlement

	Estate		Growth			Metropolitan		
	No.	East Tisted Lizard	Weston U.	Cheriton	Bradley	Rowlands Castle	Wheaton Aston	Acton Trussell
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tenants	87	23	45	30	-	-	-	2
Council	63	3	-	21	-	35	37	5
Locals	44	-	5	16	14	16	39	11
PRG	140	1	1	4	14	21	40	31
Spiralists	74	-	-	16	4	50	12	18
Origens	51	-	-	6	14	20	31	29
RLA	23	4	-	48	22	26	-	-
Retired	57	-	2	16	19	28	18	18
Long Term	43	2	-	16	12	30	23	16

population types within Growth villages. These settlements typically possess a relatively large proportion of Retired and RLA residents, with the rate of initial development determining the allocation of Long Term residents. Metropolitan villages, however, have a population dominated by young Mobile Incomers. Those villages with higher quality housing contain a large percentage of Spiralists and higher social class PRG; those with lower quality housing are biased towards the Origins and lower social class PRG. In settlements with Local Authority Housing, Council residents formed a small proportion of the residents, under a fifth. However, it must be remembered that Cluster Analysis noted a small collection of villages within Staffordshire with a very high percentage of Local Authority Housing. These broad typologies will provide a structural framework for the ensuing analysis.

1. Note 6 Ch. 3 discussed the use of a joint term for both privately rented and tied property. The decision was supported by the results of the Principal Component Analysis of section 3. 3. 2 in that in the major principal components there is no contrast between tied property and rented property, and thus villages which are high in one of the variables tend to be high in the other.
2. In the examples of the case settlements just under a quarter of the property was tied accommodation inhabited by retired estate workers.
3. The preponderance of bungalows in both settlements appears linked to the appeal of Growth villages as retirement settlements, with the retired most likely to select bungalows.
4. The six per cent of Tied and Privately Rented Property given through Cluster Analysis for Wheaton Aston is almost all within its co-parish settlement, the Estate village of Lapley.
5. Bird 1976 and Gray 1976 produce a detailed discussion of residential mobility within the public housing market.
6. A term introduced by Watson 1960.

P A R T F O U R

THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER 7.The emergence of the residential groups.

The last chapter identified the presence of nine groups. While residential groups have previously been discerned within British rural settlements (1) these have been used as a general descriptive typology rather than perceived as a collection of actively interacting individuals. Similarly little study appears to have been made of the self-awareness and self-identity of these rural groups (2). The existence of social groupings has been widely recognised however, and adopted by both geographers and sociologists within the urban context (3).

There is an extensive sociological and psychological literature associated with the general concept of a group. Rather than relating that in detail it is simply noted that the groups identified in this study are more than mere descriptive categories and similarly more than objective models (4). These individuals living within rural settlements, are perceived as collective by the residents themselves, with each individual identifying with one of the groups. These groups are based fundamentally on socio-economic variables which are overtly represented through housing class and then further refined with respect to various life style characteristics and associated behaviour patterns. Furthermore the allocation of individuals to groups enjoys the property that individuals are typically assigned to the group which accords with their own self-perceptions (5).

While it is not proposed that this residential grouping is the only one that could be associated with rural settlements, the behaviour and self-perceptions of the individuals in the settlements studied appears closely aligned to the

groups defined here. Their overt existence influences the reciprocal relationships of People and Place, and also the eventual character of Place. It is thus important to provide a more detailed analysis of the recognition, emergence and identification of these nine groups.

7. 1.

The emergence and verification of the nine groups.

The existence of specific groups became apparent shortly after the commencement of fieldwork. These emerging groups were not only identifiable to the observer but to other members of the community, and to the component individuals themselves. During this time the use of labelling became evident with residents labelling both themselves and others. For example 'new' or 'local', 'young' or 'retired', 'snobs-elite-grand'; terms which appeared frequently and with only a slight change in idiom within all settlements. Two factors became apparent. The labelling was consistent in type - that is those typically self labelling themselves as 'new', 'local', 'council' were perceived thus by the rest of the community. However the perception of the status of these labels was inconsistent between members and non-members, with individuals typically perceiving their own group to have more positive characteristics than those of other groups (6). Further examination of the labels revealed that these groups could be broadly identified by characteristics pertaining to class, age, tenancy and length of residence within the settlement. However these variables did not cut

equally across all groups. For example while a particular type of tenancy would cause people to identify as a group in one case, regardless of variation in age or length of residence, in a second group length of residence would predominate regardless of class or age. Finally particular lifestyle characteristics cut across the other variables with residents forming recognizable groups in relation to these characteristics regardless of the other variables. These groups thus self-identity and are identifiable by others; possess specific perceivable characteristics, and reveal a general consistency in their behaviour and perceptions.

From the aspect of the outsider possessing an overall view of the settlement the passage of phrases, gossip and expressed attitudes are seen to clearly lie within certain boundaries of communication as defined by the group. Thus within the one village the residents points of view on a contemporary local issue would reveal considerable homogeneity within each group with heterogeneity between the groups. In fact a particular phrase, example or statement would often be repeated by many of the members of a group. Similarly identical requests for a particular facility or provision would be continually produced by one group, to be barely mentioned by all others (7).

The nine groups did not evolve following a logically formulated plan - rather they slowly emerged from the data as awareness and understanding of the case settlements grew.

A description of the manner in which the settlement perceived the groups and the individual components perceived themselves follows.

There appeared a broad division made by most residents between the 'new' and the 'locals'. The term 'locals' was clearly divided into three broad groups, again referred to by name - the 'Council residents', 'farmers and farmworkers' (Tenants) and the other 'locals'. This latter category might or might not include the Long Term group who oscillated between 'new' and 'local'. A broad classification between the 'retired' and 'young' appeared within the concept 'new'. Various categories of behaviour were frequently assigned to the 'young': 'transitoriness', 'precocious', 'uninvolvement'. On more detailed examination two smaller groups were found to be extant with this group. The 'transitory' group typically fell into the category of Spiralists, while many of the uninvolved group belonged to those identified as Origenes, (some of the households with full-time economically active females were also seen as uninvolved). Although there were inevitably degrees of difference within the remaining young these did not appear to be sufficiently incongruous to form them into separate types. From the perspective of the village then, the rest fell into a broad category later identified as the Principal Relocating Group. The final category were identified by various terms, frequently as individuals, and comprised a village elite, typically of late age, and residing in large, individual houses, identified here as the RLA.

Individuals also self-assigned themselves to these broad categories. Both those who occupied Tied and Privately Rented Property and those in Local Authority Housing typically self-identified along lines of tenure, with their ages or length of residence being of secondary importance. This gives rise to the Tenant group and the Council Residents. Both groups are typically socially and spacially set apart from the settlement. The Tenants, the vast majority of whom are agricultural workers, lead lives that are socially distanced from the rest of the community. Through their work they form a particular attachment to the settlement as it forms both a Place of residence and of labour, and this deep attachment through work appears to cut across the attachment through long association. In addition this specific bonding to Place through labour adds status to their position and they typically perceive themselves as having greater claim to the rural settlement by virtue of their employment within its boundaries, than those who do not work there. This is despite the fact that half have lived in the settlement for under twenty years, and a third for under ten years.

Clearly identifiable by their homes, the Council residents withdraw into a self-isolated group due to overt class discrimination by both parties. Regardless of length of residence those inhabitants of Local Authority housing are encouraged to self-identify with each other, both spacially and socially.

The farmers, while having sympathy with their workers self-identify more clearly with other farmers, and lifelong families owning village property. Although there was a

clear distinction between agricultural and non-agricultural households, within this category of lifelong residents, they revealed broad correlations in terms of their networks and perceptions of Place.

The Retired and the young families clearly perceived themselves as distinct categories, separate not only from the more established village, but also from each other. These perceptions are reinforced by spacial clustering of the modern development and the typical segregation of bungalows and houses within those developments.

While the Spiralists and Origenes had in general less of a group identification, both possessed an awareness of being different from the rest of the young incomers. However in settlements where a very high proportion of the young Mobile Incomers were Spiralists these formed a very intact group, with Spiralist women in particular tending to seek contact with the typically more highly educated wives of other Spiralists rather those within the PRG in general.

If they are in sufficient numbers the RLA will perceive themselves as a group - an elite sphere above the remainder of the settlement. If, as appears more likely, there are only a few, then they tend to identify with the wider area, locating similar households outside the settlement with whom to identify. A similar situation pertains to the Long Term. While those who arrived together with the initial opening up of the settlement may indeed identify closely as being original incomers, in settlements where prior to the recent influx the process of immigration was a gradual one, Long

Term residents may have difficulty identifying with others, and appear as a collection of unconsolidated individuals identifying with an image rather than with specific people.

Figure 7.1 illustrates the degree of internal and external identification of each group.

7. 2

Characteristics of the groups

Tables 7.1 - 7.3 reveal the broad characteristics of each group. However it must be noted that the groups were not defined by these characteristics of age, class and length of residence, rather as they emerged, each group was found to have certain specific identifiable characteristics which formed a broad descriptive framework. It was considered important to define the groups as they appeared, and then ascertain the characteristics which they possessed in common.

The Tenant group includes representatives of all stages in the life cycle. Nearly a quarter are life long residents with half of the Tenant incomers moving from within ten miles. Thus two thirds of this group have either lived all their lives in the village or previously lived within ten miles. The Tenants are thus typically area based. Their employment is primarily agricultural and they thus fall into social class 4. The criteria of tenancy, linked closely to class and type of labour, is so strong that one quarter of the Tenants, who have lived in the settlement for under six years,

Figure 7. 1

Degree of internal and external identification of the
nine groups

	Degree of identification with group by members		Degree of Identification of the group by outsiders	
Council residents	Very High		Very High	
Tenants	High	(very high East Tisted) (Weston under Lizard)	High	(very high East Tisted) (Weston under Lizard)
PRG	High		High	
Retired	High		High	
Locals	High		High	
RLA	Medium	(very high Cheriton)	Medium	(high in Cheriton)
Spiralists	Low	(high Rowlands Castle)	Medium (1)	
Long Term	Low	(medium Acton Trussell) (Wheaton Aston) (Rowlands Castle)	Medium	
Origens	Very low		Medium (1)	

(1) Those outside the young Mobile Incomers recognised the specific characteristics that determined the smaller groups of Spiralists, transitoriness in residence, and of the Origens, close attachment to past place of residence, tending to randomly allocate these to the group as a whole.

Table 7. 1
The nine groups by age structure

	No.	Age					
		under 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Tenant	87	14	9	13	18	17	29
Council	63	21	16	18	14	11	21
Local	44	18	21	9	18	21	14
PRG	140	13	34	37	16	-	-
Spiralist	74	10	23	35	22	10	1
Origens	51	2	29	43	22	4	-
RLA	23	-	-	13	13	26	48
Retired	57	-	-	-	-	39	61
Long Term	43	-	-	7	26	47	21
Total		10%	18%	23%	17%	16%	16%

N = 582

Age determined by age of prime respondent (see Chapter 2 footnote 61)

Table 7. 2

The nine groups by social class

		Class				
		1	2	3	4	5
		%	%	%	%	%
Tenant	87	5	17	22	50	6
Council	63	-	5	25	57	14
Local	44	4	43	32	16	4
PRG	140	14	45	39	2	-
Spiralist	74	8	73	19	-	-
Origens	51	10	35	51	4	-
RLA	23	74	26	-	-	-
Retired	57	18	42	35	5	-
Long Term	43	7	60	26	7	-
Total		11%	39%	30%	17%	3%

N = 582

Social class determined by occupation of male householder

Table 7. 3The nine groups by length of residence

	No.	Years					Life
		5 years or less	6-10	11-20	21-30	Over 30	
		%	%	%	%	%	
Tenant	87	21	14	15	16	13	22
Council	63	29	6	11	11	6	37
Local	44	-	-	-	-	-	100
PRG	140	37	36	27	-	-	-
Spiralist	74	46	35	19	-	-	-
Origen	51	47	25	25	2	-	-
RLA	23	22	17	52	8	-	-
Retired	57	60	26	14	-	-	-
Long Term	43	-	-	67	19	14	-
Total		32	21	23	4	4	15

were able to clearly identify with the village in a manner unattainable to their Mobile Incomer contemporaries.

The Council residents are similarly area based with a third life long residents, and two thirds of the incomers moving from within ten miles of the settlement. However a third have lived in the village for under six years. Falling into social classes 3, 4 and 5, they comprise all age groups.

The Locals are the most mixed of any group, both in terms of age and social class. Their distinct lived worlds are anchored to the settlement through long association, but the reasons for affiliations are varied. There is a distinct division between the agricultural community, mainly land-owning farmers and a smaller non-agricultural section.

The Principal Relocating Group are a large group, the only group to be represented in all settlements studied. All members have lived in the settlement for under fifteen years with nearly three quarters residing there less than eleven years. Seventy five per cent are between the ages of twenty five and forty five, usually with young families and with the exception of three households, all belong to social class 1 to 3 (8).

The Spiralists formed the largest group of young Mobile Incomers in both Cheriton and Rowlands Castle, a reflection of the high number of Spiralists within Hampshire as a whole. These are defined as those people who move or who are moved around the country at frequent intervals for reasons of

employment. In most cases the employer moves the employee to satisfy labour demands, to enable the employee to gain experience and promotion or as part of firm relocation or decentralization scheme. Occasionally the employee moves independently through a self-imposed change in employment. All members have lived in the settlement for under fifteen years while nearly half have lived there under six years. All fall into social class 1-3 with three quarters in social class 2. Their age spread is wider than that of the PRG with three quarters falling between twenty five and fifty five.

The Origens were mainly identified within Staffordshire (Table 6.4). The characteristic which clearly identifies this group, overriding all other considerations, is the retention of strong ties with the past place of residence. Thus while the majority of this group are below forty five, and have lived in the settlement for under thirteen years, older residents or those whose length of residence is over fifteen years fall into this group if they reveal the characteristic of strong ties with past place of residence. Half of this group belonged to social class 3, with the majority of the others in class 2.

Among those who moved to the settlement in later life the majority did so on the retirement of the male householder. It is this which distinguishes the Retired group. Nearly two thirds have lived in the village for five years or less; with the majority lying in social class 2 or 3. Within

this group lies a continuum of residents based on age and physical and mental health, with activity and involvement with the community typically steadily declining with increasing age.

The RLA form a small group, most of whom are in social class 1, and are sufficiently wealthy to purchase large country properties. While nearly half are in full retirement, the rest are in various stages of the older life cycle. This group are typically able to stagger retirement and several own two properties, allowing gradual withdrawal to the country residence. However a small proportion in middle age are sufficiently wealthy to purchase such property. Typically these are perceived by the RLA to be suitable for members of their group. Over half have lived in the village for between ten and twenty years. This is indicative of the number who purchased such residences as country homes and second homes several years before taking up full residency in the settlement.

The Long Term moved in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the first expansion of rural areas as residential zones for non-rural people. A high percentage are thus in the middle years of their life cycle, three quarters between forty five and sixty five years of age, and although drawn from a full spectrum of social classes, over half fall into social class 2.

Representatives of these nine groups are found across the spectrum of village types, although as Chapter 6 demon-

strated owing to variations in housing allocation, specific groups reveal preferences for particular settlement types. An analysis of the decision-making process behind these preferences will enable further understanding of the population mixture of settlements within the hinterland of conurbations.

1. Pahl 1966 p.305-6 introduces six classes of rural resident. These, however, are purely descriptive.
2. Newby 1977 discusses in some depth the self awareness and self identity of the rural agricultural worker, however his analysis concerns but one section of the existing population within rural areas.
3. For example Rex and Moore 1968 distinguish seven housing classes within large British provincial cities assessing inter group conflict and intra group assimilation. See also Suttles 1972 analysis of urban residential groups and the concept of the natural community.
4. It is not here intended to impose a working model onto the the groups identified. Mills 1967 p. 11-25 a range of possible models for example; rather to acknowledge their existence as reference groups for the individual. This will be expanded at greater length in chapter 9.
5. Those households who did identify with groups other than those assigned by the rest of the settlement appeared to experience considerable isolation, rebuffed by both the group to which they sought access and by the reference group assigned to them. Further analysis of this process falls outside the confines of the present study.
6. This phenomenon observed during field work is well recognised in the social psychological literature. For example Tajfel et al 1971 suggest that the mere perception by subjects that they belong to distinct categories is sufficient for inter group discrimination.
7. Two examples succinctly demonstrate this point.

During the extended interviewing programme in a Metropolitan village there suddenly appeared a frequent request for a village chemist. This request had not been mentioned previously and was confined only to young Mobile Incomers. It was later discovered that at meetings attended by mothers and young children a speaker had stressed the need for 'village chemists' and from thenceforth the attendants at the meeting and their social contacts seemed to perceive the chemist as an essential facility. The need for a chemist was not mentioned by any other member of the village, including the Retired group who would also require such a facility, apparently due to their absence from the meeting and lack of social contact with the young mothers.

In a second Metropolitan village where a building programme was under way the area under development was constantly referred to as 'the Triangle' by Mobile Incomers, 'the Woodland' by the rest of the settlement. Similarly in the same village a builder wished to construct a small estate of light industry. The village polarized into the Mobile Incomers, who typically were against the development, the Council residents who were typically for the development and the Locals and Long Term who were mixed in their reaction. A derogatory term appeared for the developer - which was only found among the Mobile Incomers, never among any Locals, Long Term or Council residents who were also against the development.

8. The few households who are registered as over 44 years in age, comprise mainly those who relocated to the settlement at an earlier age, and have remained. They are not sufficiently long in residence, however, to form part of the Long Term group.

CHAPTER 8The context of inmigration8.1Residential mobility.

An analysis of the relocation of a household should broadly distinguish between the motives for leaving the past place of residence and the rationale behind the selection of the new residence. In many studies, however, the two types of decision are not differentiated and a single 'reason for moving' is recorded (1). The current research is not so much concerned with the reasons for leaving a particular location, nor the decision-making process itself; here the emphasis is placed upon the rationale behind the selection of the new rural residence, though inevitably it can only be an emphasis, as the two types of decision are frequently interlinked.

In order to place the current research within a broader context let us briefly consider the variables affecting residential mobility recorded by others examining the process at the micro-scale. A significant number of such studies have been influenced by the work of Rossi who proposed:

The major function of mobility to be the process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes. (2)

Mobility is thus greatest while the family is experiencing greatest growth, young families being the most likely to move, and arises as the new family formation discovers its social and spacial environment to be lacking. In addition those renting small units are particularly inclined towards mobility, as large units are more flexible than smaller units and owner occupiers are able to modify their existing space.

Although Rossi's study has been subsequently questioned on various fronts (3), his interpretation still remains an important framework. For while Morgan may denounce the independence of the unit size variable, as it is often directly associated with stage in the life-cycle (4) and Clark and Onaka stress the distinction between changes in the life-cycle and stages of the life-cycle (changes generating mobility by altering specific household needs, stages affecting the type and frequency of these changes and of household dissatisfaction) (5) yet the relationship between life-cycle and residential mobility is continually being emphasised (6). Thus those in the early part of the age cycle, unrestricted by social and economic ties, are prepared to take advantage of employment opportunities requiring mobility, (7) while those forming their own households and families make most housing adjustment during the early stages (8). Similarly towards the end of the life-cycle the elderly again reveal a high index of mobility, as formal employment ties are relinquished and priority can be given to environmental and leisure concerns (9). In addition increasing age brings new requirements which may only be satisfied by moving nearer to sources of assistance (10), while increasingly evidence emphasises the influence of income decline and the associated attraction of profit maximisation through a downward move in the housing market (11).

However the use of the life-cycle indicator alone as a predicator of mobility has been frequently questioned (12) and various other variables have risen to prominence, both dependent on and independent of the life-cycle. Bonnar has

suggested that the life-cycle is closely associated with rates of income, and that it is this latter variable, which dictates mobility (13), there being a higher propensity to migrate with higher income (14), while Short argues that 'forced' (15) moves are higher among those of low income (16). Alternatively Leslie and Richardson propose that class is the controlling variable irrespective of life-cycle stage (17), while Speare suggests that within social groups life-cycle stages are related to mobility (18). Several studies have analysed the effects of housing tenure (19), the dominant conclusion supporting Rossi's assertion that owner occupiers are less mobile than renters (20), although Pickvance returns the debate to the life-cycle as he demonstrates how the life-cycle change of marriage converts many mobile renters into owner occupiers with a lower rate of mobility (21). Others have indexed the labour market variable to the life cycle with job related moves being highest during the early age cycle (22), rapidly decreasing as the employee approaches retirement (23).

Beyond the life-cycle the wider constraints of the housing market have been found to provide significant influences in both the public and private sectors (24) as have both negative and positive constraints of the wider environment (25). Thus Brown and Moore suggest that the encroachment of industrial, residential and commercial blight, alteration in racial or ethnic composition of the neighbourhood or transportation changes, may all encourage residential mobility (26). However strong community identifi-

cation may override these and other mobility inducers (27), and Bell has suggested that community variables and those attached to issues of social prestige are the real motives hidden behind overt space requirement reasons (28). This is supported by Lewis' research in mid-Wales which suggests that while young adults left rural areas because such a migration has become institutionalised into family behaviour, regardless of educational attainment or desired career, social motives were the prime reasons for moving into the area (29). He thus stresses the importance of a household's perception of an environment (30)

Considerable insight has also been gained from the work of the behaviour school within geography. The pioneering study in this field was undertaken by Wolpert who introduced the concept of 'place utility' which measures an individual's level of either satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to a given location. If the place utility of the present residential site diverges sufficiently from his present needs, the individual will consider seeking a new location. This search occurs within the confines of the individual's 'action space', that is a set of locations for which the individual possesses sufficient information to assign place utilities (31). Stress arises as needs and expectations of a household change, mobility being a form of adaption to stress (32).

Various decision making models have emerged from this concept. Brown and Moore's sequential decision making model distinguishes between the decision to move (Phase I) and the decision where to move to (Phase II) (33) while Roseman

further differentiates between the selection of the area and of the site of the new residence (34). The model has been further refined by Popp who includes forced moves, and proposes that the decision to move and the selection of a new location may be independent of each other (35).

Significantly the relationship between life-cycle and housing dissatisfaction has yet to be resolved (36) and while the behaviour school do at least distinguish between reasons for moving and reasons for selection of the new residence, the approach can be criticised for presenting the decision-making process as a logically conceptualised operation with the household fully aware of the opportunities and constraints before them.

8. 2The decision process of the incomers.

The examination of the immigrants into rural settlements suggests that while the rationale behind the arrival at the new residence may indeed be a logically conceived operation, as in the following case:

I wanted to better myself. We started off in Wheaton Aston then a similar house came up in Penkridge and when we saw these were being built we thought it'd be an improvement. Aesthetically its an improvement on Wheaton Aston. Just a superior village - snob value I suppose.

it is as likely to be a jumble of unrelated ideas:

The job brought us to the area. We liked the village. It had a good school. We didn't really rationalise things in that order - any order. There were other villages we liked but the house we eventually bought was here.

or a simple feeling for Place:

We must have looked at a hundred houses... two or three times we nearly bought elsewhere, but it was never quite right. This house wasn't even on our list. We were here looking and I remembered I'd seen a house advertised here so we just thought we'd drive past, We had the children with us and we just stopped the car and everyone shouted 'that's it'. We just knew it was for us. Everyone said they felt at home as soon as they saw it.

or reasons that are barely admitted to the inhabitant let alone the researcher!

For geographical reasons. My husband works in Walsall and both our families are in North Staffordshire so here we're half-way to parents and commuting to work what actually happened was that we moved to a housing estate in town and I hated it - loathed it - so we looked for a house like this, on the market, and here we are.

Evidence from the rural hinterlands of Staffordshire and Hampshire thus indicates that each process of decision is multi-faceted, within each 'reason' a complex pattern emerges. On further examination three broad components could be determined to explain the reason for the relocation of the household to the new settlement.

The Catalyst : that which decides the household to change its current dwelling. This component may directly result in a move or act indirectly through an alteration of the housing circumstances so that a move eventually follows. The Catalyst may coincide with a specific stage in the life-cycle, or arise through a personal crisis or factor external to the household.

The Arena: the environment within which to carry out the search. This may be a particular environment with personal associations or unknown to the household except as an image in the mind.

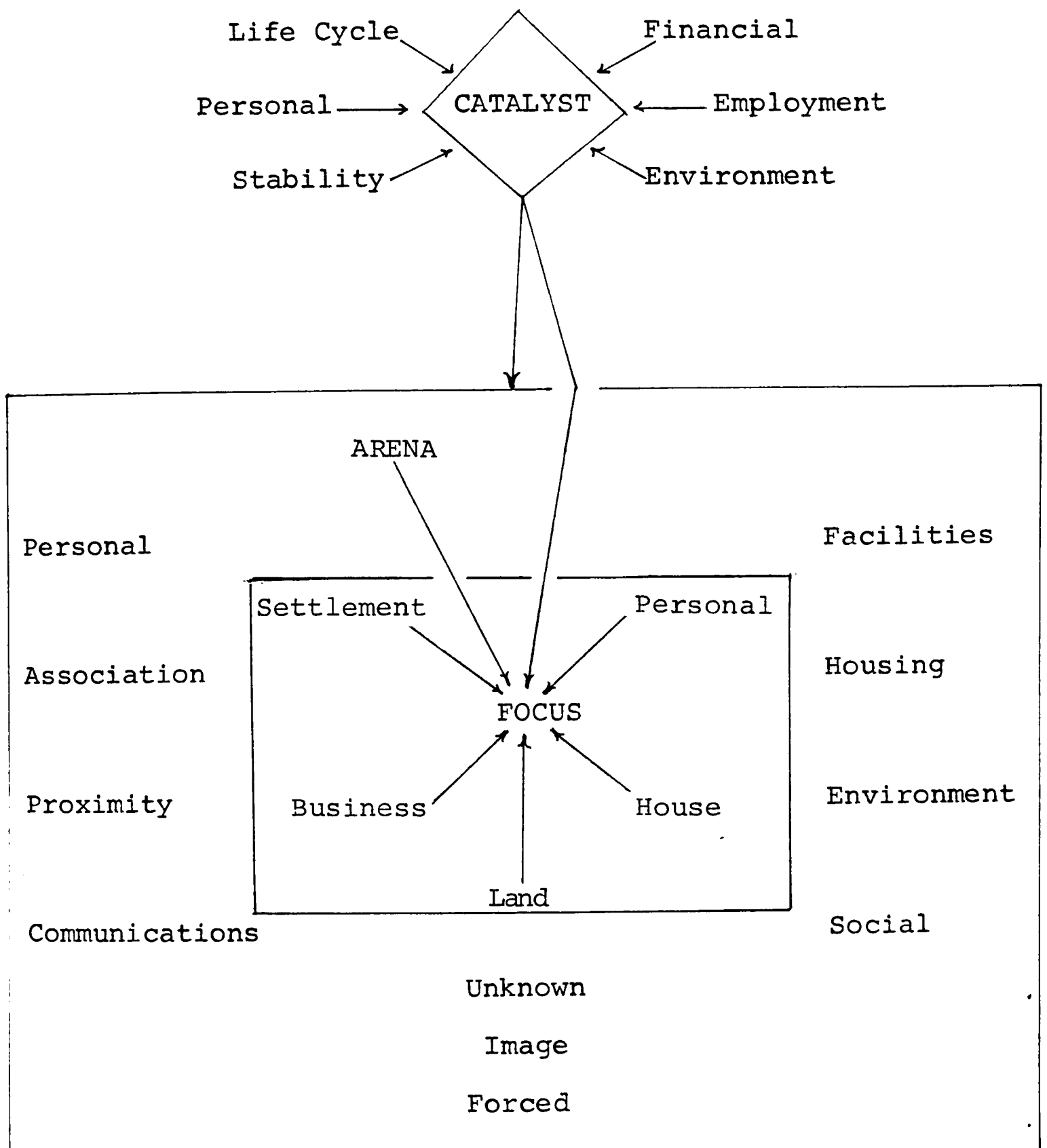


Fig. 8.1

The decision process of the Incomers.

The Focus : the ultimate reason for location. Personal ties, a specific village or particular house may all prove the omega.

In each decision process variable emphasis is placed upon each component: for example the Catalyst may be the dominant factor to the exclusion almost of the other two; or the Arena provide both Catalyst and Focus. Figure 8.1 illustrates the decision process as it emerged from the current field study, and using these components as a framework an assessment of the decision process of each of the groups can be undertaken commencing with those possessing the greatest element of choice - the Mobile Incomers.

8.2.I

The Mobile Incomers

The Principal Relocating Group.

Two main CATALYSTS can be determined within the PRG: factors pertaining to the life-cycle and to employment. The dominant life-cycle factors affecting this group are marriage and the commencing and increasing of a family. However among those leaving the urban zones or suburbs for the countryside, first time homebuyers are few, the prime stimulus being thus the growth of the family unit:

Well we got married and wanted our own house...we were both used to the country ...so our friends took us for a drive around and we noticed these houses, they were just being built and decided to buy one.

We started having kids and needed a larger house with a garden...we liked the area, lots of good clean environment for the kids and the schools are good.

Over half moved to the area for employment reasons,(37) either through their employers relocating to the region, or the individual employee being transferred within the company. In a few cases the main employee of the household had changed employers.

A third category comprises those who simply wished to leave their current environment, usually an urban one, and fifteen per cent produced 'push' reasons, with no apparent associated life-cycle or employment component. The most common explanations are environmental, social and in the West Midlands, racial. In a few cases the 'push' factor asserts sufficient pressure by itself that the unit will migrate for that reason alone:

We left [Walsall] because of the neighbours ...I don't know if it was because my husband's a police officer, or what, but there was a lot of trouble. We had nothing in common with them. They were, well, not like us, if you know what I mean...you're isolated without neighbours...a house came up out here and we moved - to escape from the neighbours.

Alternatively the household reaches a financial or social plateau, where it feels able and ready to withstand the physical upheaval of migration. These will be called stable moves as they arise when the household has reached a level of equilibrium; thus with no particular life-cycle crisis or external pressure, the family selects this opportunity to change environments. Factors leading to such equilibrium include the easing of financial commitments;

times when the children's education will not be disrupted by a move; a plateau in the career climb; lack of commitments to ageing parents.

We lived in Wednesbury, a noisy, dirty place and we always said we'd live in the country when we could, and so we moved out here about twelve years ago now... we'd been looking on and off for several years and we liked these houses and it just seemed a good time to move.

For all PRG movers the ARENA is selected for environ-
mental or social reasons, with the self motivated stable movers placing greatest emphasis on such factors as they are often closely associated with the main rationale behind their move. The search for a rural environment is divided between those perceiving the country life as one of peace and quiet and those expecting community.

We came to this area because of my husband's job. We came to the village hoping to find village life - which we haven't - its been very disappointing, there's no village life at all, in fact it's quite the opposite.

Social factors include the search for cheap housing and 'pleasant neighbours'. Although half moving for employment reasons had specifically searched for a rural environment, a small proportion had selected the arena due to personal factors. The stable movers and those relocating primarily for life-cycle reasons also stressed proximity to past place of residence, especially in those settlements where fast motorway links to the city can reduce the travel

time of a village commuter to that of a suburban or even urban resident.

We wanted to live in the countryside but be near to Birmingham and Acton Trussell seemed ideal for us, best of both worlds, not too cut off, but still in the country.

We needed access to Birmingham but wanted a village atmosphere....if it wasn't for the M6 we wouldn't have come here.

The FOCUS is polarised between those selecting a particular village (46%) and those choosing a specific house (43%). The high proportion deciding to live in modern estate housing provides that priority can be given to a settlement containing appropriate property, and then the decision taken between several suitable houses:

It's the nicest village in the area...
we like the joys of village life...we
decided we wanted to live here and the
house came second.

It is worth noting that this generally urban method, of choosing a settlement and then selecting property within its confines, is now able to operate in rural zones. Alternately priority was given to a specific property:

I knew the village, I'd lived in Itchen Abbas ten miles distant for ten years, and when this house came up for sale I thought I want that house!

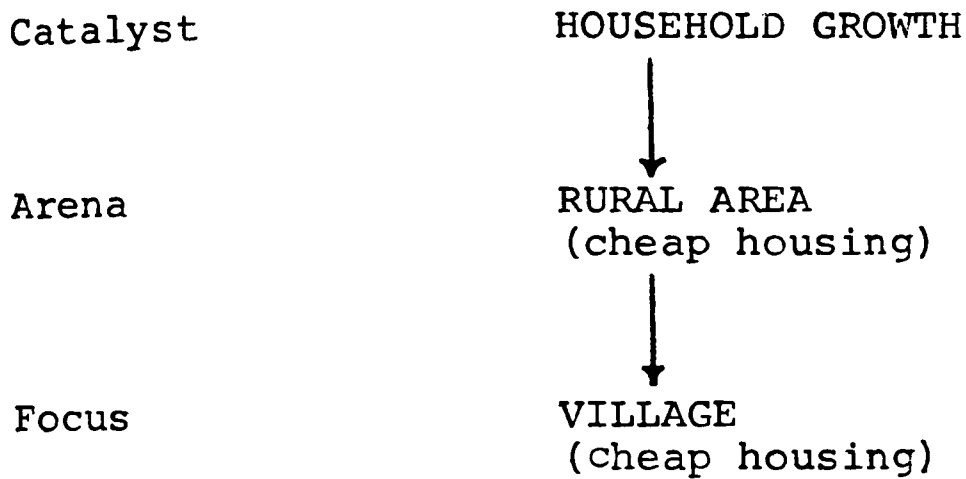
Its near to Stafford...we wanted to be in the country...we looked at various places but liked this house.

The provision of cheap housing in the rural hinterland as an important migration factor must be emphasised as this phenomenon can have bearing on all stages of the decision process. Availability of cheap housing in rural areas

Figure 8.2The decision process of the PRG.

Example 1

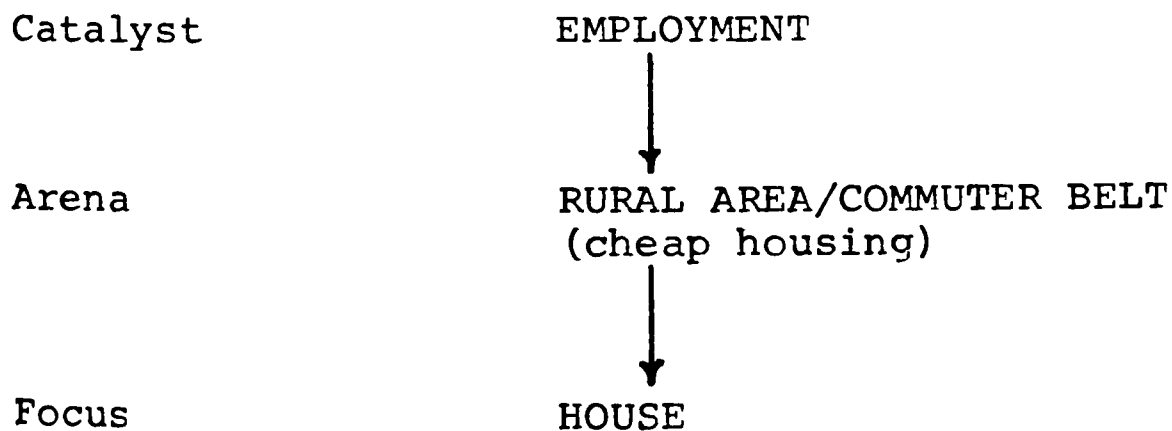
We wanted to move to something bigger but found Stafford very expensive and they were building in the country so we came out to look...Bradely is a pretty village so we decided to buy a house here.



The catalyst is household growth and need for larger property to accommodate this; the arena was selected due to knowledge of cheap housing in the surrounding rural areas, and this was narrowed to the focus through discovery of inexpensive property in pleasant surroundings.

Example II

My husband's work moved him to Birmingham ...we needed a large house for the kids... it was a matter of what we could afford, in the country but close to Birmingham for commuting.



relatively increases the price of urban property, influencing part of the catalyst component and the supply of this cheap accommodation generates both a general arena for selection and focus for the mover. Figure 8.2 illustrates this case, and provides an alternative example of the decision process of this group.

These general patterns are exhibited by all the early age incomers; however the differing life-styles of the two smaller groups emphasise various aspects of the decision process.

Spiralists.

For over three quarters of Spiralists the CATALYST is employment relocation (38). The majority of the spiralists are employed in the services, large industrial/business corporations, the civil service or major banks, all who regularly relocate their staff at intervals (39), and the employee was thus moved to a new location, branch or subsidiary of that organisation. It must be here noted that by definition all spiralists originally came to the area due to employment factors; however eleven households relocated following the initial move. The main reason for this secondary relocation is mis-selection of the immediate environs due to lack of knowledge of the area:

We came here because of work and lived at Waterlooville - it was horrendous - far too built up - you just exist there - in a rabbit hutch along with hundreds of other rabbit hutches! so we came here...we've always found houses. We never worry about the house so long as the village is nice.

There were also examples of households who moved quickly, purchasing a property which could be sold with ease, once they had orientated themselves to the local environment, though these seemed exceptional.

Under a quarter of the spiralists were acquainted with the area they were relocated to, although ten households possessed friends or kin in the vicinity, and a further six had independently visited the area prior to any knowledge of the impending move. The majority thus enter the ARENA cold. However though knowledge of the specific area may be negligible this group are experienced movers and possess valuable insight into the process. Through continuous relocation they encounter varied milieu and are thus able to make valid judgments in their selection of village or rural community, based on the prior knowledge of such environments:

I heard Rowlands Castle was the professional place for Portsmouth workers...they were building here several large estates...we lived on estates for years and we'd lived in a village last time in the North-east so we knew all about village life. We like it.

To an obvious extent the arena is selected for the migrant by his employer. However the appropriate environment within

that arena is self-selected along lines similar to the PRG group:

I came down here for work, in Wolverhampton
...we wanted to live outside not in Wolverhampton itself and we saw the houses being built here and jumped for them.

(non-urban environment)

My husband's job came to Wolverhampton
so we had to come down...its near the
motorway (M6) so we can see our families
(Huddersfield).

(fast communications)

Lack of familiarity with the area tends to lead to concentration on house selection as a FOCUS. Prominent influences include property which moves quickly in the housing market and thus is freely available for purchase at the time:

My job moved me here and we needed a
house quickly and this seemed convenient.

or can be easily and rapidly disposed of:

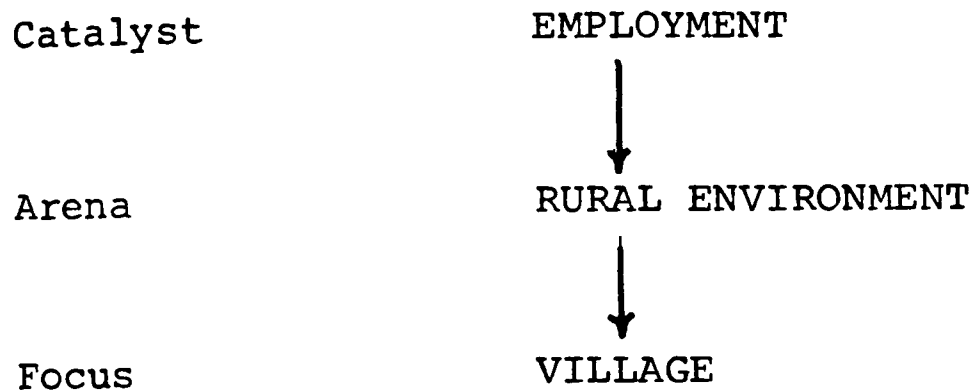
We're only here for two years so it didn't
really matter where we lived. We don't
know the area at all and we wanted a house
we can sell easily.

Large housing estates appear particularly attractive to Spiralists: conveyancing of such property is generally rapid and housing estates are typically perceived as 'sociable' and as containing residents of similar background to the immigrant. Thus large villages containing several estates providing a range of property, may provide the focus

Figure 8.3The decision process of the Spiralist.

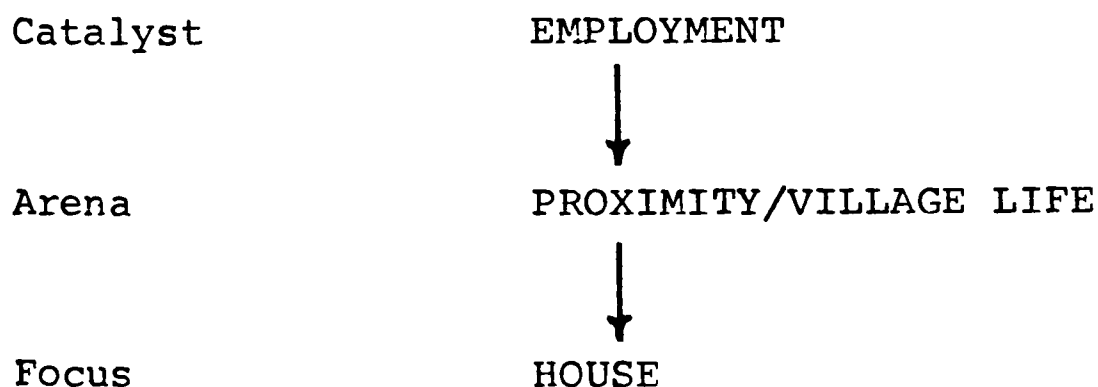
Example 1

We looked at Telford and Wellington and decided we wanted a small village. weren't bothered about how rural, but not a town. The estate agents here were very friendly and helpful...we had one appointment and looked at about six or seven houses and settled on this one.



Example II

It's very convenient, being so near the M6. We wanted village life, its an attractive village with a high percentage of high socio-economic groups, and we wanted a house with a garden.



as they also support a range of facilities,(40) in particular schools, Spiralists being the only group to overtly mention education as a reason for village selection. Figure 8.3 provides examples of the decision process of Spiralist households comprising two couples who were relocated to the West Midlands by the husband's employer.

Origens.

The majority of the Origens move from within the general area typically from the nearest city, and their decision process places clear emphasis on the quest for cheap housing and a spacious environment.

The prime CATALYST is thus associated with life cycle changes in particular those resulting in an increase in the size of the household, demanding larger accommodation and encouraging the desire for a wholesome environment. However the search for 'community' or 'village life' appears singularly lacking as a motive for immigration; indeed few of the group appeared to have had a clear conception of life in a small settlement, primarily perceiving the rural zone as possessing relative advantages of housing and recreation facilities in comparison with their urban home.

I'd always lived in a town. I was brought up in Wednesfield and always wanted to live in the country, so when I married we bought one of these....I don't know what I thought it would be like really.

In addition the sudden development of available cheap housing

near to the existing residence appears in itself to provide a stimulus to move:

We lived in a large estate in Cannock and used to drive over here sometimes. We liked the village, its nice, there's lots of space and we always wanted to come here. So when they started building we started looking at houses here.

In a few cases a change in employment circumstances had forced the household to leave their past place of residence and they relocated in an area within commuting distance of the new employment site, yet allowing maintenance of past links. For example this couple who moved from near Stafford:

My husband got a job at Telford, so its a handy village within commuting distance ...my family are from where we used to live - the other side of Stafford, that's why we came here - so we wouldn't lose contact.

These households generally select the nearest area of cheap housing or pleasant environment to their present home, and due to the typically urban background of this group this tends to be the rural fringes of the city. The Origins thus possess a limited knowledge of the ARENA.

They were building houses out here which we liked. We had friends out here and we came to see them, and saw the houses, and liked them and so decided to come out here too.

We had relatives, cousins, out here so we visited it often...we'd never lived in a village before, but it seemed nice and they loved it so we came.

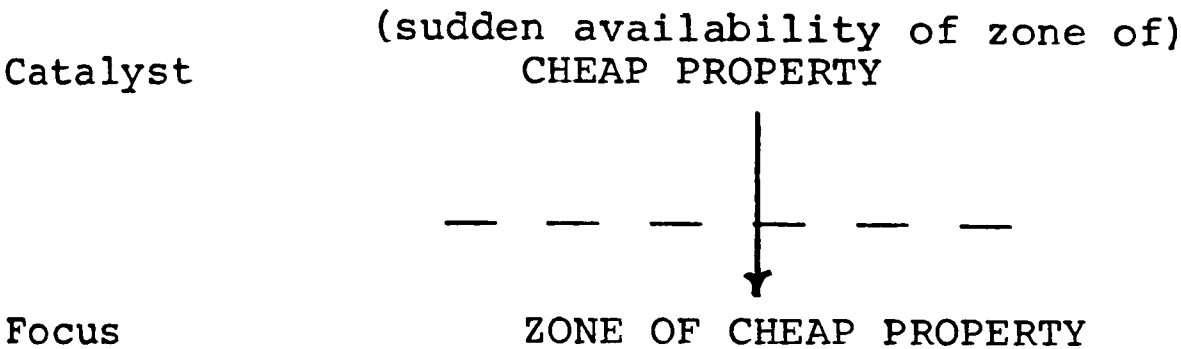
Consideration is also given to the availability of fast communication links with the place of past residence, again to ensure the maintenance of former contacts.

Figure 8.4

The decision process of the Origins

Example I

We'd lived in Brewood - well - all our lives. They were building a lot of houses out here and we thought 'well why not' its a quiet village, but near to the M6, so.....



Typically the Origens either select a type of accommodation and search for a settlement providing this, or are attracted by a particular settlement which contains a large number of appropriate properties. In either case the settlement provides the FOCUS of the search, the household then selecting one of several housing options within.

A cheap house! thats why [we came] . We saw these advertised, they were much nicer than anything we could afford in town, and my husband travels back each day to work.

The village had the kind of house we wanted, in fact we'd have preferred a larger one, but they'd all gone, so we settled for this one and extended it.

Two distinct patterns of decision emerged from this group; those forced to relocate out of the city to find a larger house, and more spacious environment generally associated with family growth and those attracted by the actual development itself. In this latter case the cheap housing may well provide the catalyst, arena and focus (Fig.8.4) Although there may be unspecified underlying themes associated with such seduction of a household, for the purposes of analysing the selection process of a specific settlement, the magnet of particular property can be seen to provide the complete reason. For in many cases such moves are not perceived as resulting in a new home for the household, rather the family's home ground remains the past place of residence, usually the place of kinship networks, the new settlement serving as a place of dwelling but not of habitat (41).

Long Term.

It must be remembered that by definition the Long Term have resided in the settlement for at least fifteen years (42) (Table 7.3) and they are recalling events which occurred some considerable time previously; however they exhibit a variety of the decision processes revealed by the other mobile incomers, with life-cycle changes and employment factors figuring prominently as CATALYSTS.

My husband's work moved him to Wolverhampton, I remember we were horrified, Wolverhampton! and we came out here to have a look and my husband said ' I feel at home here!.

or this former active spiralist, now approaching retirement:

I worked for Local Government, they moved me around a lot, then I came to Winchester City Council and here I've stuck...we'll stay, its a nice place to live, excellent countryside.

However both the choice of the arena and the focus reveal a stronger emphasis on personal connections than did the selections of the other Mobile Incomers. Indeed a quarter of the Long Term movers recorded a personal motive within the decision process compared with only 12 percent of the other Mobile Incomers. For example the connections stressed in this selection of an ARENA for search:

I was in East Africa, thrown out of the Colonial Service there. My parents lived in H... three miles away and we thought this'd be a good base for job hunting. Then I got a job as Queen's messenger, which means intermittent commuting to London, which you can easily do from here.

Similarly, in several cases, the availability of a house or

land within the settlement through personal connections had provided both the catalyst and FOCUS for relocation. Of all the groups the Long Term possessed the highest proportion building their own accommodation, perhaps a reflection of the tightening of planning regulations in recent years.

We were left some land out here, so we built on it.

We were at Leigh Park on the council estate. My parents died, it was their own house and they left it to us.

One question that can be raised in relation to the behaviour of this group is the reason for their long-term residence within the one settlement. A major influence appears to be their type of employment and is directly connected with the high percentage of self-employed village tradespeople which is peculiar to this group. It is to be expected that these households will remain within the settlement as their accommodation is frequently closely associated with their trade, and a relocation would entail a self-induced alteration in their livelihood. Within the decision process of these tradespeople the catalyst, arena and focus can all be explained by the desire for, quest for, and discovery of appropriate premises:

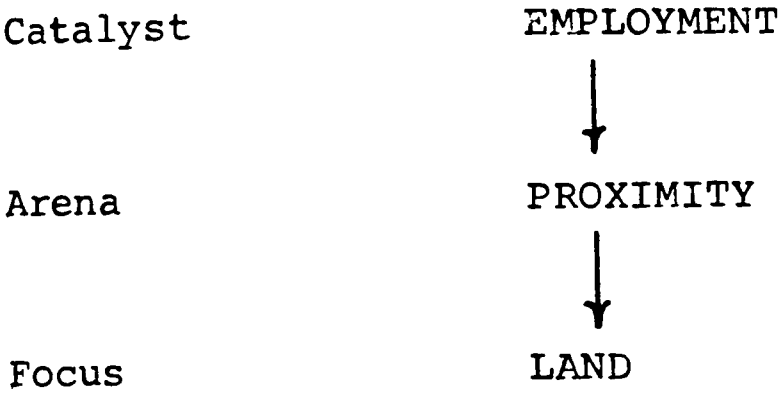
We came here to keep the inn. We were there fourteen years. We started in Stafford, but always wanted a village pub. Then my husband died, and I kept it on for a while, then four years later I remarried, and we bought this.

Figure 8.5

The decision process of the Long Term

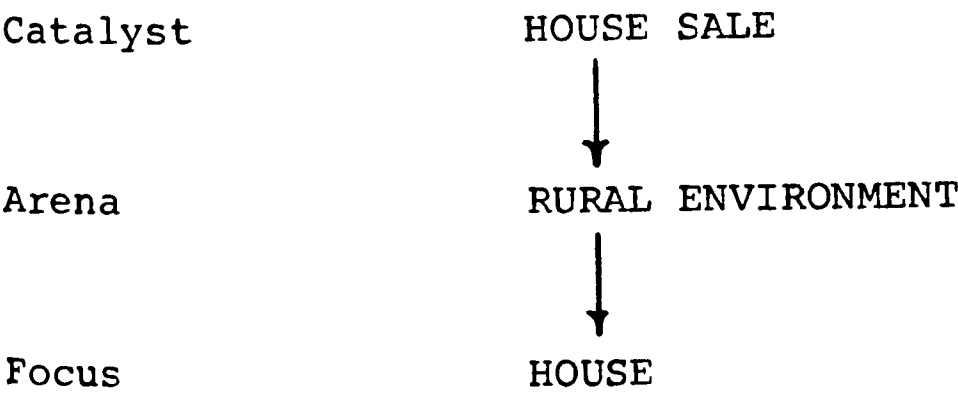
Example I

This place was half way between my husband's job and where we'd previously lived and there was land here....my parents moved in (to the village) about five years ago - they love it.



Example II

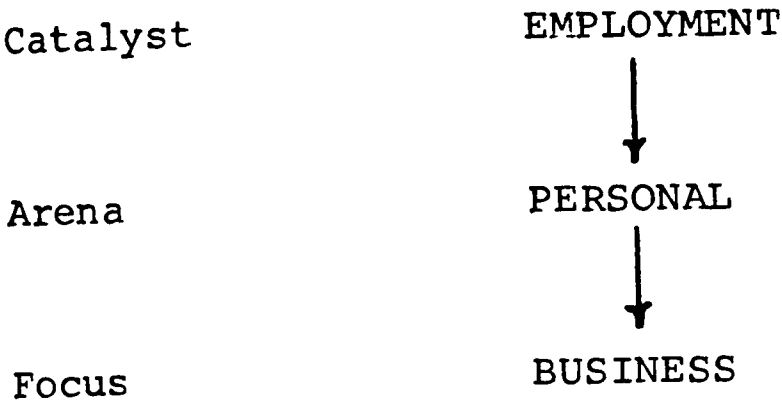
I worked in cables during the war, the big plant near C.... and then got a job in an electric firm in Stafford. It's gorgeous country round here, I never wanted to live in Stafford...on the side I buy up and sell property, buy derelict buildings, do them up and sell them. We were in B....and sold the house there and bought this, did it up and didn't want to sell it...I bought all the cottages up the road and did them up; you know that lovely old white house on the green: I did that...believe in preserving old property.



This household moved to the settlement on their return from India:

Example III

I came out of the army, and my brother lived here. Needed something to occupy myself and heard of this cottage and shop, so thought I'd have a go.



This particular landlady being replaced by a couple from Birmingham:

We were in the catering business in Birmingham and we decided we would like to run our own restaurant, and we heard of this place and it seemed ideal. We're trying to build up the restaurant side.

The various elements of the decision process of the Long Term are aptly illustrated by Fig. 8.5, all of which also reveal an overt reason for a continued stay in the settlement.

RLA.

The CATALYST component within the decision process of the RLA is primarily a desire to inhabit an aesthetic rural environment (43) and pursue a particular life style, with over half stating this as an important element in their reasoning (44). This aspiration often only comes to fruition with a change or impending change in life style, that of approaching retirement. As employment schedules and commitments alter with late career progression, professionals, executives and service personnel in particular, will take the opportunity to select a rural area within commuting distance of the employment base (45) and there establish the household prior to fulltime retirement. A pattern followed by this now retired stockbroker:

We had a weekend cottage about two miles from here, been coming down for the past twenty five years, when I started thinking about retirement, we decided to move here permanently... it's still convenient for London and a very agreeable place.

Alternatively a rural property is purchased and used as a

second home for several years before permanent residence is undertaken, as in the case of this Admiral:

We've had the cottage here for seventeen years, but lived here permanently for ten years. We'd both experienced village life at different times...being in the navy this was a convenient place to have a home base and we moved here when I - well - when my naval commitments became less.

Another pattern is the combination of the two approaches, a procedure adopted by this still active managing director of a large company based in London:

Husband :My family has been in the area for three hundred years. We took on B.....nineteen years ago as a country base....
 Wife :When the children were small we lived in town...once they went to boarding school we spent more time down here and finally made this our main base - oh - about eight years ago...we still use the London flat for shopping and theatre and N.....travels to town a couple of times a week.

The particular ARENA selected is usually one of prior connection for a member of the household and occasionally relatives may live in the vicinity. As a consequence of the large number of Service personnel (Navy and Army) based in Hampshire, several RLA spent time in the county during their careers. In addition Hampshire has traditionally served as a holiday and second home county for the Greater London area (46) while South Staffordshire provides a second home and recreation zone for the West Midlands Conurbation.(47) Over half the RLA thus returned to an area of previous residence or one known through relatives, as this General's

widow explains:

My husband was a soldier so we moved around...we spent some time in the area and enjoyed it...it's a real village, unlike so many of them nowadays, and its so difficult to find a house one really likes, so the two [house and village] just fell together

Similarly

We have cousins here. We were living in the area and they told us this house was up for sale. We knew the village and the house of course, through them

The FOCUS for the RLA is a particular property, with two thirds giving this as a prime determinant of their inmigration. The houses occupied by the RLA are large: a typical example may have five or six bedrooms, two bath-rooms, four reception rooms, kitchen and utility facilities with adjacent servant's quarters, now usually used as part of the family living quarters, although live-in housekeepers and gardeners are still in evidence, and several acres of grounds. Former manor houses, vicarages, farmhouses and converted tenant cottages, are among the property considered appropriate. The buyer will, therefore, focus on a particular property giving priority to this in the decision process, and if it lies within attractive environs this is an additional bonus.

It was just luck that we came here. We decided to move before John's retirement and thought of Hampshire as a beautiful county...we just happened to see the house advertised.

Ownership of such property is a status symbol, an overt,

Figure 8.6The decision process of the RLA

Example I

Husband - Why did we move here? For many reasons. We liked the village...

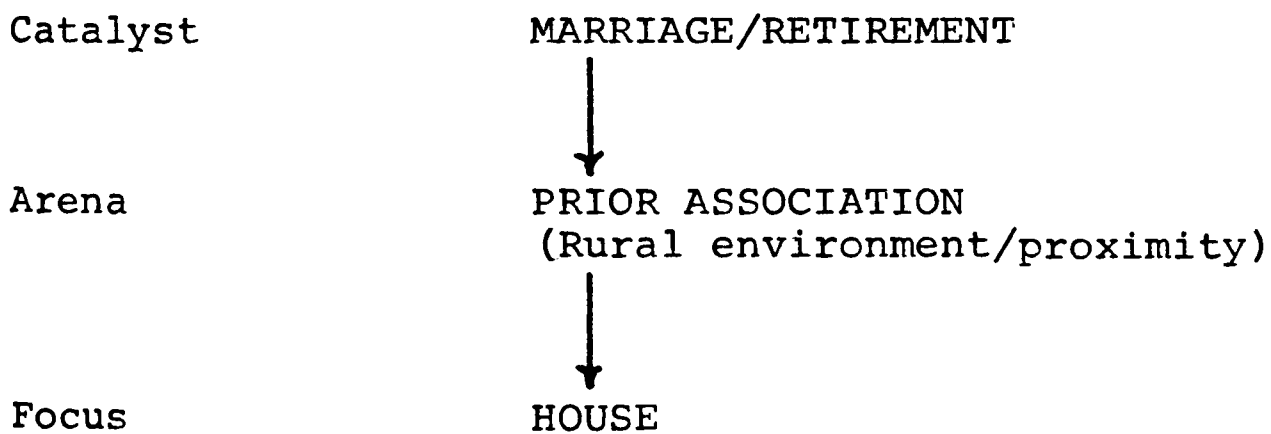
Wife - Its so near London and yet a country village.

Husband - We wanted an old house, it was a good price....

Wife - Has a lovely aspect....

Husband - We both knew the area, at different times we lived down here....

This couple were newly married; the catalyst is thus marriage combined with approaching retirement. The arena was selected due to past associations with a rural environment near to London and the focus was the particular house.



recognisable sign of wealth, and local friendships are selected from the owners of similar accommodation (48). These houses are thus purchased for reasons other than practical use, for rarely do the inhabitants occupy such space as is available, their families having usually departed it is common to find the couple living alone. Fig. 8.6 illustrates the decision process of this group.

Retired.

The CATALYST for the Retired is retirement per se with two thirds perceiving the concept 'Retirement' as their prime motive in the decision process. Thus economic, social and psychological tensions which accompany this physical and symbolic 'rites de passage' are released in the spacial upheaval of the household unit through migration. Economic tensions may be in the simple format of direct financial pressure:

We came here for financial reasons, we had a big house and garden and needed somewhere smaller.

We lived in a large house in Coventry all our married lives and when I retired it was too big, just the two of us.

Prior to retirement the central theme of life is orientated towards employment, but as the constraints of labour are released the resultant vacuum is filled by obligations formerly regarded as of a social nature. The ties to an individual work place are severed and the couple are able to escape from their current environment or fulfil a

formerly suppressed desire to live at a specific location.

My wife came from here. We always intended to move from Aldershot when we could.

Psychologically there may simply be a desire for a change. Many perceive retirement as representing physical movement and the alteration of the life state. For them 'we retired' is the complete and only explanation required to account for their migration. This thus contrasts with the behaviour of the RLA who are often able to stagger retirement and prepare both physically and psychologically for the eventual abandonment of employment.

The particular ARENA within which to carry out this state of retirement is selected for environmental and personal reasons. Many expressed a positive preference for a rural environment, with over a quarter selecting this as the main determining factor, primarily for environmental and aesthetic reasons but also owing to the availability of cheaper housing and a 'sense of community'. However all the Retired in this study have chosen to remain within the commuting zones of large conurbations and thus accrue the benefits of urban support facilities. Although only ten per cent migrated to a village that they knew previously (49) over half had lived within twenty miles of their retirement home (Table 3.1) and were thus able to retain past links:

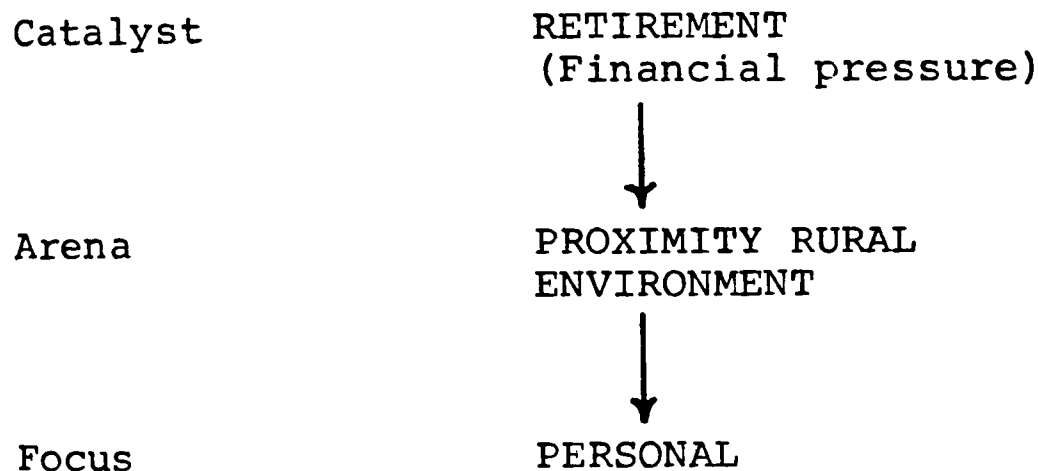
We retired here. Bert worked for local government and every ten years we moved so we were never anywhere long enough to get roots. Our last post was Wolverhampton so we know the area and Bert can still go back and see his friends.

Figure 8.7The decision process of the Retired.

Example I

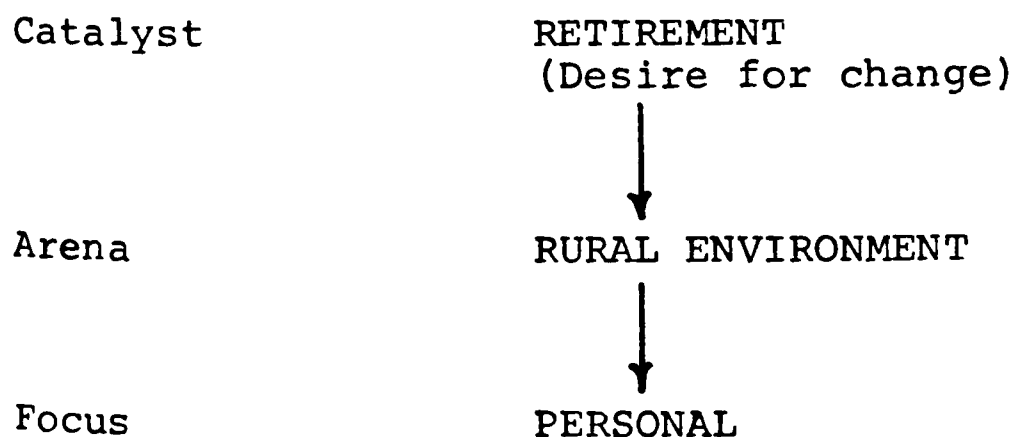
We came here for financial reasons. We had a big house and garden and needed somewhere smaller. We'd lived in Wolverhampton all our lives and didn't want to live in a town but wanted to be near our friends. So this area seemed convenient; also our daughter's at Weston Park so we're near her.

The catalyst is retirement and accompanying financial pressure. The arena was selected by a desire to remain in the vicinity, but in a rural environment and the focus component is personal.



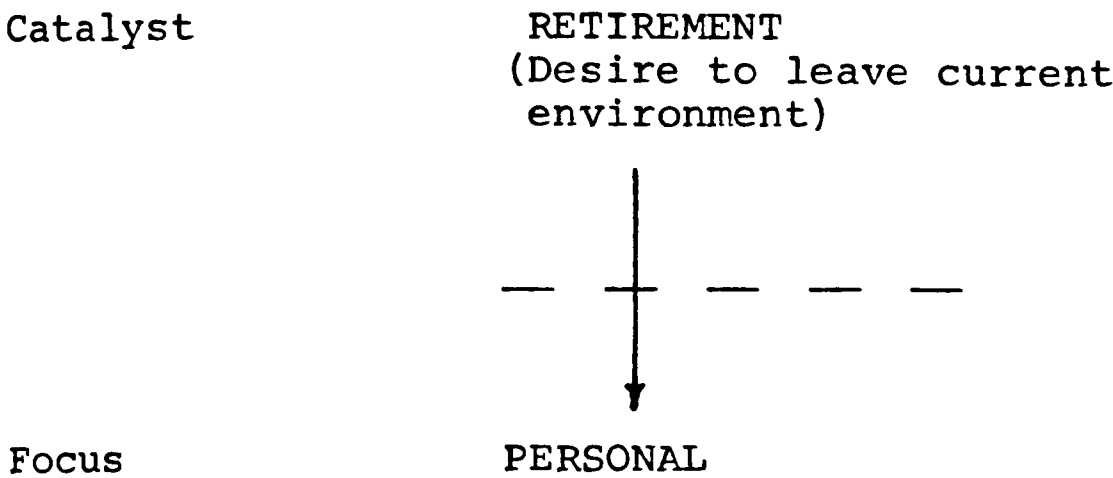
Example II

Our son lives in the next village. We came here to be near them. We always said we'd live in the country when we retired.



Example III

I got to retiring age and wanted to get away from the business...our daughter lives here so we thought it'd be nice to be near her....we'd lived in Leek for forty five years so it was quite a shock coming here.



In this final case no general arena was considered. The couple knew they wished to leave their current environment but focussed immediately on their daughter.

similarly emphasis was placed on personal connections, the household selecting an area to be near family or friends (50).

Narrowing the selection to the FOCUS the Retired also tend to search for a type of accommodation rather than a specific property, thus selecting a settlement for personal, social or environmental reasons, and then searching for suitable housing. Typically smaller villages are perceived as having a 'sense of community', larger ones as providing facilities.

Their search is eased by the general lack of temporal pressure placed upon them to find a new property - as in the case of this widow:

My husband died last year and I found the farm very quiet - and I thought it'd be nice to come here - I've five daughters all near - and I wanted a bungalow and this happened to be for sale.

Similarly these grandparents:

Our daughter lived here and we moved to be near her and the grandchildren...We didn't hurry, waited until the right thing was up for sale - and we'd only just arrived and my son-in-laws business moved him!

As with all the groups the decision process is thus multi-faceted and within the single 'reason' for migration a complex pattern of decisions can be determined as demonstrated by Fig. 8.7

8. 2. 2.The Restricted Incomers

In a quarter of the Tenant households at least one of the adult partners have resided in the settlement all their lives (Table 7.3); of the remaining households, over three quarters inhabit accommodation linked or previously linked to their employment, and only fifteen per cent rent accommodation from private landlords with no associated work commitments.

For those living in property associated with their work the CATALYST element of the decision to move to the village is employment. This is primarily agricultural, though both the estates and a few smaller households, employ domestic and maintenance workers. As accommodation is tied to employment, this also provides the ultimate FOCUS.

The means by which such employment is found is varied, although the majority of Tenants are born and raised in the vicinity, familiar with the local environs, and often associated prior to relocation with potential neighbours and employers. For example this shepherd who was born and raised a few miles from his present residence:

I was shepherd for Mr. G...at B....
and when his father died, just after
the war, the second World War that is,
he came over here and he asked me to
come with him, and I did. Never
regretted it.

or this gamekeeper whose relatives have always lived in the village:

I was born here, my father was a farm
worker on Home Farm and that is how I
started, as a farm worker...then came
the war and I served in the army, and
when I came back there weren't that many

jobs around so I became a lorry driver for twelve years in Andover...but I always wanted to get back to the land. Then I heard that Sir Gervois, that is Sir James Scott's father, wanted a gamekeeper, so I came back here as gamekeeper, that's twenty years ago now.

However just under a quarter moved from over fifty miles distant and most of these posts were obtained through the formal advertising of the position:

I was a dairy maid in Norfolk. All my family comes from there and I wanted a change and there was no work around and I saw the job advertised and applied, and was accepted! I was twenty two but my mother wouldn't stop crying!...I came here on the 2nd April 1935, never forget... and a year later married the chief herdsman!

For the ten households privately renting accommodation in the village without associated ties to employment, a variety of explanations are produced for this seemingly rare phenomenon. Five households wished to live in a rural environment but the constraints of employment prevented them from living outside the commuter zone. Unable to purchase the converted modernised old property found in the Growth villages they turned instead to the tied cottage in its original state and persuaded landlords to allow them private renting terms. As did this couple from Birmingham, the wife still commuting daily into the conurbation for employment:

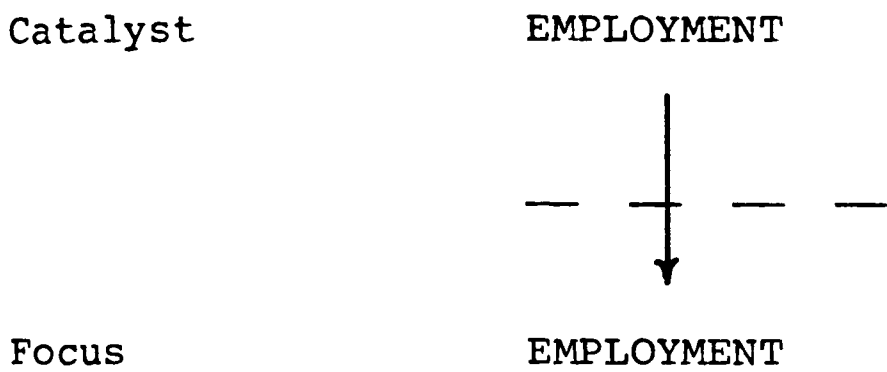
We wanted the country, space, peace and have you seen round here. Nothing. Great urban sprawl...so I rang up Lord Bradford and said 'you've empty houses. We need a house. Can we rent one?' and he said 'yes!'...we'd like to buy it really, we're working on it!

Figure 8.8

The decision process of the Tenant.

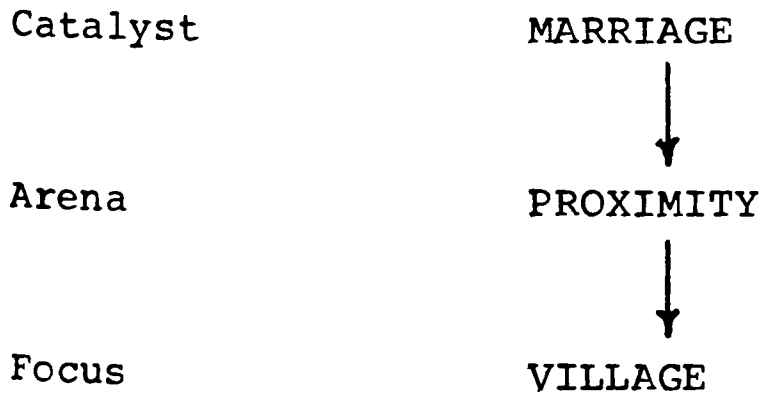
Example I

We were on the F.....estate and the job wasn't working out - we needed a job where we both worked - and this came up and we applied and came down for an interview and took it.



Example III

My wife works at the stables in the adjacent village and we wanted to live near, Alton was too far for her to come... we tried for a council house here and they said we'd wait years, until this lot died off. We asked Sir James Scott if we could have a house...he doesn't usually like renting out to non-estate people.



The other five were all familiar with the settlement prior to immigration, and perceived private renting as an alternative to Local Authority housing.

It was the only place we could get to live. We were lucky...I've never lived in a town this is the nearest to a built-up area I've ever lived in...I grew up near here. My elder brother, his partner lived here and we all used to drink in the Flowerpots and so got to know people here and we were looking for somewhere and just heard of this place. But there's nowhere really unless you get a council house and we didn't want that.

Fig. 8.8 provides examples of relocation to both tied and rented property. The first case concerns a butler and cook, the second a couple who both commute out of the village for employment.

Council Residents.

The second group of restricted incomers face two main methods of moving within the Local Authority sector, Council residents may apply to the Local Authority for a transfer, or they may privately arrange a mutual exchange with another council resident. All those studied in the current research had received formal transfers through their authority. The group fell into two broad categories: those arriving from outside the region mainly for employment, and those moving within the region, though not necessarily the Local Authority area. With reference to the latter transfers, deteriorating conditions, health and a deficiency or surplus of accommodation were given priority within both study areas (51).

The main CATALYST for this group is change of family circumstance with marriage and growth in household size being the primary reasons given:

I was actually born here...after we were married they gave us a flat in town but I was determined to come back and when G... arrived we put in a request for here and got it.

At the other end of the age spectrum the onset of retirement may alter financial circumstances or housing requirements:

B...retired from the works, do you know the works? over by S...not far, we lived there you see and so when the job stopped we had to leave. We knew this village, used to drive over sometimes, and they offered us one of these.

Alternatively ill health or the sudden deterioration of the current property may result in a rapid transfer to the first suitable alternative accommodation, as in the case of this widow:

I was so poorly. I'd been poorly for a while and they'd do nothing about it. Doctor said it was the damp, oh it was so damp...but they wouldn't come round... and then that winter my daughter came round and found me lying on the floor and she got the social worker, and they moved me out, and I come here...

The third main catalyst is through an alteration in employment circumstances, usually the movement of an individual and household to obtain a new job.

My husband got a job in F...[village timber yard] and there was a house out here so we came.

Although the ARENA is controlled to an extent by the distribution of Local Authority property and the allocation procedure, the selected zone is usually a local area familiar

to the household and near to the main source of employment. The FOCUS is similarly controlled and is dependent on available accommodation within the arena.

A third of the Council residents are local to the village, although few grew up in the village council estate, the majority being rehoused from other, generally rented or tied property. Similarly those originating elsewhere may enter the village in the private sector and then become eligible for a Council house.

My husband came here just after the war, to work the timber...they gave us an old house up by the yard which we had, but it wasn't any good really, well it was too old you see, shouldn't really have used it. It was condemned, that was twelve years ago, and we came down here.

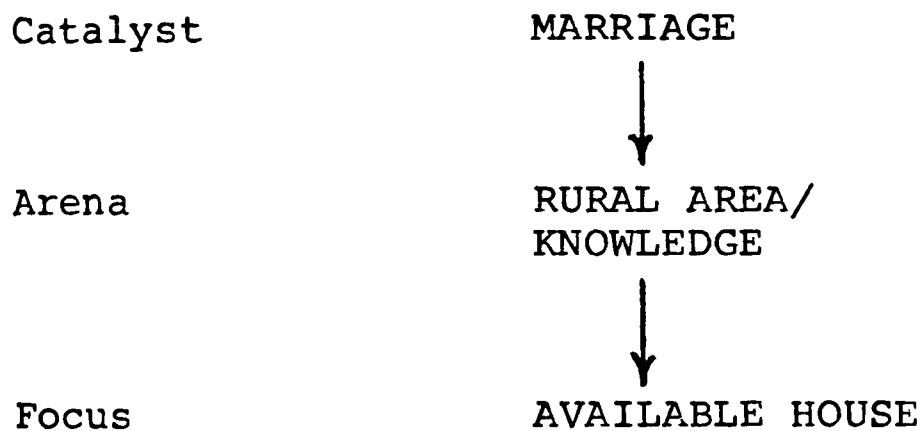
Fig. 8.9 provides an example of the decision process of the Council Residents.

Figure 8.9The decision process of the Council Resident.

This young Southampton couple moved out from the city on their marriage, the husband working between the urban area and village.

Example I

I'd always liked the country life. Before we got married I'd worked out here for the H.....the big house on the corner as you come into the village. I was nanny there so I asked if we could come out here.



8. 3The relocation pattern of the Incomers

An examination of the relocation patterns of the incomers reveals contrasting behaviour with particular emphasis on the differences between the Mobile and Restricted Incomers. Table 8. 1 illustrates the distances moved by each group. With regard to the previous place of residence two distinctive patterns are apparent within each broad category of immigrant. Only one quarter of the Mobile Incomers relocated from within ten miles of the settlement, with nearly half moving over twenty miles and a third over fifty miles. The picture for the Restricted Incomers is almost the image in reverse, half of these had previously lived but ten miles from the settlement, with one third moving over twenty miles, and just under a quarter over fifty miles.

Within this broad description each group displays its own pattern. which may be related to the typical decision process of its members. An assessment of the young Mobile Incomers demonstrates that the PRG is evenly divided between those residents who moved within and beyond twenty miles of the settlement, similarly the Long Term. Yet while half the Spiralists had previously lived over fifty miles distant, half the Origins relocated from within ten miles and nearly ninety per cent from within twenty miles, thus moving the shortest distance of any group. Similarly while the search area of the RLA allows over half to relocate over fifty miles from their past place of residence, only a quarter of the Retired move this distance, their relocation motives encour-

Table 8. 1Distance moved from past place of residence

	No.	0-10 %	11-20 %	21-50 %	Over 50 %	Abroad %
Restricted Incomers	107	49	17	10	24	-
Tenant	67 ^a	50	12	10	27	-
Council	40 ^a	45	25	10	20	-
Mobile Incomers	388	26	29	12	31	3
PRG	140	21	34	14	31	-
Spiralist	74	19	18	5	51	7
Origens	51	47	42	6	4	2
RLA	23	26	13	4	57	-
Retired	57	19	33	18	26	4
Long Term	43	33	23	19	19	7

N = 495

(a) - 20 Tenants and 23 Council Residents have lived all their lives in the village.

aging half to retire within twenty miles of the last home. In contrast the relocation pattern of the Restricted Incomers bears considerable similarity between the two groups, although a slightly higher percentage of Tenants moved from over fifty miles.

The rural/urban background of the incomers, defined by their last place of residence, is revealed by Table 8.2. Whereas over three quarters of the Mobile Incomers moved from an urban residence, over half of the Restricted Incomers had previously lived in a rural area. However this latter figure is distorted by the high proportion of Tenants who formerly resided in rural settlements, the Council Residents, typically being of an urban background. Of interest also is the comparison between the Young Mobile Incomers and the Long Term. While a third of those relocating in the early and mid 1960s had come from a rural background, fifteen years later the proportion moving from a rural zone had been halved.

A consideration of the number of moves prior to relocation, as illustrated in Table 8.3, reveals that while it was the first move since marriage for under half the Mobile Incomers, on moving to the settlement, two thirds of the Restricted Incomers had relocated the household for the first time since its formation. Although the pattern is distorted to a degree by the presence of Spiralists, nearly half of whom have moved more than four times, both early and late age Mobile Incomers, appear to have a greater propensity for relocation than their Restricted counterparts. Maps 8.1 - 8.7 show the last place of residence of the inhabitants of each of the seven case settlements.

Table 8. 2Urban/Rural background of Incomers.

		Urban	Rural
	No.	%	%
Restricted Incomers	107	45	55
Tenant	67	30	70
Council	40	70	30
Mobile Incomers	388	81	19
PRG	140	86	14
Spiralist	74	85	15
Origens	51	84	16
RLA	23	65	35
Retired	57	79	21
Long Term	43	70	30
Total	495	74	26

Table 8.3Number of moves made by household since its formation.

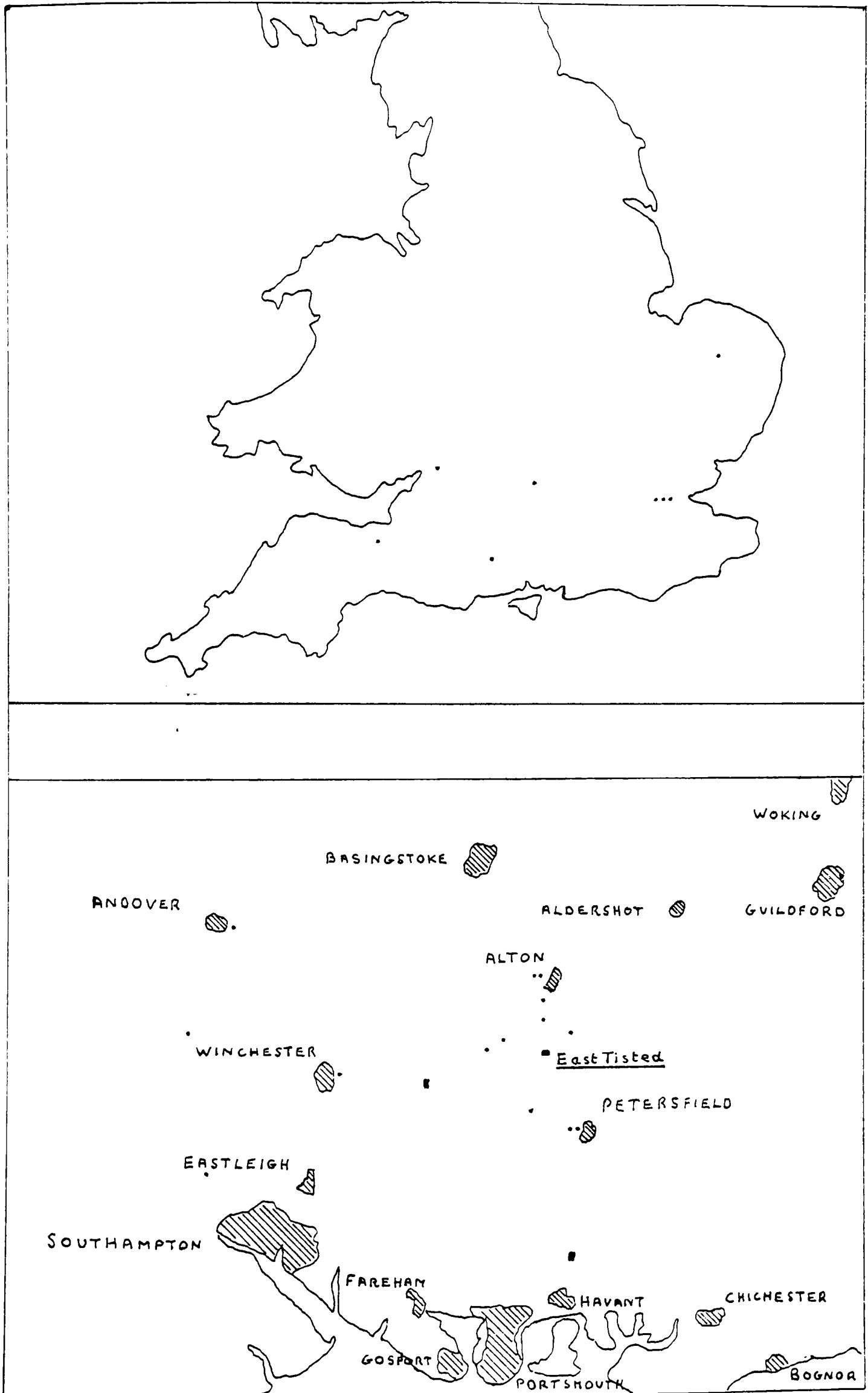
	No.	1st.move	2nd.move	3rd.move	4th move	5th move or more
		%	%	%	%	%
Restricted Incomers	107	66	9	18	4	3
Tenant	67	57	9	24	6	4
Council	40	82	10	8	-	-
Mobile Incomers	388	31	20	13	6	30
PRG	140	50	26	11	4	9
Spiralist	74	5	14	19	12	50
Origens	51	58	30	12	-	-
RLA	23	4	17	13	9	57
Retired	57	28	21	19	9	23
Long Term	43	53	13	21	11	2

N = 495

Maps 8.1 - 8.7 showing the last place of residence of the inhabitants of the case study villages.

Map 8. 1.

East Tisted

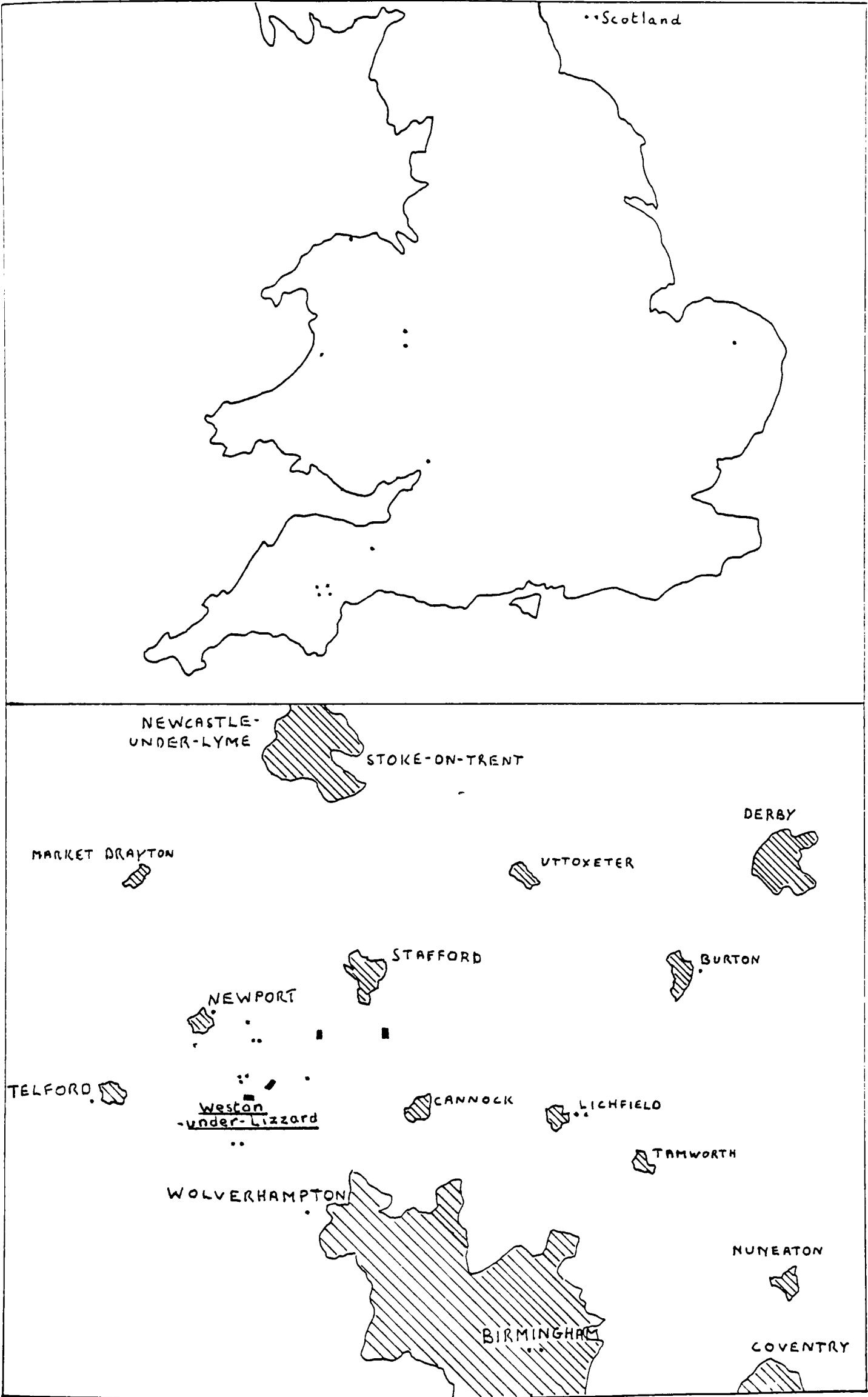


Notation for maps 8.1 - 8.7

- last place of residence of one household

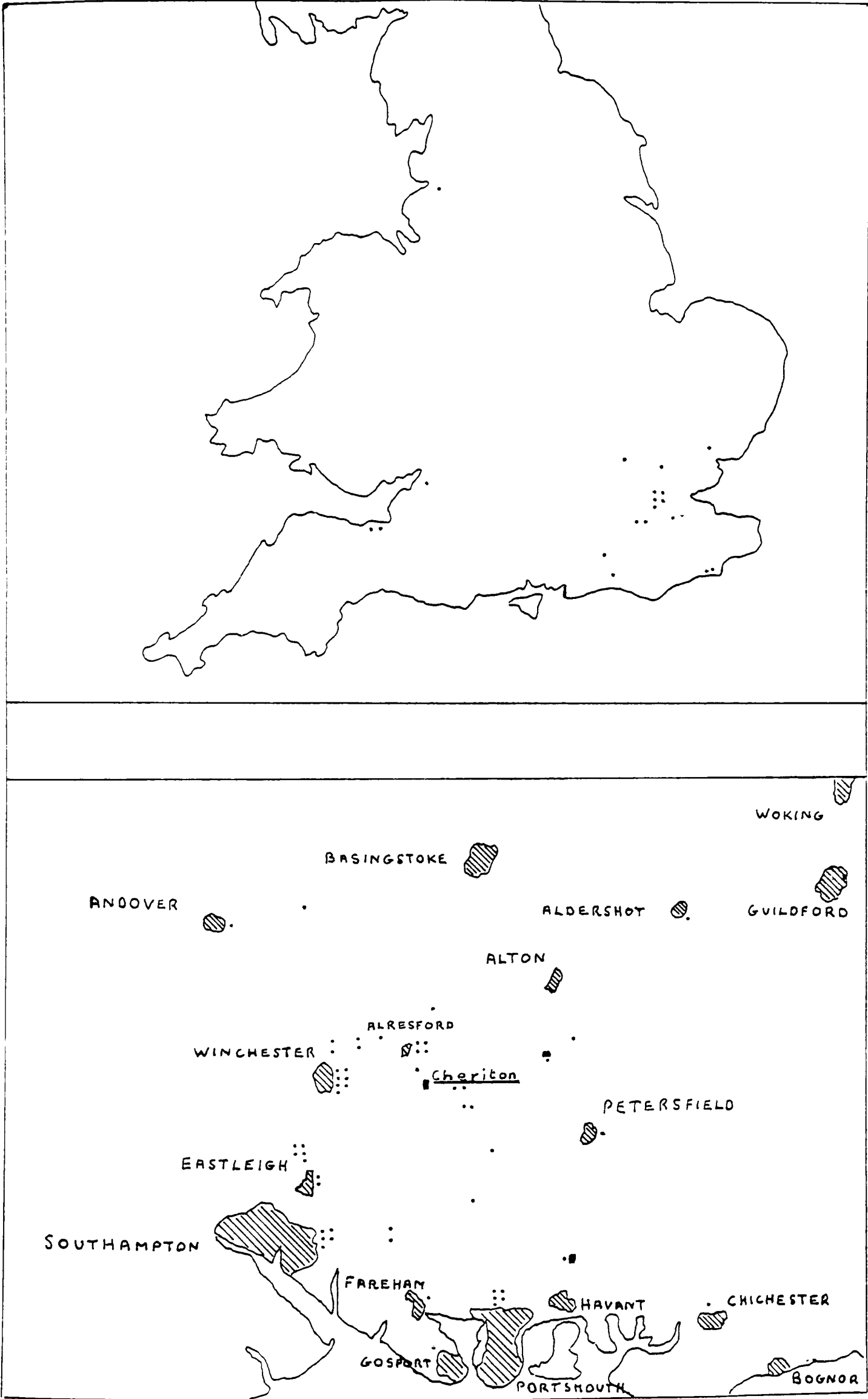
Scales : 80 miles to 1 inch
& 10 miles to 1 inch

Weston under Lizard



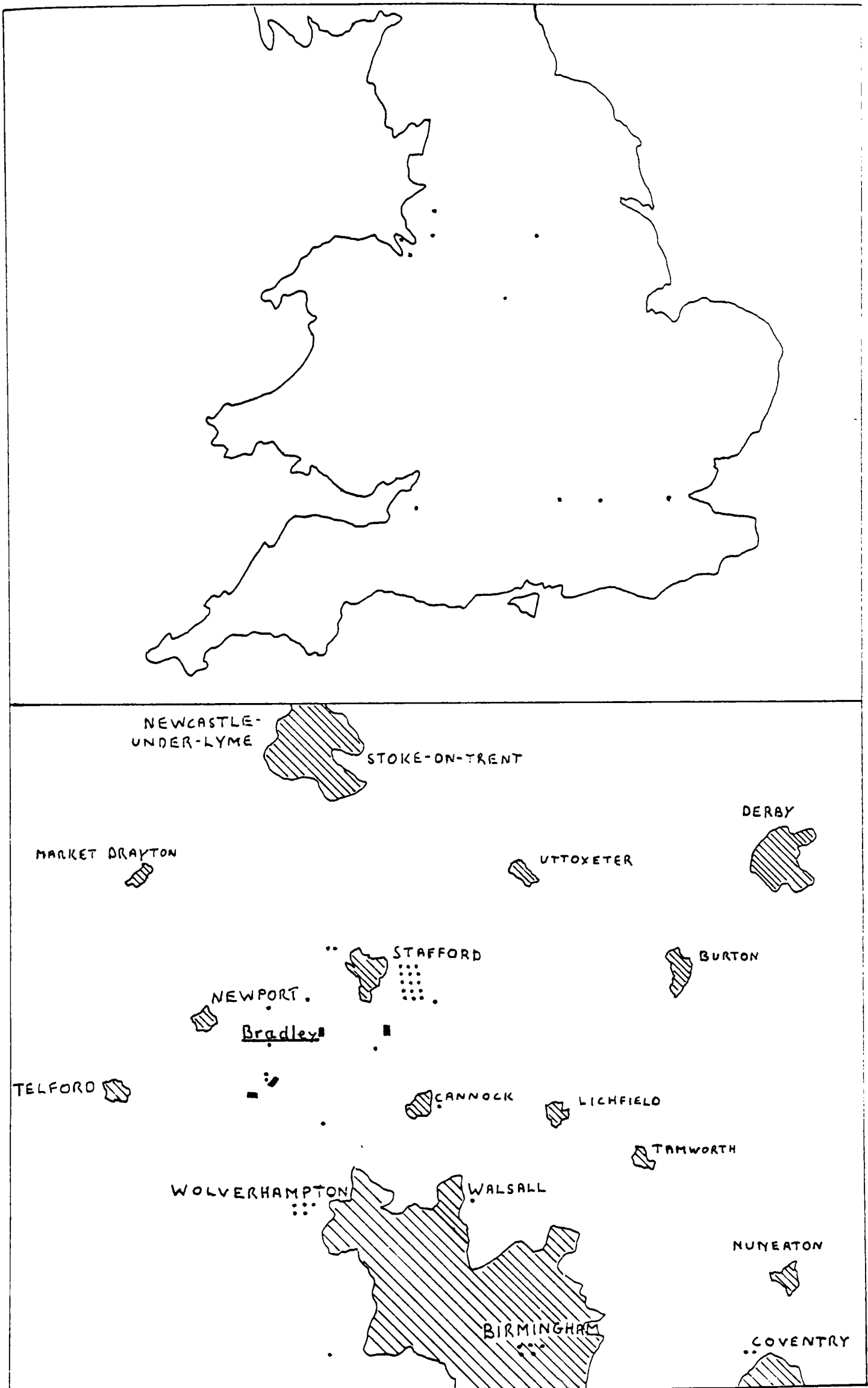
Scales: 80 miles to 1 inch; 10 miles to 1 inch

Cheriton



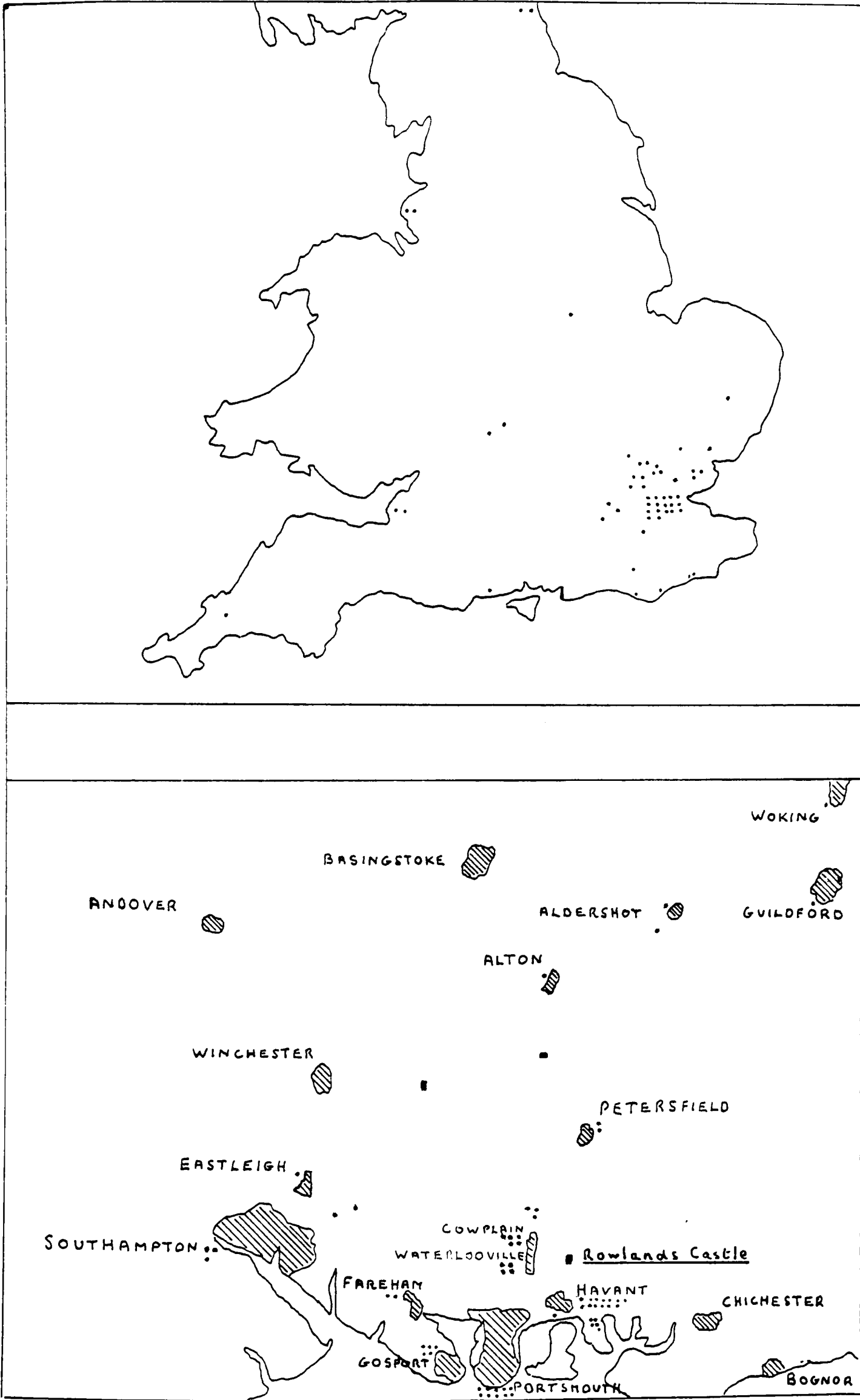
Scales : 80 miles to 1 inch; 10 miles to 1 inch

Bradley



Scales : 80 miles to 1 inch; 10 miles to 1 inch.

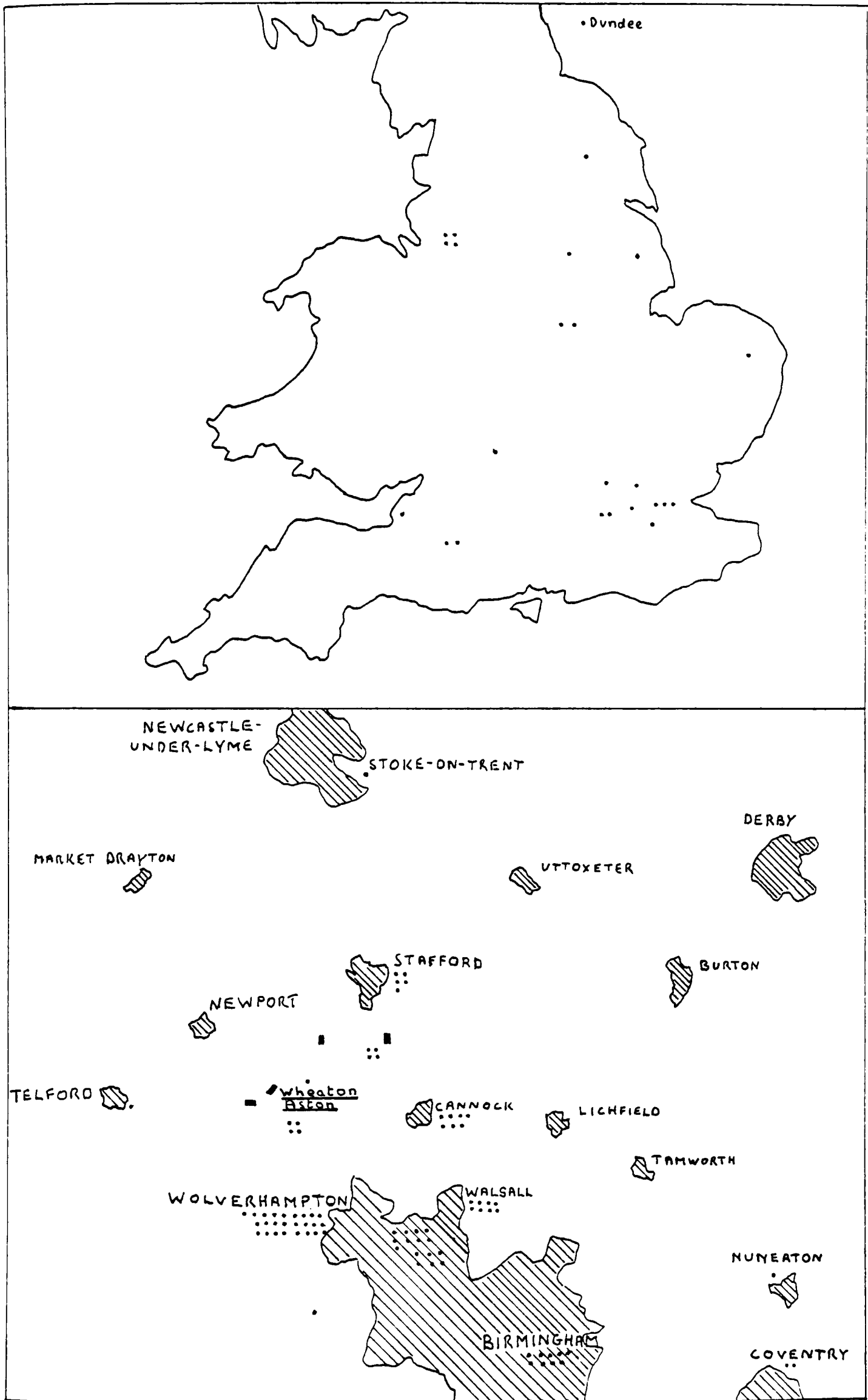
Rowlands Castle



Scales : 80 miles to 1 inch; 10 miles to 1 inch.

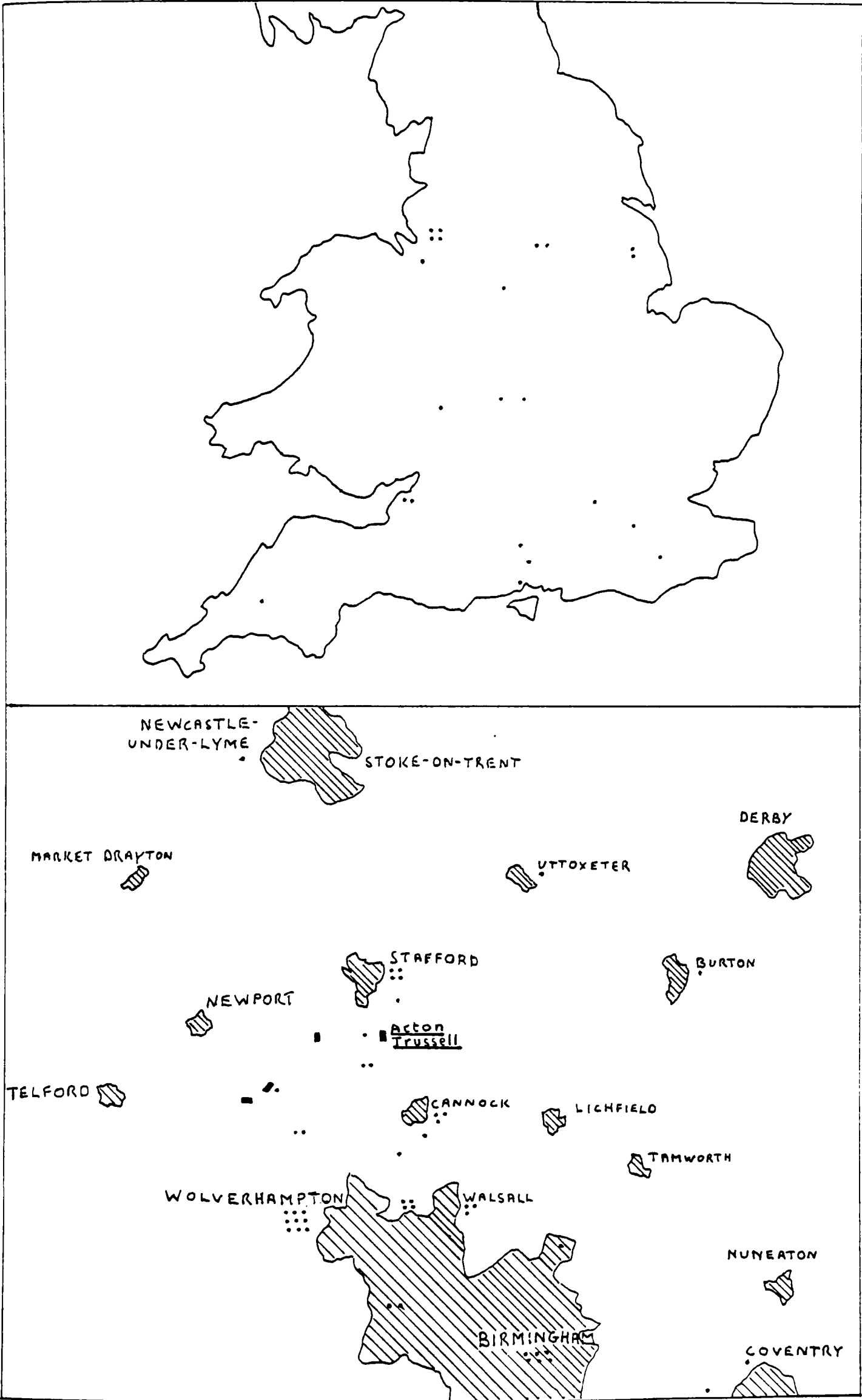
Map 8. 6

Wheaton Aston



Scales : 80 miles to 1 inch; 10 miles to 1 inch.

Acton Trussell



Scales : 80 miles to 1 inch; 10 miles to 1 inch.

1. Clark and Onaka 1983 p. 51
2. Rossi 1980 p. 6
3. See for example Coupe and Morgan 1981 p. 213; Quigley and Winberg 1977
4. Morgan 1973
5. Clark and Onaka 1983 p. 48
6. See Morgan p. 124; Herbert 1973 reached this conclusion in his Study of Swansea p. 45
7. Lewis 1982 p. 83
8. Michelson 1977
9. Law and Wharnes 1982 p. 77-8
10. Wiseman and Roseman 1978 p. 333-334
11. Murphy 1979 p. 85. see also Sant 1977 p. 254, Green 1966 p. 37, Lemon 1973 p. 255
12. Morgan 1976; Musgrave 1963 for example
13. Bonnar 1979 p. 357
14. Cullingworth 1969; Woolf 1967; Ladinsky 1966
Lansing and Mueller 1967 query such a correlation between high income and high propensity to migrate.
15. After Clark and Onaka 1983 p. 49
16. Short 1978. See also Jansen 1968
17. Leslie and Richardson 1961
18. Speare 1970
19. For example Bird 1976; Gray 1976
20. Pickvance 1970 p. 171
21. Ibid
22. Fernandez and Dillman 1979 p. 353
23. Swanson, Luloff and Worland 1979 p. 733
24. Murie, Niner and Watson 1976; Johnson, Salt and Wood 1974
25. Brown and Moore 1979, Law and Wharnes 1981 p. 44
26. Brown and Moore 1970, p. 3; Troy 1973 found neighbourhood quality in general, however, did not appear a significant motivator.
27. Ferdandez et al p.357, though they stress the significance of age in controlling this variable; however Swanson, Luloff and Worland 1979 found community factors to be unimportant.
28. Bell 1958
29. Lewis 1982 p. 123
30. Ibid p.124
31. Wolpert 1965
32. Wolpert 1966
33. Brown and Moore 1970 p. 2-6
34. Roseman 1971
35. Popp 1976 p. 302
36. Clark and Onaka 1983 p.56
37. In all cases this was the first job related move for the household with no future job related moves planned. The households were thus not considered to be Spiralists.
38. It is outside the confines of the present study to speculate on the decision process of Movers and stayers - this has been well documented elsewhere, for example Taylor 1969. The catalyst of this group will this be taken as movement due to employment relocation.

39. For example the analysis of Whyte 1957 p. 276 'by deliberately exposing a man to a succession of environments they can obtain that necessity of the large organisation - the man who can fit in anywhere'. Barnett and Muller 1974 discuss the phenomenon on an international scale, while Foy 1974 provides an example of individual corporate policy, see especially p. 140
40. Metropolitan 11 villages being the exception to this.
41. This idea is expended in Chap 10, 11 and 12.
42. With the exception of the Long Term in Acton Trussel see chapter 7.
43. This will inevitably affect the choice of ARENA
44. This 'life style' however precludes the component of 'village life' as this group generally perceive themselves to be beyond the spheres of village activity, see chapter 11.
45. Not necessarily daily commuting.
46. Hampshire County Council 1968
47. Staffordshire County Council 1978 Chapter 14 and 15.
48. This will be discussed in chapter 11.1.1
49. This fact contradicts the suppositions made in Lewis and Maunds framework of analysis which proposes that repopulation occurs through the retired relocating to places of previous association; see Lewis and Maund 1976 p. 23.
50. Wharnes 1981 describes this as 'chain' migration, whereby the elderly follow friends and relatives to the same destination p.5.
51. Private communication.

P A R T F I V E

PEOPLE WITHIN PLACE

CHAPTER 9A Theoretical framework.

An understanding of the relationship between People and Place requires a framework of analysis. The traditional frameworks within the positivist school perceive the individual as reacting to or being manipulated by society. Society is seen as a structure, a set of institutions, stratification systems, cultural patterns; group action is an expression of the system of values. The individual is thus placed within a pre-ordained complex, and acts in response to specific forces, as for example in the stimulus-response model of the behavioural school (1), or the deterministic approach of systems analysis(2).

These do not lie comfortably with an approach which acknowledges the existence of a reciprocal relationship between human kind and their environments, between People and Place. This position requires a theoretical framework which perceives the individual as the subject of this relationship, an active manipulating being. Symbolic Interactionism (3) provides such a framework. It is an approach to the study of human groups which focuses on the nature of human interaction, positing no separation between the individual and society.

9.1.The approach of Symbolic Interactionism

The epistemology of symbolic interactionism fundamentally derives from the work of the American philosopher George Herbert Mead, who argued that human group life was the essential condition for the emergence of consciousness (4). Mead's influence on symbolic interactionism evolved through the later integration and interpretation of his work by Blumer, who combined his philosophy with perspectives from subsequent philosophers such as Dewey, James, Thomas, and Cooley, and sociologists Park, Znaniecki, Redfield and Wirth (5) to form a definition of group life in terms of self, object and interaction. In recent years this interpretation has been refined and reassessed by Charon, who draws on the work of Shibutani and Meltzer (6).

While symbolic interactionism has been adopted by a variety of social disciplines (7) it is an approach which has been largely neglected by geographers (8). Yet symbolic interactionism with its emphasis on the unification of human beings with their society through the social construction of individuals, not only provides an approach for positioning People within Place, but also aids our understanding of the interaction of People and Place.

Symbolic interactionism proposes that one acts towards an entity on the basis of the 'meaning' which that entity has for one, this meaning arising out of interaction with one's fellows and being modified through an internal interpretative process.

Before analysing the approach with reference to People and place, a brief consideration is introduced of Mead's interpretation of these concepts, which he labels the self and object, and which Blumer draws upon to design his scheme of human society.

In asserting that the human being has a self, Mead is proposing that one is an object of oneself, can perceive oneself, and become the object of one's actions (9). This is important as the individual ceases to be a responding organism, whose behaviour is a product of forces and instead interprets its world and acts on the basis of this interpretation. For Mead an object was anything which can be referred to. Blumer distinguishes three types, physical, social and abstract. The nature of the object is constituted by the 'meaning' it has for the individual for whom it is an object (10).

The relationship between the self and the object occurs as two operations. Firstly the individual internalises the object, interacting with him or herself and interpreting it with reference to perspectives and prior preconceptions based on previous association or non-association. The individual then uses this interpretation to relate to the object.

As perspectives will prove a central theme in our analysis, it is important to clarify our understanding of the term. Charon defines perspectives as a conceptual framework, a set of assumptions, values and beliefs used to organise our perceptions and control our behaviour, which may change from situation to situation (11). This position

can be further illustrated by a comparison of attitudes and perspectives. Whereas an attitude tends to be tied to an object, regarded as fixed, part of one's personality and consistent with other attitudes, perspectives are dynamic, guides to interpretation which are attached to a reference group and undergo change in interaction (12). Perhaps the best definition of perspectives for our purposes is to be found in the work of Tamotshu Shibutani:

It is an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived, an organised conception of what is plausible, what is possible: it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives one's environment (13).

The distinctive approach of symbolic interaction is thus interaction with one's environment:

Individuals perceive the efforts of their actions, reflect on the usefulness of their perspectives and adjust them in the ongoing situation. They do not passively respond nor are their actions determined by attitudes or environmental stimuli (14).

The interpretation of one's environment is further aided by interaction with others, as the meaning of an object arises out of the manner by which it is defined by those with whom one interacts. Thus an object may initially have a different meaning for different individuals, but out of a process of mutual indications, themes emerge and the object is perceived in a similar manner by a given set of people. Reference groups are thus a second vital element within the symbolic interactionist position. Charon defines these as those groups with whom the individual shares perspectives. Each individual will have several, including social categ-

ories of class, ethnic categories, religious and political affiliations and interest and attitudinal groups. Yet, as Shibutani stresses, each of these 'social worlds':

is a cultural area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor by formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication (15).

Society thereby exists as a framework of the reference groups or social worlds, bound together or apart by interactive tension:

Our modern mass society is characterised by a multitude of these social worlds, each one sharing a perspective/culture and each one held together through some form of interactive communication (16).

In summary then the approach of symbolic interactionism takes the individual as the subject, emphasising the freedom of this individual to act in response to the action of others. Social action occurs within people who then relate their respective line of action to one another through a process of interpretation. Group life is thus the concerted actions of those people in response to situations, and society is the framework within which this action occurs:

Social organisation enters the action only to the extent to which it shapes situations in which people act and to the extent to which it supplies fixed sets of symbols which people use in interpreting their situations (17).

Symbolic Interactionism thus accords with a stance which perceives individuals as interactive beings, continually updating and reorientating their perceptions of the world and their corresponding actions within that world, in response to involvement with other individuals and with their environment. An inclusion of symbolic interactionism within

geography, with its emphasis on the construction of human society through the interaction of its individuals, suggests that an analysis of these reference groups, of the inter and intra group behaviour and the corresponding interaction with the environment, reveals the type of society within Place. Geographers should thus shift their attention from entities, individuals, places, logically conceived objective relations, and should focus instead on relationships, extant not contrived. Symbolic Interactionism thus provides a theoretical stance for the analysis of the reciprocal relationship of People and Place.

9.2The Triadic Relationship of People and Place.

This study's examination of the rural settlement suggested that the relationship of People and Place may be divided into three broad categories: physical, social and symbolic. The physical relationship involves the direct experience of, and contact with, Place, the manipulation of People by Place, and Place by People, contact occurring through usage of Place, manipulation through labour. The People themselves form networks of relationships with each individual possessing separate kin and friend contacts, interaction with these forming the social relationship. The approach of symbolic interactionism emphasises the interpretive faculty of the individual, and the third relationship, the symbolic, is formed through the internalisation of both the direct contact with Place (the physical relationship) and the interaction with reference groups (the social relationship). The symbolic relationship thus arises from symbolic contact with the image of Place as filtered through perceptions and pre-conceptions, and from the internalisation of the other two relationships.

It thus emerges that People living within the one Place will undergo varying contact with the environment, and thus experience different Physical Places, undergo varying contact with the People, and thus experience different Social Places, and through the internalisation of these experiences, emerge with varying concepts of their surroundings, and thus experience different images of Place.

Symbolic interactionism suggests the existence of many reference groups, emanating through a variety of criteria such as socio-economic variables, life style characteristics, interests, and attitudes. Indeed this study earlier revealed the presence of various groups of inhabitants within rural settlements, groups identifiable both by the members and by outsiders. The characteristics which enable People to be broadly characterised lead also to similarities in their relationship with Place. Thus comparable age structure, socio-economic status, and life style characteristics will result in broad correlations for example in employment patterns and access to, and requirements of, social provision. Similarly these variables tend towards particular kinship and friendship networks, further cementing the emerging social worlds. Finally these same characteristics which form individuals into reference groups, themselves interact with the resultant relationships to produce similar perceptions of Place (18)

Thus in a Place with several reference groups each group will share contrasting physical, social and symbolic relationships. As Blumer writes:

The environment consists only of the objects that the given human beings recognise and know. The nature of this environment is set by the meaning that the objects comprising it have for those human beings. Individuals or groups occupying or living in the same spacial location may have accordingly very different environments. (19) (my emphasis).

It is important to stress here the difference between 'object' and 'relationship': the individual interacts with an object,

the process of interaction is the relationship, and it is this relationship which differs between reference groups.

The interaction of People with Place is thus triadic, comprising three relationships: the physical relationship, the direct experience of and contact with Place, the social relationship with place as a social world, and the symbolic, the world of perception and images, the empathetic, interpretative relationship. Henceforth the physical relationship shall also be referred to as Environment, the social as Milieu and the symbolic as Ambience.

The existence of nine different groups was earlier identified within rural settlements. It is now apparent that these groups, formed through the self-identification of individuals with other individuals, form reference groups; both intact social worlds extant within the one Place, and parts of wider worlds beyond Place. Within the theoretical framework of the Triadic Relationship, introduced in this study, an examination may now be made of the differing relationships held by each group with the Place of residence.

The Physical relationship, an individual's Environment, is defined as the contact with Place through usage, and the manipulation of, and by, People and Place through labour. The strength of this relationship depends on the frequency and intensity of that contact. For many inhabitants of rural settlements their Place of residence is no longer their Place of work, equally most have access to facilities other than those provided within the settlement. It is thus important to examine the Physical relationship as a whole, assessing

the manner in which these physical ties have been weakened through the stretching of this relationship out beyond the confines of the Place of residence. An examination is thereby made of the employment patterns of each group and the usage of facilities by each group, within and beyond the Place of residence.

The Social relationship with Place, a person's Milieu, is the contact of individuals within Place, leading to the formation of networks of social interaction. Yet these patterns of contact, between friends and family, are no longer confined merely to the Place of residence, for many they stretch out far beyond. An analysis is therefore undertaken of these networks within and beyond Place, as the strength of the social relationship with Place is dependent upon the extent of those networks beyond Place. Finally an assessment is made of those patterns of interaction which occur within Place, through an analysis of non-work activities. For as most People are now employed outside the Place of residence, social interaction within the settlement is, for the majority, a non-work pursuit, perceived as 'leisure time' or 'free time'.

The Symbolic relationship, an individual's Ambience, is the empathic, interpretive relationship. Created through the interaction of current perceptions with preconceptions based on past associations, Ambience exists independently of reality, of time. It is not only the image of that which exists, but of that which was, and of that which should be. The Ambience which emerges from the interaction of an individual with Place, is therefore aligned to a myriad of

emotions, abilities and beliefs, as well as to the length of association, previous knowledge and experience of alternatives, and the relationship experienced by others with Place.

These relationships will be examined for each of the groups identified in Chapter 7, in order to assess the broad characteristics of the interaction of each with the rural settlement, the Place of residence. In particular, emphasis will be given to an examination of the different experiences of the Restricted Residents and Locals in comparison with the Mobile Incomers, as these sections revealed the greatest disparity in relationship with Place. To avoid the unnecessary repetition of themes only the broad trends which emerged from each relationship will be highlighted, while an attempt will also be made to produce for each group a cameo of the lived world, enabling independent comparisons between residents.

References.

1. See Gold 1980 In particular p. 221
2. For a review of systems analysis see Chapman . 1977, Bennet and Chorley 1977
3. A term coined by Blumer in 1937. Blumer 1969 p. 1
4. Ibid p. 61
5. Ibid p. 71
6. Charon 1969
7. For a general review of the use of Symbolic Interactionism in sociology and social psychology see Stone G et al 1970
8. Two examples of the use of Symbolic Interactionism by geographers are provided by Wilson 1980 in his analysis of social space and Duncan J. 1978.
9. Blumer 1969 p. 10. See also Mead G. H. 1910
10. Blumer 1969. p. 63
11. Charon 1979 p. 6 - 8
12. Ibid p. 26 - 27
13. Shibutani 1955. p. 564
14. Charon 1979 p. 25
15. Shibutani 1955. p. 566
16. Charon 1979. p. 25
17. Blumer 1969. p. 88
18. This concept of the shared interpretations of surroundings emerges also from the writing of Relph who approaching the idea from a phenomenological angle writes:

While every individual may assign self-consciously or unself-consciously an identity to particular places, these identities are nevertheless combined inter-subjectively to form a common identity...because we have been taught to look for certain qualities of place emphasised by our cultural groups.

Relph 1976. p. 45

19. Blumer 1969. p. 11

CHAPTER 10.

The Physical Relationship.

An analysis of the physical relationship of People and Place will be made in relation to two distinct spheres of activity. Firstly an examination of the employment patterns of the residents, both those within and those beyond the settlement. Focusing more closely on the village itself, the study will then assess the contrasting consumer and educational facilities provided within each village, and the corresponding usage by the residents. Finally an assessment is made of the religious activities of the inhabitants.

10. 1.

Employment patterns with and beyond Place.

This examination is concerned with the various occupations held by the residents and the distance travelled daily to fulfil these obligations. Particular emphasis will be given to the contrasting patterns which emerged between the Restricted Residents and Locals, and the Mobile Incomers, in terms of both the work undertaken and the distance travelled daily. Bearing in mind the reciprocal relationship with Place, it is important to consider the employment of the resident as a factor either binding the individual closer to Place, or segmenting them through a daily commuting pattern. An analysis of male and female employment patterns is given separately.

10. 1. 1.

The occupation and workplace of the male residents.

Seventy nine per cent of all households contained an economically active male (1). A broad dichotomy, in terms of place of employment, emerges from an examination of the work patterns of each group. Half of the Restricted Residents and Locals are employed within the village, compared with only ten percent of the Mobile Incomers. This is due in part to the fact that a very high proportion of the Tenants (89%) work within the settlement, but even among the Council residents and Locals, with around half of each group involved in agriculture, there is a higher proportion of village employees than all other groups, with the exception of the Long Term. Having noted the macroscopic pattern, each of the individual groups will now be considered in more detail. Their employment details are shown in Tables 10.1 and 10.2.

Three quarters of the economically active male Tenants are involved in agriculture and forestry, one fifth in a managerial capacity, with a further twelve per cent active in the maintenance of estate or farm property. The Tenant households which are classified as professional correspond to four Anglican priests. While lacking direct physical association with the settlement, these men are deeply involved in its emotional and spiritual aspects. The Tenants do not always abruptly cease employment on reaching the official age of retirement, and both male and female

Table 10.1.

Distance travelled to work by economically active males
by group

	No.	Village %	0-10 %	11-20 %	21-50 %	over 50 %	Home- based %
Restricted Residents & Locals	127	54	28	13	4	-	1
Tenants	55	89	7	2	2	-	-
Council	41	20	53	17	10	-	-
Local	31	38	28	28	-	-	3
Mobile Incomers	270	10	39	21	15	6	9
PRG	117	7	31	31	17	2	12
Spiralists	60	2	53	22	12	8	3
Origens	48	10	56	6	21	-	6
RLA	15	-	7	7	20	40	26
Retired	8	-	50	13	-	37	-
Long Term	22	50	27	18	-	-	5

N = 397

Notes.1. This table does not include the 6% of males employed in the services or involved in other forms of long distance travel.

2. Homebased is defined as those whose home provides the work base. It thus includes the self-employed and freelance who work from home but not those who have a separate business (shop, pub, farm, etc). attached to their living quarters. These latter employees are classified as working within the village.

Table 10.1 .

Distance travelled to work by economically active males
by group

	No.	Village	0-10	11-20	21-50	over 50	Home- based
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Restricted Residents & Locals	127	54	28	13	4	-	1
Tenants	55	89	7	2	2	-	-
Council	41	20	53	17	10	-	-
Local	31	38	28	28	-	-	3
Mobile Incomers	270	10	39	21	15	6	9
PRG	117	7	31	31	17	2	12
Spiralists	60	2	53	22	12	8	3
Origens	48	10	56	6	21	-	6
RLA	15	-	7	7	20	40	26
Retired	8	-	50	13	-	37	-
Long Term	22	50	27	18	-	-	5

N = 397

Notes.1. This table does not include the 6% of males employed in the services or involved in other forms of long distance travel.

2. Homebased is defined as those whose home provides the work base. It thus includes the self-employed and freelance who work from home but not those who have a separate business (shop, pub, farm, etc). attached to their living quarters. These latter employees are classified as working within the village.

Table 10. 2

Occupation of Males by Group.

	Occupation.						Unemployed
	No.	1	2	3	4	5	6
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Restricted Residents and Locals	134	5	24	24	38	4	1
							4
Tenants	55	7	22	20	49	2	-
Council	46	-	9	30	43	9	-
							9
Local	33	10	48	21	12	3	3
							3
Mobile Incomers	302	14	48	28	2	-	6
							2
PRG	137	13	45	31	2	-	6
							3
Spiralists	71	9	62	20	-	-	8
							1
Origens	48	10	38	48	4	-	-
							-
RLA	15	53	27	-	-	-	20
							-
Retired	8	62	13	-	-	-	25
							-
Long Term	23	-	74	18	4	-	-
							4
N = 436							

The categories are drawn from the Social Class allocations of Occupation and Employment status groups. The following occupations figured prominently within each category.

1. Professionals and Engineers.
2. Agricultural and Forestry managers, Shop managers and Proprietors, Teachers, Business Managers, Senior Civil Servants.
3. Salesmen, Clerical workers, Builders, Electricians, Plumbers and Craftsmen.
4. Agricultural, Forestry and Garden workers.
5. Labourers.
6. Services.

members of this group often appear to maintain degrees of economic activity well into old age (2).

The Tenants thus possess a unique relationship with the settlement; their place of residence and place of work coincide. Within modern society there tends to be little correlation between the act of labour and the direct result, but the fact that so many of this group are involved with the land ensures that the Tenant perceives the outcome of his labour, and directly participates in an alteration of Place. The Tenant living within an Estate village can view the entire settlement as a work area, and this unification of Place of residence with Place of employment endows his relationship with Place with a far deeper significance. To an extent this effect also occurs in the case of an individual working on a farm within a larger settlement; his Place of work coincides with his home, but no longer with the whole settlement. For most workers however, no such identification with Place is possible.

Two thirds of the Council residents work within a ten mile distance of their Place of residence, the majority employed in skilled or semi-skilled labour. While the employment aspirations of this group are typically satisfied locally, few are employed within the village itself. The exception was Cheriton which possesses a large timber works employing mainly village people. The Council residents lack the close attachment to Place through labour of the Tenants.

Of the economically active Locals, one third are farmers. They also share a close relationship with Place

through labour, and this is emphasised by ownership, not only of the Place of residence, but also of the Place of work. In contrast, the non-agricultural Locals possess a variety of employment, and like the Council residents, the majority travel beyond the settlement for their work.

An examination of the employment patterns of the Mobile Incomers reveals a contrasting relationship with Place. With the exception of the Long Term only fourteen per cent of these residents work within the settlement; for the rest labour is segmented between many Places, separating People from their Place of residence, and from their co-inhabitants. The younger Mobile Incomers share a similar work pattern, typically travelling to a Place of employment up to twenty miles from their home(3). The majority of these accept that moving to the settlement necessarily involves an increase in the distance between work and residence and this concept becomes firmly adhered to their lived world (4). For the PRG, Spiralists and Origenes, separation of work from residence appears to be perceived as a component of employment, part of an acknowledgement by many that in order to satisfy economic and employment aspirations, work must occur outside the confines of the settlement. In the case of the Origenes who typically continue jobs held prior to the relocation of the household, this work pattern has the additional result of further cementing their relationship with this past Place of Residence. The jobs held by this group are typically non-manual and non-agricultural and while most fall into the categories of business and industry,

group are able to sustain. For example, the six households who are still employed in London (5) all own two properties and are in the process of withdrawing fully to the countryside for full retirement. Similarly a quarter of this group work from home (6).

10. 1. 2.

The occupation and workplace of the female residents.

While three quarters of the households possess an economically active male, in only one third of these are there economically active females (Table 10.3) and only half of these are employed full time (Table 10.4). An examination of the households reveals that a slightly higher proportion of the Restricted Residents and Locals (41%) are economically employed than the Mobile Incomers (34%) (7).

The most striking pattern emerging from the data is the high proportion of females from the Restricted Residents and Locals who are employed within the village itself, three quarters, in comparison with the Mobile Incomers of whom just over a quarter are village employed (Table 10.5). This is closely tied to the type of work accessible to these females in terms of qualifications, transport and aspirations. Over half of the Restricted Residents are employed in agriculture or domestic/bar work, in contrast to the high percentage of teachers and business staff found within the Mobile Incomer groups.

Table 10. 3

Occupation of Females by Groups

	No. Housewife	Percentage of House-		Percentage of Economically Active Females					
		holds with females	Economic-ally active	Profess-ional	Adminis-tration Teaching Nursing	Clerical Shop	Agricult-rual	Domestic Bar work	
Restricted Resi-dents and Locals	172	59	41	-	17	39	23	21	
Tenants	74	45	55	-	22	29	32	17	
Council	59	76	24	-	7	22	22	49	
Local	39	59	41	-	13	81	-	6	
Mobile Incomers	378	66	34	3	53	41	-	3	
PRG	136	59	41	4	50	42	-	4	
Spiralists	73	62	38	8	46	46	-	-	
Origens	50	64	32	-	19	81	-	-	
RLA	21	81	19	-	100	-	-	-	
Retired	56	88	12	-	86	-	-	14	
Long Term	42	62	38	-	81	13	-	6	
Total	550	64	36						

Table 10. 4

Full-time/Part-time employment of economically active females by group.

	No.	Full Time %	Part Time %
Restricted Residents and Locals	71	54	46
Tenants	41	59	41
Council	14	17	83
Local	16	75	25
Mobile Incomers	127	56	54
PRG	56	54	46
Spiralists	28	54	46
Origens	16	37	63
RLA	4	100	-
Retired	7	71	29
Long Term	16	69	31
Total	198	55	45

Table 10. 5

Distance travelled to work by economically active females by group.

Miles

	No.	Village	0-10	11-20	21-50	Home based
		%	%	%	%	%
Restricted Residents and Locals	71	75	17	7	1	-
Tenants	41	80	10	10	-	-
Council	14	71	29	-	-	-
Local	16	63	25	6	6	-
Mobile Incomers	127	29	44	10	5	12
PRG	56	32	39	11	5	13
Spiralists	28	11	64	7	7	11
Origens	16	19	38	25	6	12
RLA	4	-	-	25	-	75
Retired	7	57	43	-	-	-
Long Term	16	56	44	-	-	-

N= 198

Notes 1) One economically active female worked abroad
 2) The distinction between 'home-based' and 'working in the village' is as explained in Table 10. 1

The most active group are the Tenants with over half the women employed outside the home, the majority in full time employment (8). A third are involved in agricultural tasks with over three quarters working within the village itself, the highest of any group. The other Restricted Resident group, the Council residents, have a far lower proportion working, only a quarter (9), and the vast majority of these are part-time employees, with half employed in domestic or bar labour, again predominantly village based. The wives of farmers are not included as economically active Locals, although while they may not be paid for their duties they undoubtedly contribute to the agricultural labour, particularly in the smaller family units. Non agricultural Locals are primarily employed within the village, typically in shop work.

Among the Mobile Incomers, the PRG and Spiralists share very similar employment patterns, with just over half in full time employment, predominantly teaching, administration and secretarial work. However, while the vast majority of the Spiralists are employed outside the settlement, a third of the PRG are village employees, a reflection of the higher number of this latter group employed in village shops (10). Only four of the one hundred and ninety eight economically active women were professionals, the four falling equally between these two groups (11). The Origens have a far lower proportion of economically active females, about two thirds of whom are part time, the

majority employed in shop or clerical work. This is partly a reflection of their lack of transport to appropriate employment, several stating that if there was employment within the village they would take it. Just over half of the Long Term are employed within the village, a reflection on the number whose husbands have village businesses. In addition this group include a large proportion of teachers, working at the village school. Few of the Late Age groups are economically active. The Retired are defined as retired by virtue of the husband's state of employment, as this appeared to have the more significant impact on the household unit. Several of the wives were below the age of retirement, seven (12%) of these worked, teaching being a typical occupation. Only three RLA females worked, a reflection of their age and socio-economic status (12), few having been involved in economic employment since their marriage.

In summary, while a third of the women are economically active, only twenty per cent leave the village for employment, and only fourteen per cent work full time away from the settlement. It is thus clear that even including the retired males, economically active women and non-economically active female home workers not only spend the greatest amount of their time within the settlement, but through their work have the greatest immediate affect on the character of Place. Three quarters of the females

spend each day within its confines, compared with only a third of the males, a factor which will be returned to later in the study. Table 10. 6 summarizes the contrasting distances travelled to work by employed males and females.

Table 10. 6Distance travelled to work by employed males and females

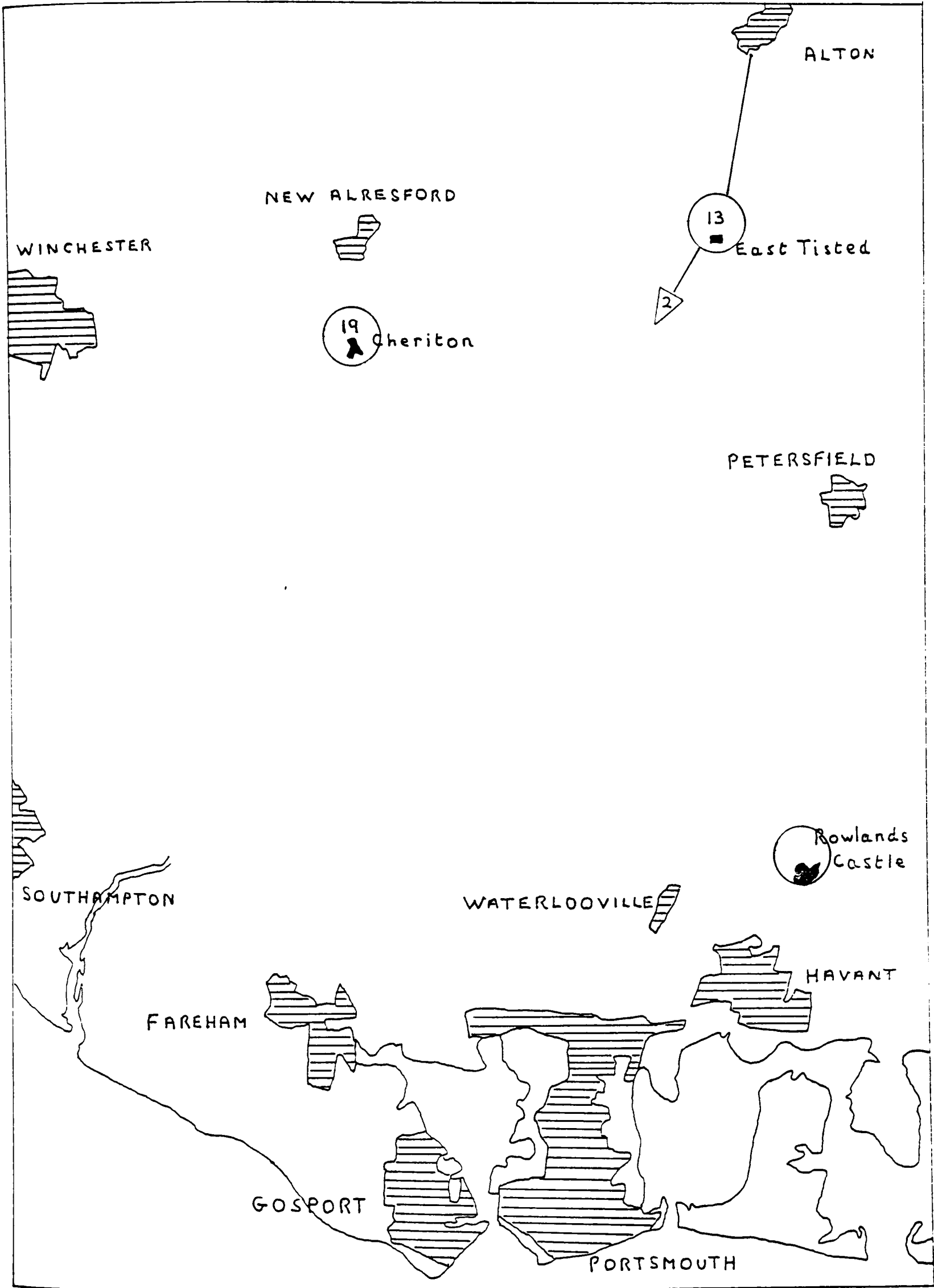
	Males	Females
	%	%
Village	23	45
0-10 miles	33	34
11-20 miles	17	9
21-50 miles	11	4
Over 50 miles	4	-
Home based	6	7
Long Distance	6	1
Total Number	424	199

Note 1). The 'Long Distance' category includes the males in the services and involved in long distance travel, and the female working abroad. See Notes (1) on Table 10. 1 and Table 10. 5

Maps 10.1 to 10.16 showing place of work of male householders in case study villages

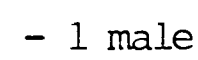
Map 10. 1

Tenants, Hampshire

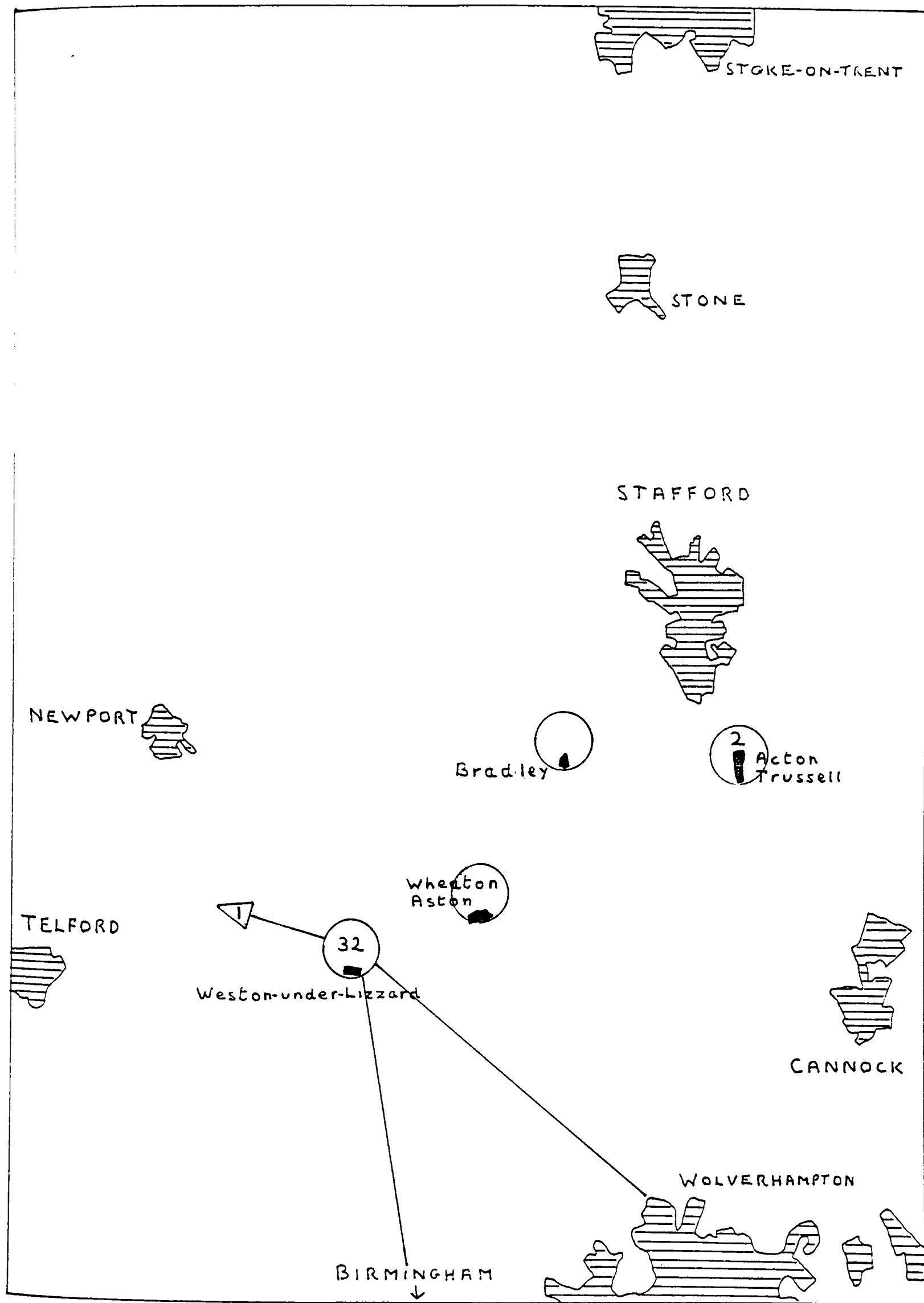


Notation for maps 10.1 - 10.16

Scale: 3 miles to 1 inc

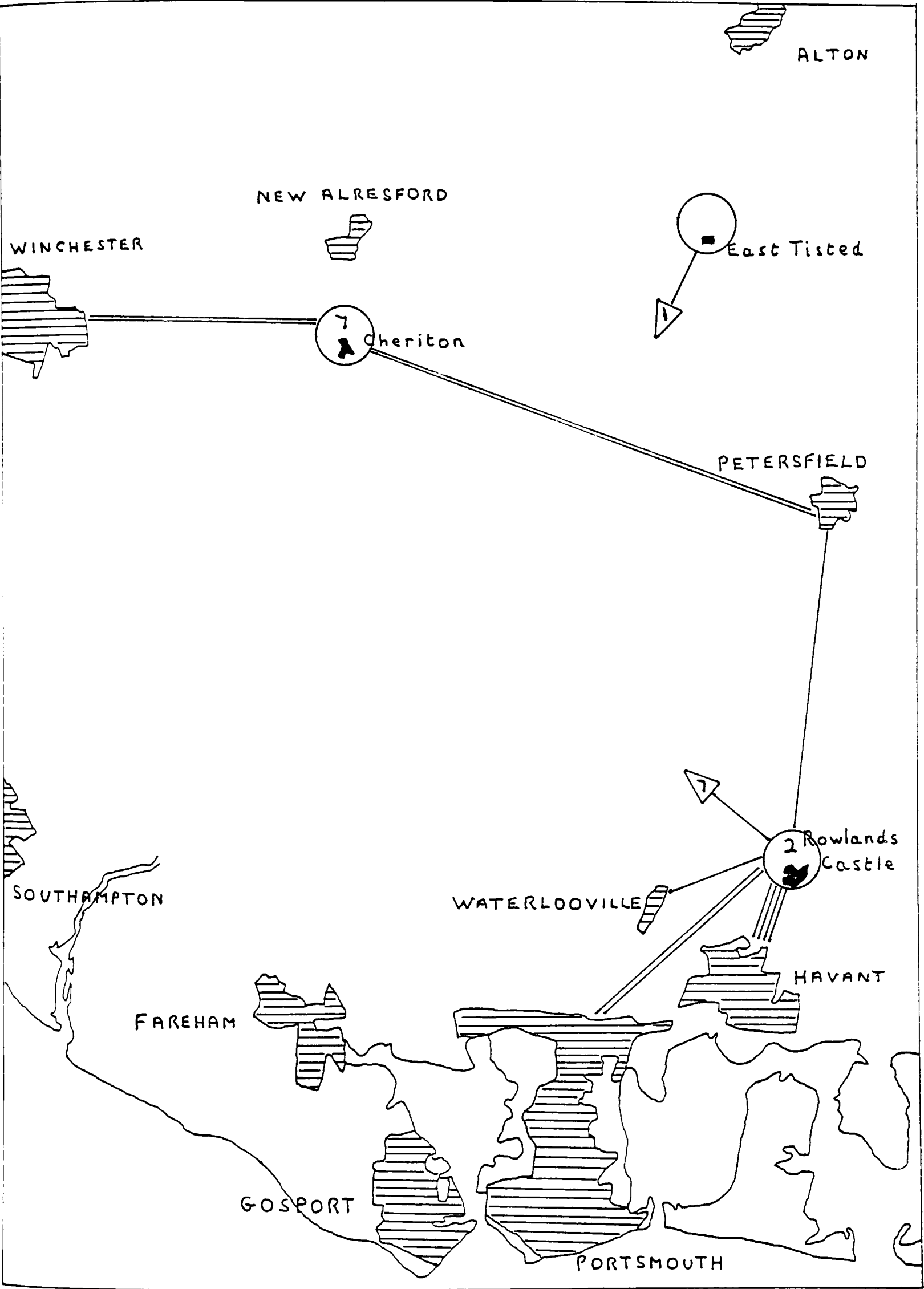
-  - No. of male householders who work in village of residence
-  - No. of male householders who work in rural area
-  - 10 male householders
-  - 1 male householders

Tenants, Staffordshire



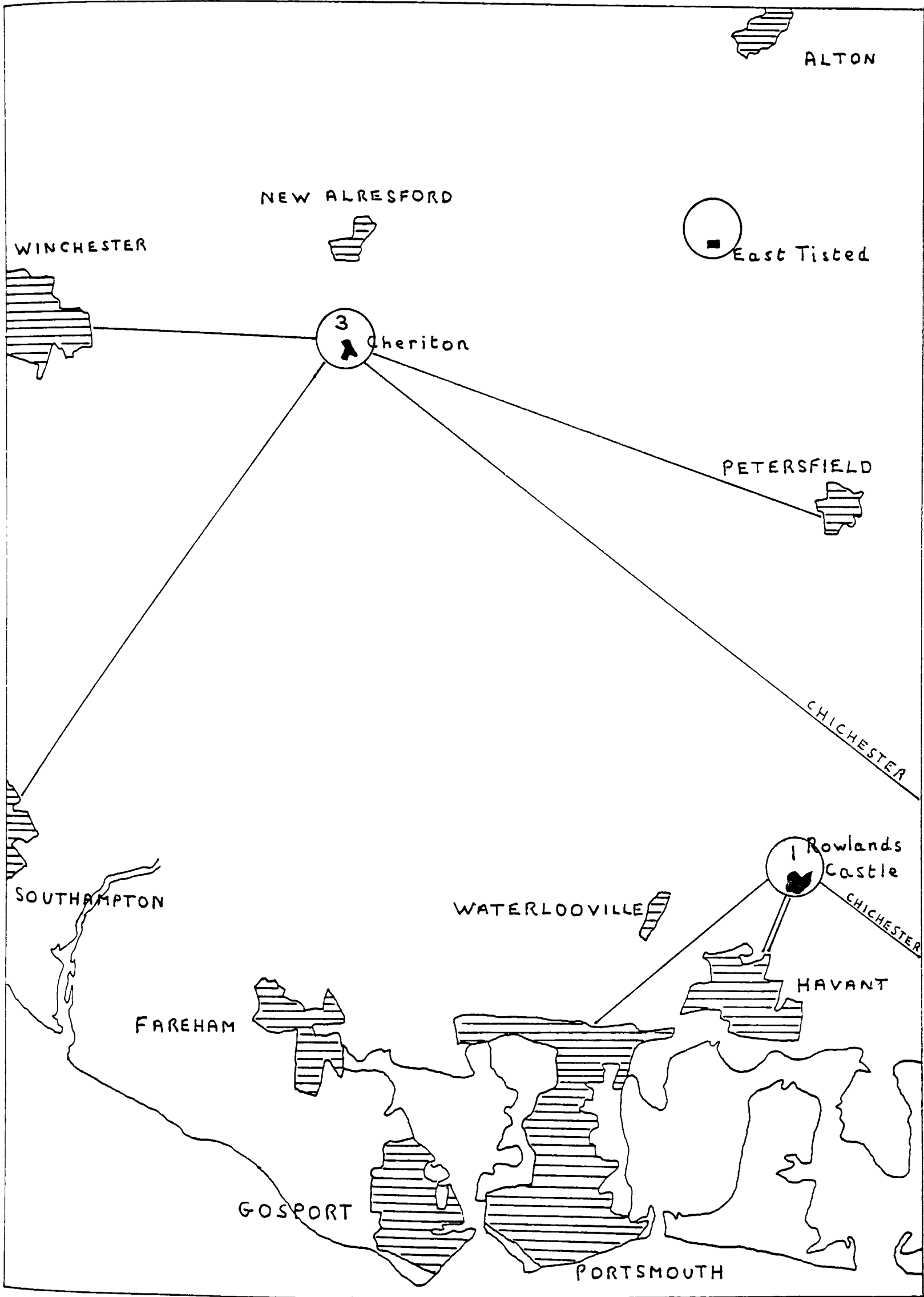
Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

Council, Hampshire



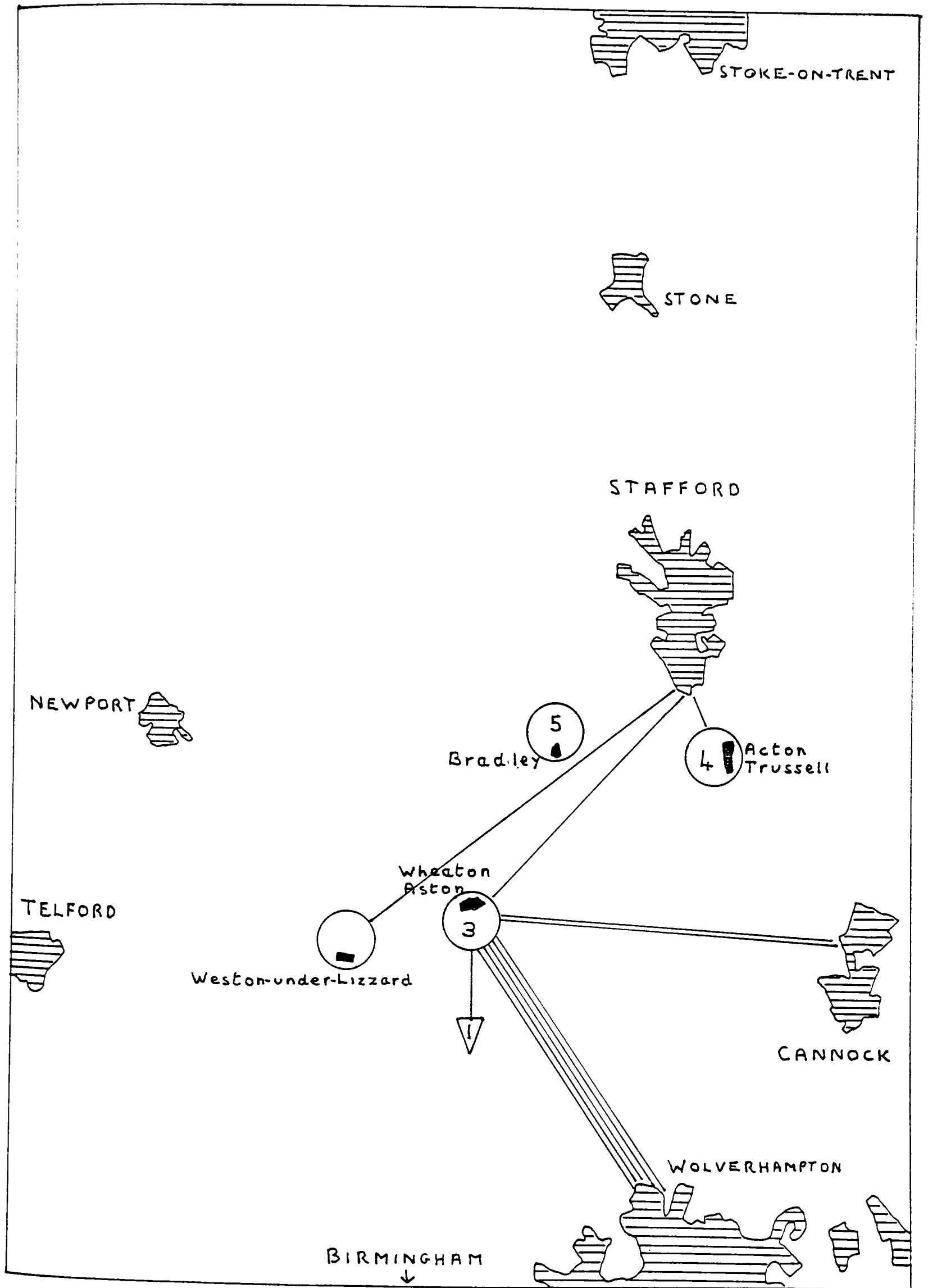
Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

Locals, Hampshire



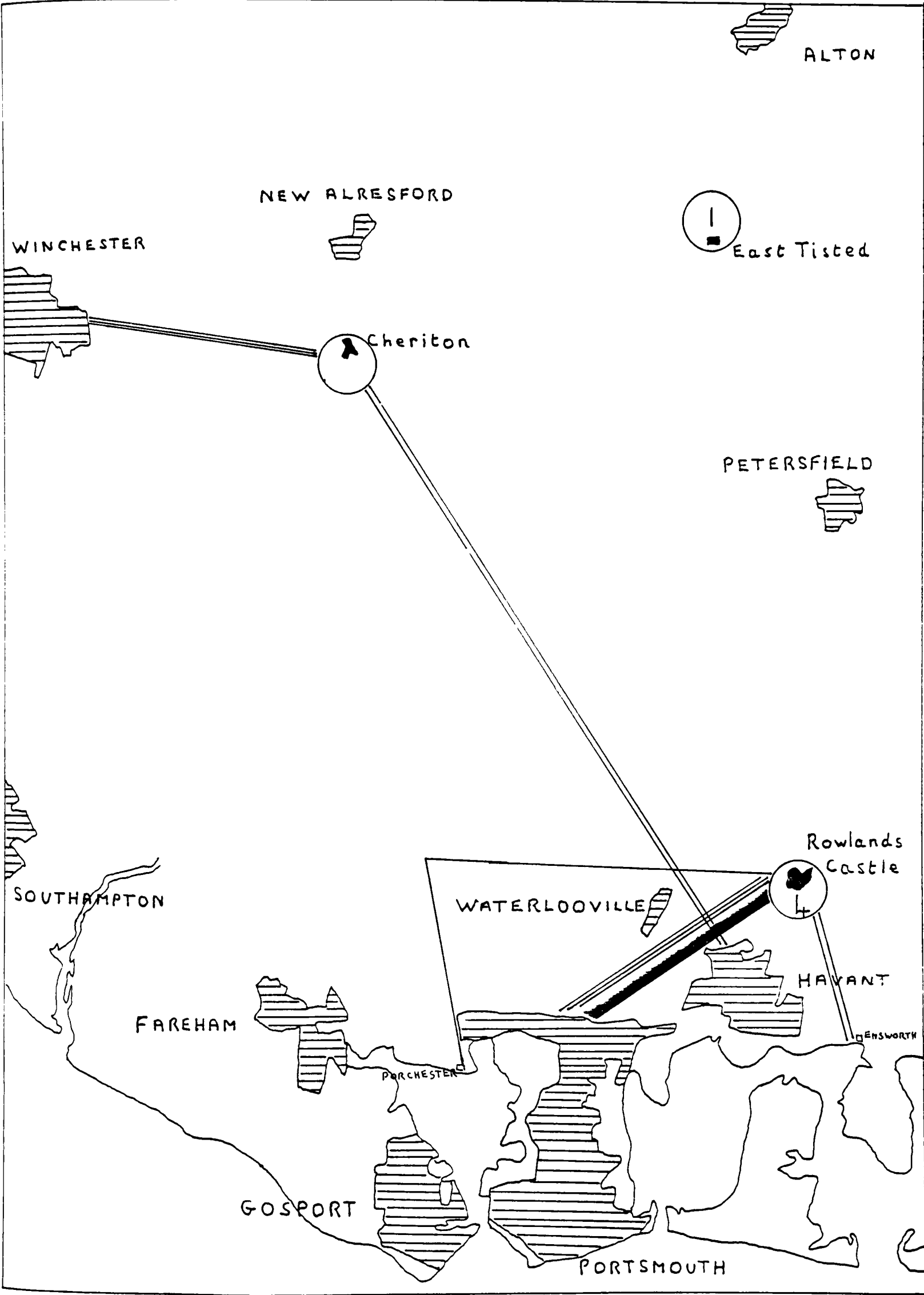
Scale : 3 miles to .1 inch

Locals, Staffordshire



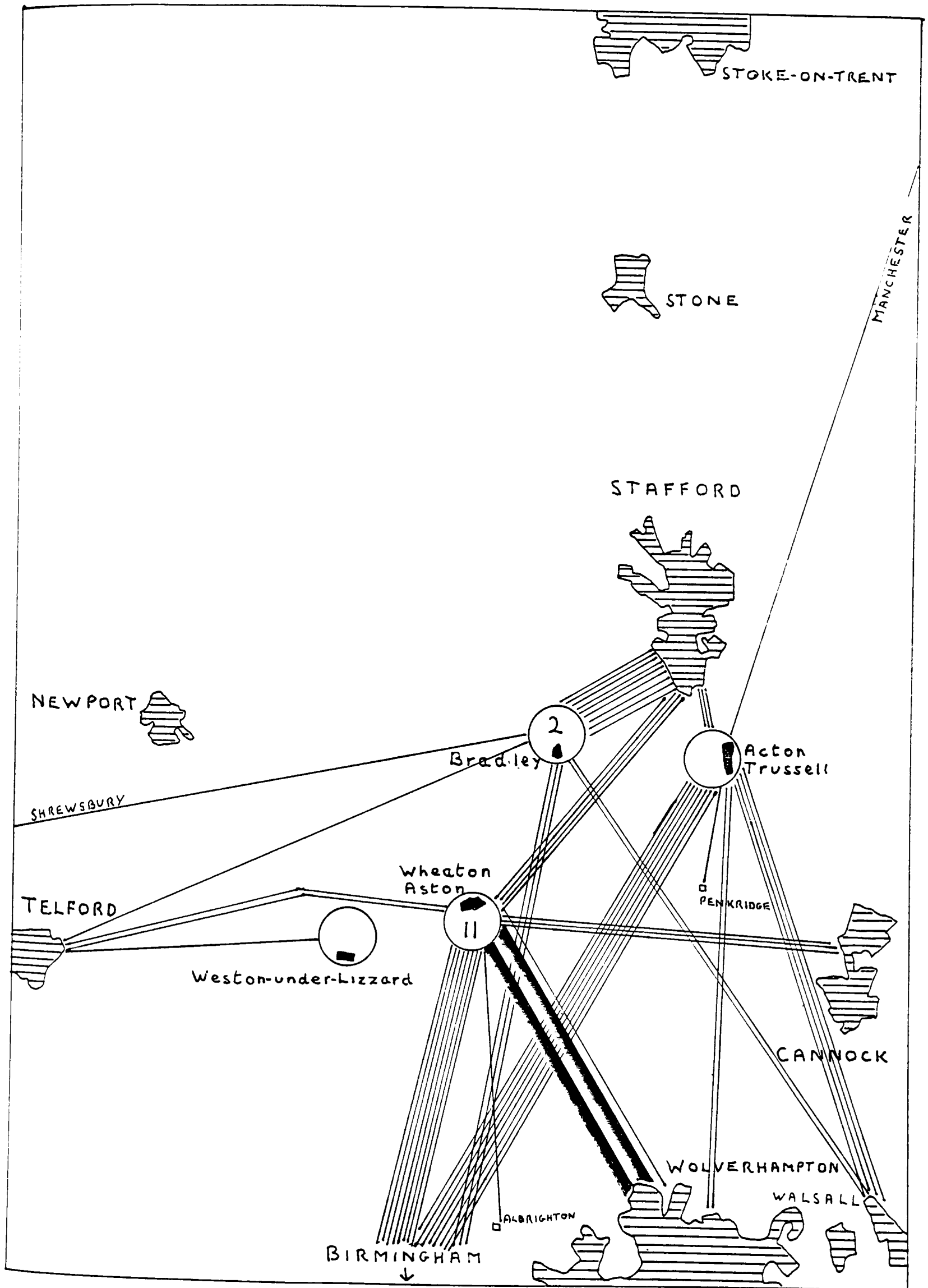
Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

PRG, Hampshire



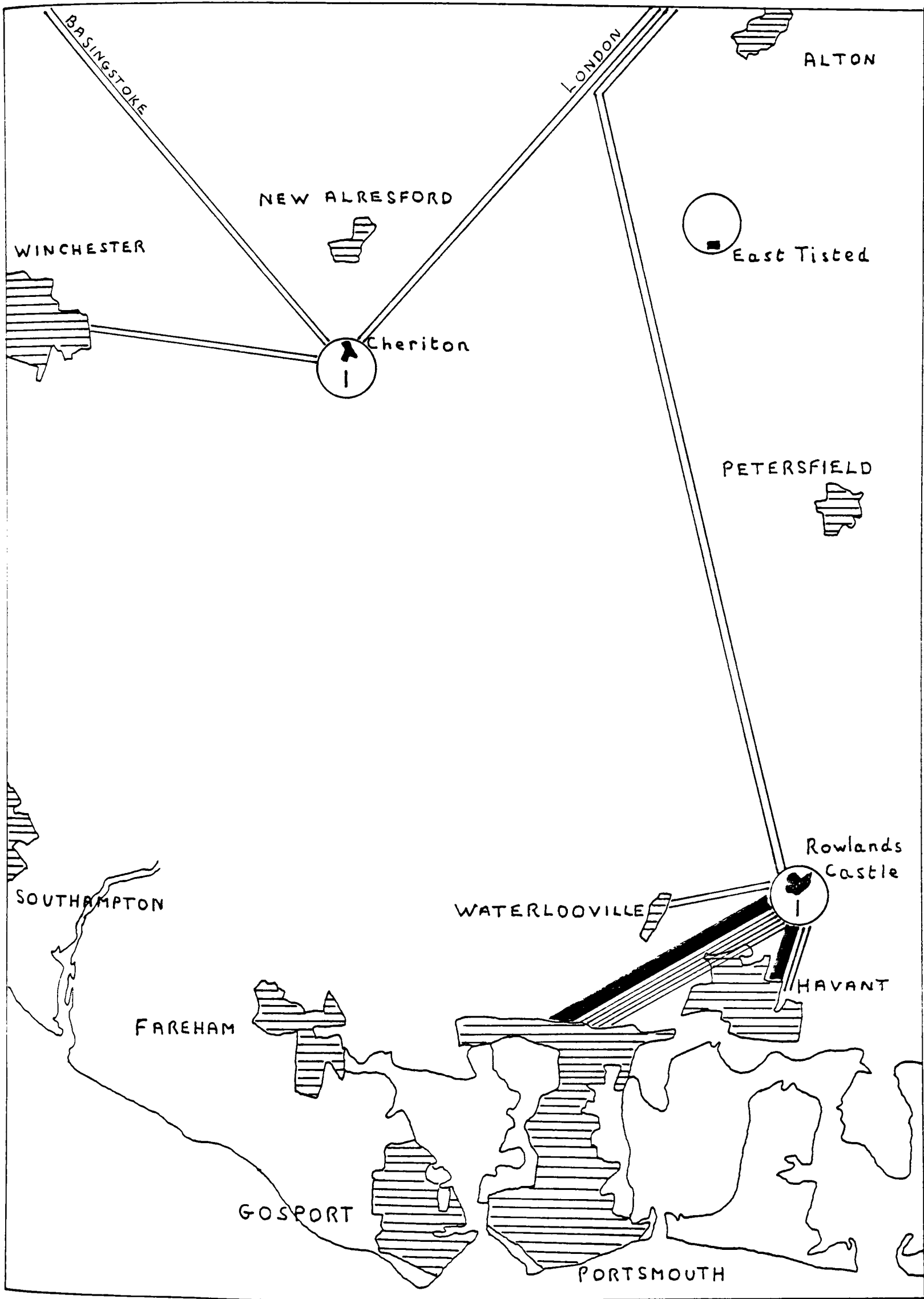
Scale: 3 miles to 1 inch

PRG, Staffordshire

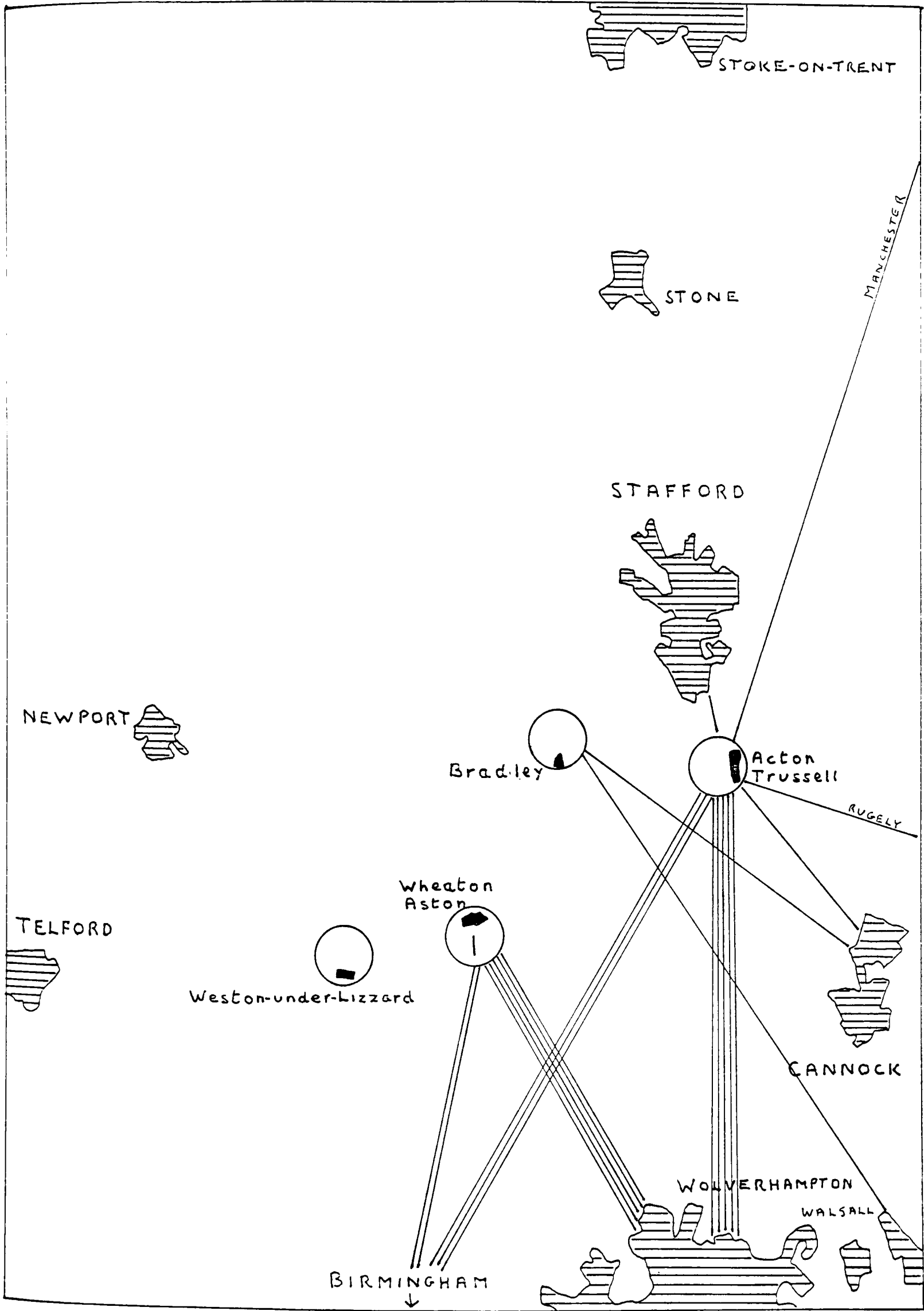


Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

Spiralists, Hampshire

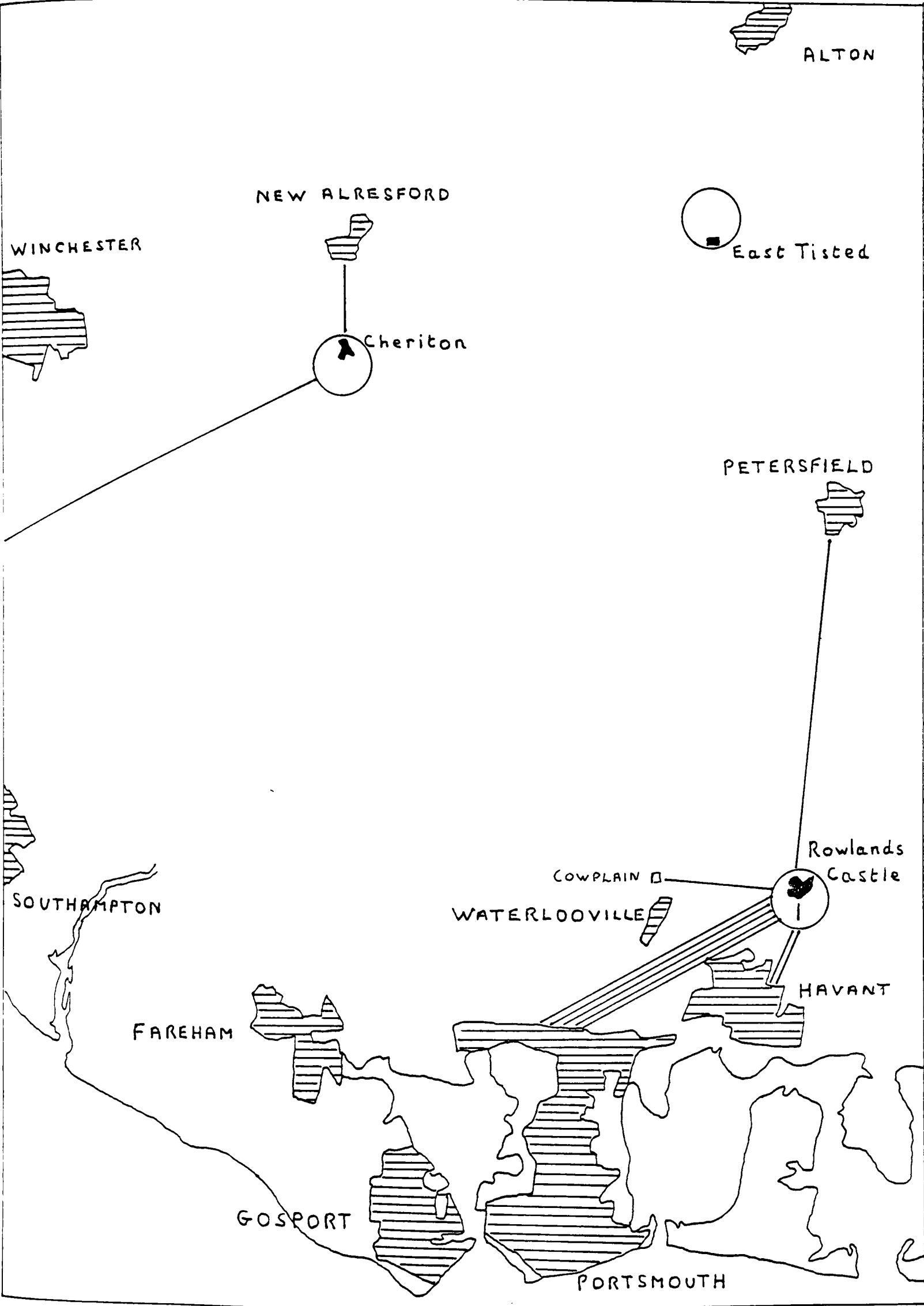


Spiralists, Staffordshire



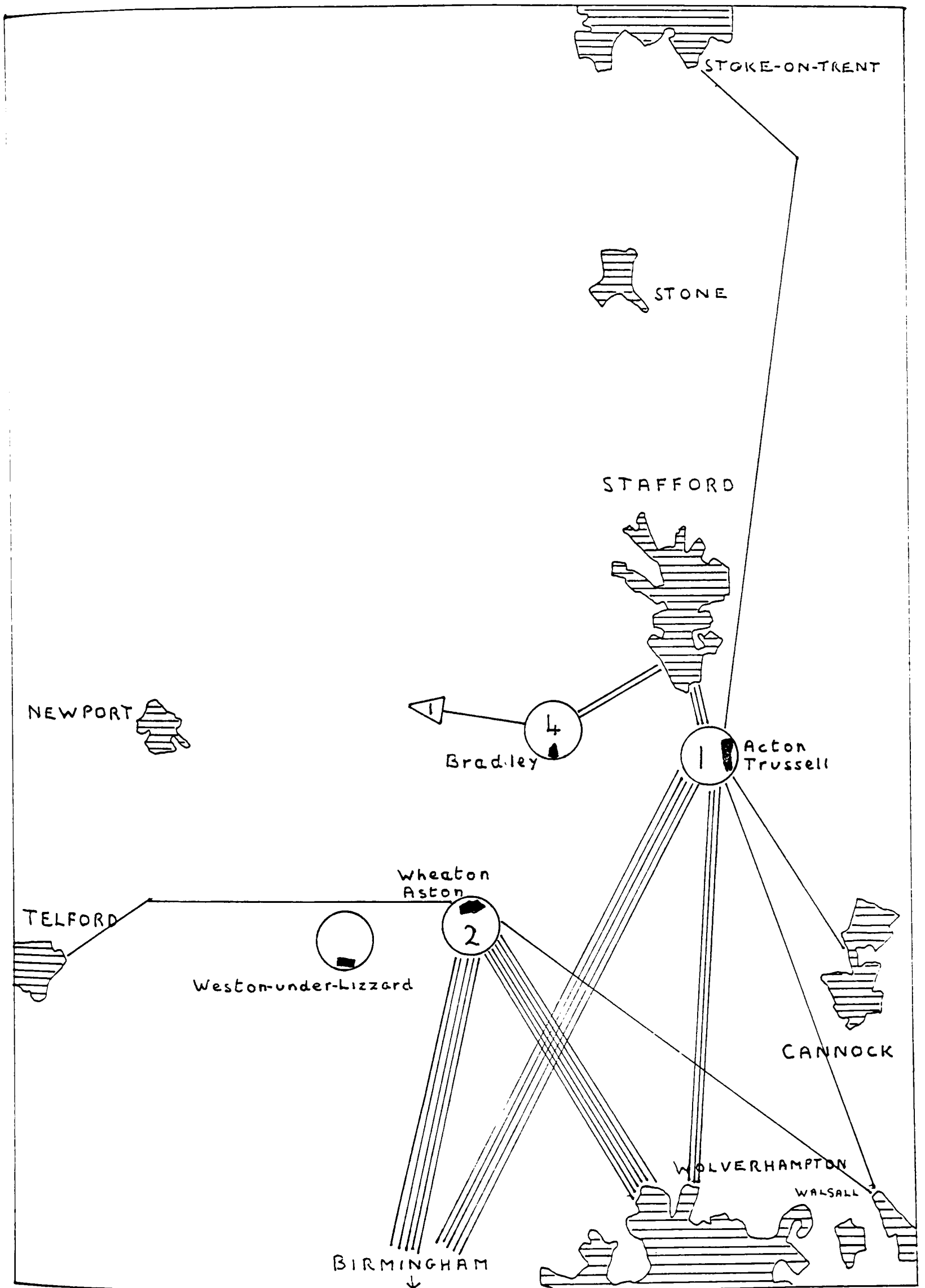
Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

Origens, Hampshire



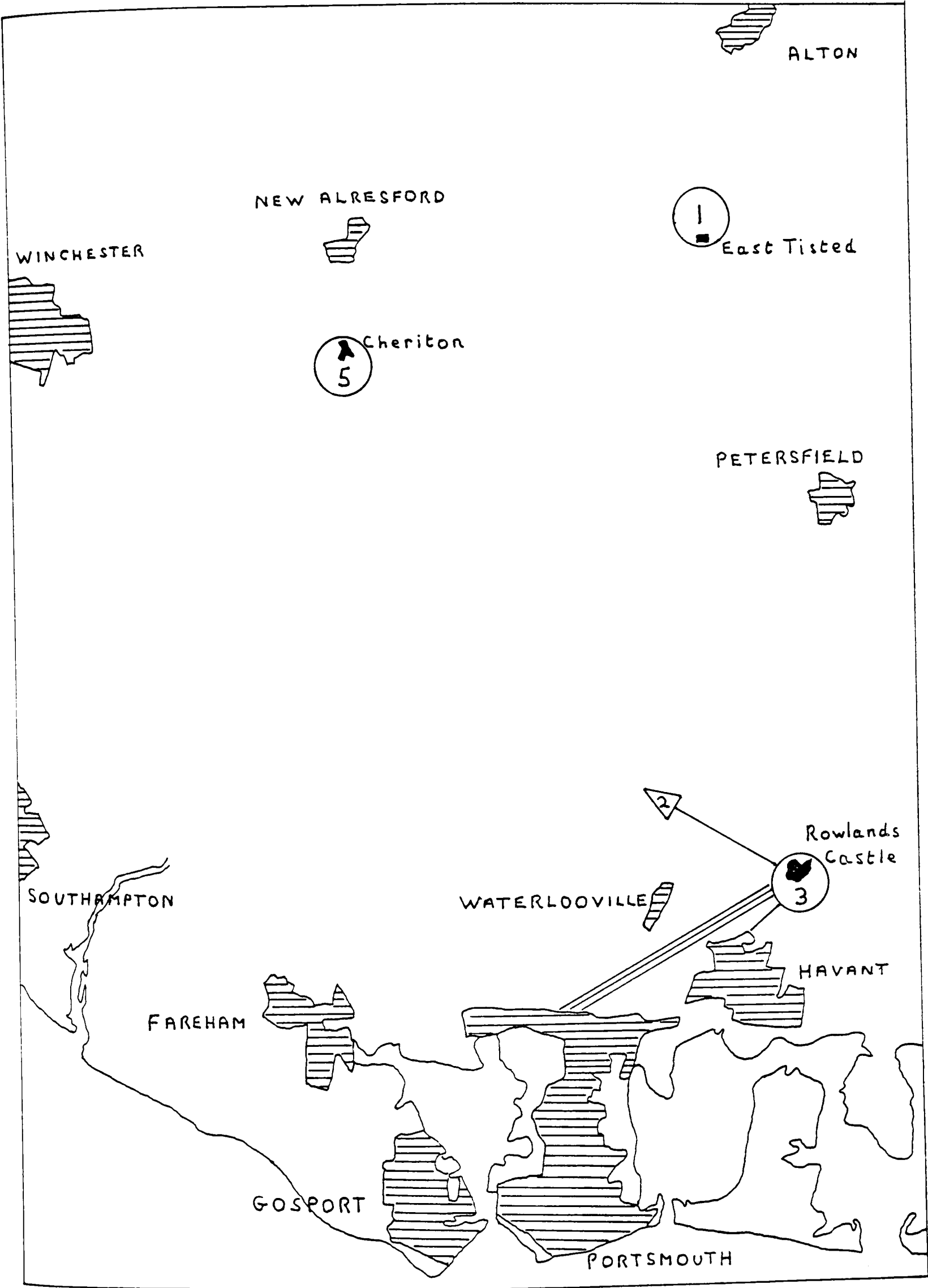
Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

Origens, Staffordshire

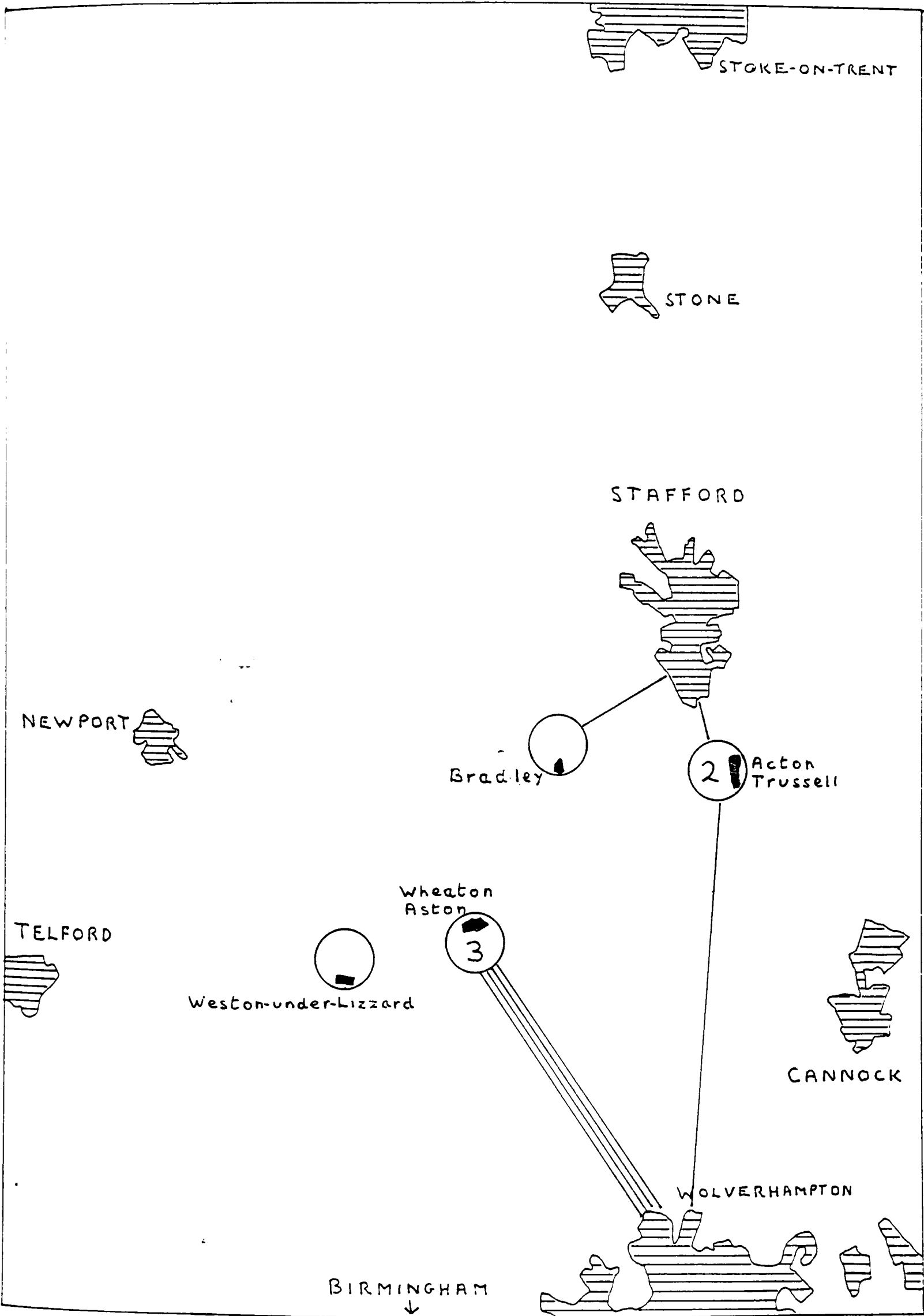


Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

Long Term, Hampshire

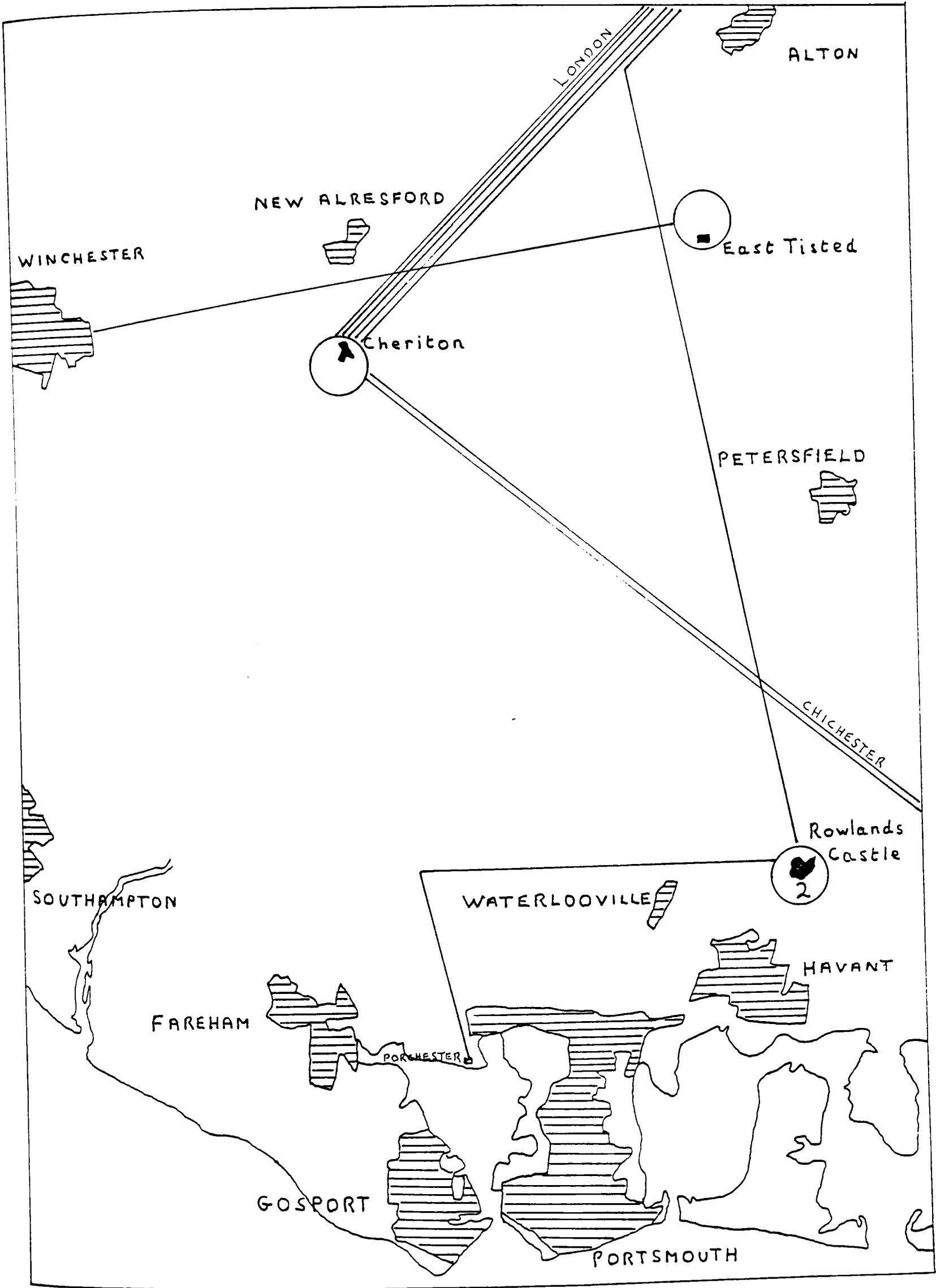


Long Term, Staffordshire

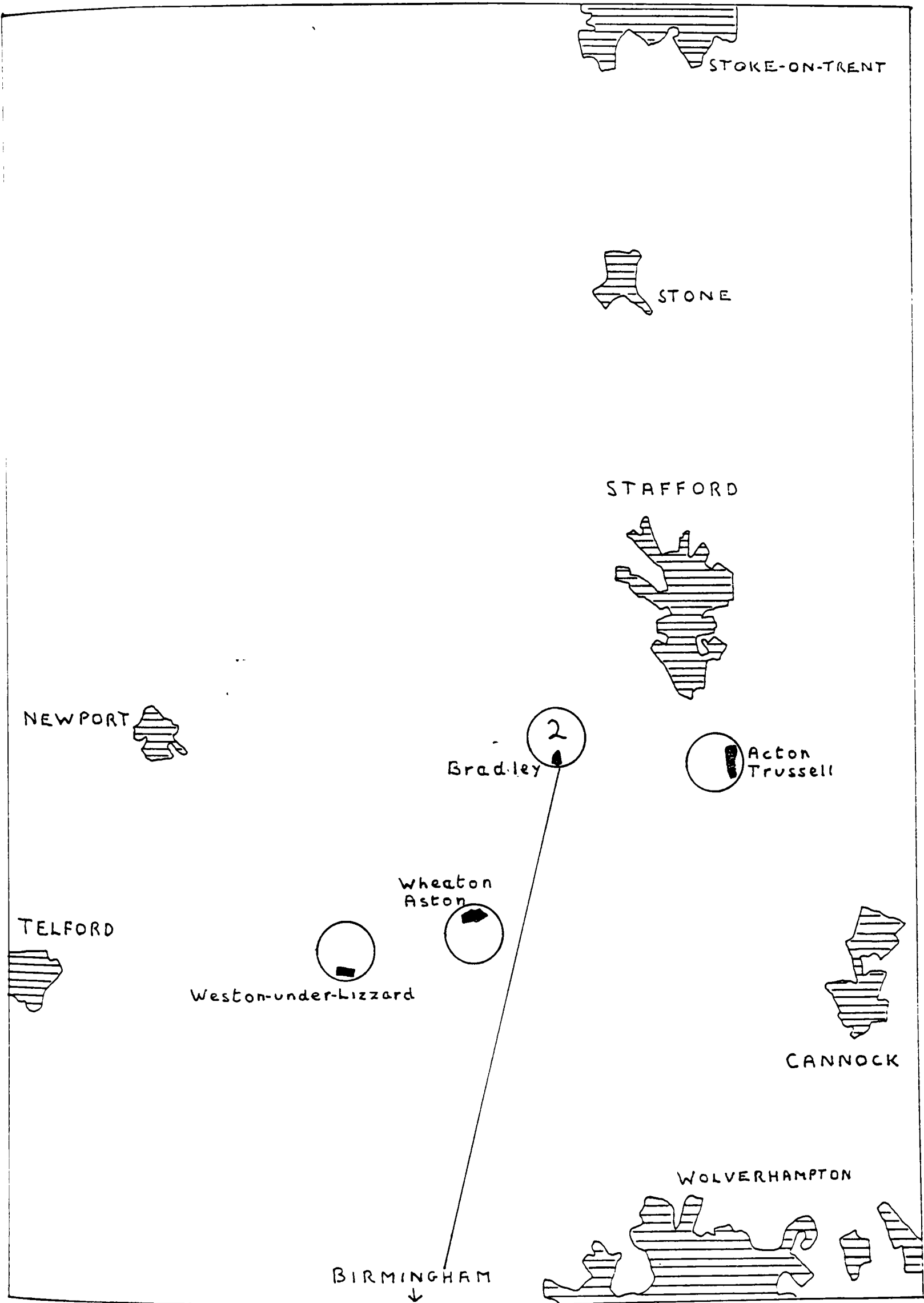


Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

RLA, Hampshire



Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch



Scale : 3 miles to 1 inch

10.2.Usage of facilities within and beyond Place.10.2.1.Consumer facilities.

Other research has suggested that the larger the settlement, the more sophisticated the consumer facilities(13) and this was verified by the current study. However the Metropolitan 11 village proved an exception; by definition this is constructed in a locality without a basic infrastructure and, in the example of Acton Trussell, such an infrastructure did not later develop in conjunction with the residential growth. Four of the villages, East Tisted, Cheriton, Bradley and Acton Trussell, possess only one general store combined with post-office; in a fifth, Weston under Lizard, the two are separate. While the outlets in Cheriton and Bradely support a full range of the main domestic items required by a householder, the stores in Acton Trussell and the two estate villages, are considerably limited in their provision. However both Wheaton and Aston and Rowlands Castle are sufficiently large to support a full range of shopping facilities (14).

There is also a regional variation in provision. While all three villages in south Hampshire are within ten miles of a large retailing centre, the main centre within the West Midlands Conurbation lies over ten miles from the Staffordshire settlements.

This research was concerned only with 'basic household items' which could be potentially purchased in most village stores, such as food and domestic goods(15). It thus does not examine the purchasing of products such as clothing,

furniture, electrical equipment, etc, although a limited range of all three were available in both Wheaton Aston and Rowlands Castle. All groups revealed two types of consumer behaviour: the frequent purchasing of minor items and a regular major shop.

In this study it was found that consumer behaviour was controlled by five main factors: local shopping provision; access to transport; individual life style; requirements and perceptions. The last category is a subjective criterion which tends to arise only among those with access to a range of options, and generally manifests itself in two main formats: those perceiving local facilities in a moralistic or paternalistic framework, feeling obliged to support the village store regardless of economic considerations or range of goods⁽¹⁶⁾, and those having little actual knowledge of the local provision, yet perceiving the village store as being inadequate for their requirements, or too expensive.

Tables 10.7 and 10.8 reveal the consumer patterns for each group. It must be noted that although the minor items are also defined as daily items, this does not suggest that they were always purchased daily, though this was often the case. Similarly, the household's major shop could be carried out daily, weekly or monthly, although weekly appears the most typical.

The following analysis is designed to indicate a typical pattern of consumer behaviour for each group, drawing attention to specific characteristics peculiar to each, and the spectrum of restraints influencing each. As throughout the work regional variations will be taken as negligible unless otherwise stated. Underlying this review of general trends in behaviour is the implicit relationship of People with Place.

Table 10. 7

Usage of village consumer facilities.

		Regular use	Occasional use	Never use
	No.	%	%	%
Tenants	87	27	58	15
Council	63	48	42	10
Locals	44	45	45	10
PRG	140	38	53	9
Spiralists	74	48	44	8
Origens	51	28	63	9
Long Term	43	37	56	7
RLA	23	35	52	13
Retired	57	47	47	6

Table 10. 8

Distance in miles travelled for main shop

	No.	Village	0-10	11-20	Over 20 miles	by non- household member
Tenants	87	6	48	34	-	13
Council	63	3	84	13	-	-
Locals	44	7	75	10	3	55
PRG	140	4	66	28	-	2
Spiralists	74	4	84	12	-	-
Origens	51	2	73	22	2	2
Long Term	43	9	74	14	-	2
RLA	23	4	61	13	9	13
Retired	57	5	81	9	-	5

With reference to the use of village consumer facilities the groups reveal three distinct patterns of behaviour:

High regular use - regular village purchases made by just under half the group;

Medium regular use - regular village purchases made by a third of the group;

Low regular use - regular village purchases made by a quarter of the group.

Although usage is determined to an extent by village facilities, as will become apparent the specific characteristics of the group appear to over-ride such factors in determining local consumer behaviour. Thus Council Residents, Spiralists, the Retired and Locals exhibit high usage; the PRG group, Long Term and RLA medium use; and the Origenes and Tenants low usage.

High Regular Use of Village consumer facilities.

Despite significant contrasts in age, socio-economic group and life-style, the Retired and Council Residents share a high level of support for village consumer facilities. This appears primarily linked to limited access to private transport, especially for female Council Residents, and those of the Fourth Age (17), and the high proportion, two thirds of each group, who reside in Metropolitan villages with high quality facilities. Both groups typically restrict their shopping to a single, usually weekly trip out of the village, for the main provisions with a high daily reliance on village facilities (18). Council Residents appear particularly trapped by their economic circumstances. Over half of those who regularly shop outside the village use public transport (Table 10.9) and this is reflected in the low proportion who

Table 10. 9

Percentage of households with at least one member
regularly using a public bus service.

		Households regularly using bus service	Shopping	School	Work	Leisure
	No.	%	%	%	%	%
Tenants	87	44	66	34	5	21
Council	63	48	80	20	13	20
Locals	44	11	80	20	-	20
PRG	140	12	71	29	12	35
Spiralists	74	12	56	44	11	-
Origens	51	16	38	25	25	50
Long Term	43	17	-	63	13	25
RLA	23	-	20	-	40	40
Retired	57	19	91	-	-	9

travel over ten miles for their main provisions. Thus in Staffordshire, Council Residents reliant on the public bus service are restricted to small nearby retail centres, while their mobile neighbours regularly travel up to twenty miles to the West Midlands Conurbation for the main household shop.

You're stuck aren't you.....stuck. The shops are 1.....and so dear here, but if you go on the bus to the hypermarket or to Portsmouth - with the kids - you pay for it in fares. You can't win can you?

When we examine the consumer behaviour of the Spiralists strikingly different reasons are revealed. Their high regular use of the village store appears a property of higher incomes which are able to absorb the increased cost of local items (19) These facilities are thus viewed sympathetically by the Spiralists.

They're as good as they can be, but not enough people use them, they all shop elsewhere, and then complain when they [village shops] go. I think we should support our shops...the people are very good, they try to be helpful, try to get things in for you.

They're [village shops] very handy, wouldn't be without them. I really should shop more locally I suppose. Some of them have closed recently through lack of customers

Typical consumer behaviour for this group appears to include high use of village facilities for minor items, especially in Metropolitan villages, combined with a major shop at a nearby urban centre. That so few shop over ten miles in comparison with the PRG group is a reflection of the large number of Spiralists resident in the Metropolitan village of South Hampshire, Rowlands Castle, which is under ten miles from the

large centres of Havant and Portsmouth and has a hypermarket nearby. However this group generally has constant access to private transport throughout the day and thus daily advantage can be made of these urban facilities if required.

As with employment, it is important to consider separately the consumer behaviour of the agricultural and non-agricultural Locals. However it was found that both exhibit a high general use of the village store for minor items. This appears related to the high amount of time both partners of agricultural households spend within the settlement, while many of the female non-agricultural Locals do not possess daytime access to private transport.

Medium Regular Use of village consumer facilities.

Although a significant number of PRG women are restricted the village during weekday shopping hours through the confinement of the family car at the husband's place of employment, only a third of this group regularly purchased items within the village. Despite typically living in large Metropolitan villages (Table 6.4) most prefer to travel by car in the evenings or weekends if necessary, to nearby urban centres for their household provisions. Regardless of the village inhabited, the typical consumer behaviour of this group involves visiting nearby towns several times a week, for minor items, with one major, usually weekly shop, which appears to be increasingly a joint evening or weekend venture shared by both partners.

The food's okay here, but expensive. I'd never do my weekly shop here, I go to the hypermarket at Leigh Park

We don't do our main shopping here. My husband uses the tobacconist, and Garden place, but that's all....we go into town, usually late night shopping on a Friday

There is, however, a regional variation in the spacial behaviour of shopping which is linked to the provision of retail centres outside the settlement. Whereas the PRG in Hampshire shop within ten miles of the village, many of those in South Staffordshire use the fast motorway links to travel over ten miles to the West Midlands Connurbation.

Within the larger villages the PRG reveal a high level of satisfaction with the facilities, few perceiving the settlement as a retailing centre, rather as a supplement to their purchases elsewhere:

I do some shopping in the village, but not my main shopping....I think they're very adequate considering we're so near bigger centres with a full range of shops; okay so people say they're expensive but then you pay for convenience

Similarly those within smaller settlements accepted that poor standards of consumer provision was an inherent characteristic of rural areas.

In their purchasing of minor items, the Long Term reveal very similar patterns to those of the PRG, yet nearly ten per cent purchase all their main items within the settlement. There is no obvious suggestion to account for this, unless it can be accounted for by the establishment of strong ties with local shopkeepers over time.

As two thirds of RLA live in Growth villages (Table 6.4) with poor facilities, it is to be expected that only a third

regularly use the village store. In addition several find the provincial tastes of the local shop inadequate for their needs. Three households do not support the village store at all; all possess alternative accommodation in London and two of these households also do their main purchasing in the capital. In addition three houses have housekeepers who shop for them. However the strong paternalistic feelings overtly exhibited throughout this group, encourage benevolent patronage

When we're here we always buy bread and milk from the shop and J.....buys his tobacco there. People complain that they're expensive but if people don't use their local shop what can they expect, or be surprised when it closes. We always try to purchase something there at least.

Low Regular Use of consumer facilities.

Although eighty per cent of the Origens live in large Metropolitan villages, only a quarter of them use the village store for even minor items. This is a reflection of their generally low level of attachment to the village, and is further demonstrated by the large number who combine shopping with regular social visits to past places of residence.

We generally go into Brum of a weekend,
[to shop] leave the kids with my sister,
and then afterwards we all go round to my
Mum's for lunch.

The majority of the Tenants reside in settlements with very poor consumer provision. However the use of these facilities is encouraged by the relative isolation of these settlements, lack of access to private transport, and the generally old age structure of the group (Table 7.1) Thus although only a quarter of the Tenants regularly purchase minor items from the village shop, a relatively high proportion undertake their

main household shop within the settlement (Table 10.8). Unlike the more mobile groups who are able to make frequent journeys to nearby centres, many Tenants are reliant on public transport, (Table 10.9) which is expensive and time consuming. In fact half of those who shop outside the village do so by bus in one weekly trip (Table 10.8) and a weekly purchase of goods is also common among those with access to private transport; this is due to the distance to large retail centres and the high percentage of households in which both partners are confined to the village by day through employment. Furthermore in eleven households, an outsider does the shopping, again a reflection of the elderly age composition of this group. The typical Tenant retailing pattern is thus occasional use of the village shop for minor items with one weekly trip out of the settlement for the main shop. Thus in their consumer behaviour Tenants leave the village far less frequently than other groups.

The Tenants are thus highly penalised with reference to shopping provision. The settlements they inhabit have poor facilities, and yet are relatively isolated, with a generally low standard of transport (see Chapter Five). The Tenants themselves have low incomes relative to other groups, and limited access to private transport, yet are forced to rely on expensive local items, or on a costly inadequate form of transport to cheaper goods, as a resident of an estate village described:

I don't shop in the village much, go into Four Marks. I used to say 'can't understand why people don't shop in the village because we must keep the village shop for people who haven't got cars, but its so expensive. I'm lucky, I drive, but for those without a car, they're stuck - the bus is so expensive, they may as well shop here.

The poor provision is compounded by the perceptions of several of the Tenants who, having known the settlement or similar settlements at a time when the standard of local retailing provision was far higher, still view the village as a place which should be able to provide a full range of goods and bemoan the loss of such a service, as this 80 year old from Wheaton Aston describes:

My sister-in-law at Willenhall does all my shopping. In the old days we had travelling shops you see. You had to order what you wanted from either B....of Newport or R.... of Shiffnal and the next week they'd bring it. There was a very good fishmonger from Newport who'd come round on a horse and cart, then he got a van, and a bread van from Wheaton Aston. Now the bread goes to the Post Office and you have to walk down and get it. Now that shop used to be a good shop, but they let it run down - no good for nothing now

Similarly in East Tisted

Mr.B....ran the shop for many years, but it was started by Mrs. P.....she was his mother-in-law and she had it in a passageway of her house. You'd go in her front door and she'd come out and serve you. But in Mr. B.....'s day you could get anything. And then of course we had the travelling shops - bread and fish. The shop's not as good as it used to be, doesn't even sell bread now, used to deliver it to your door, its a long way up here, but they don't do that now

10. 2.2.

Educational Facilities.

School provision varies significantly between settlements (20). The estate village of Weston under Lizard, lost its village school in 1979, and though the Junior school at East Tisted was operational during the fieldwork, this was closed within six months of the survey. There were village schools within both Bradley and Cheriton, but while there

were forty pupils (1981) at Cheriton, the Bradley school frequently falls beneath twenty five and during the fieldwork its twenty three pupils brought threat of closure, which resulted in an active campaign by parents to save the school. Both Metropolitan villages were sufficiently large to possess thriving Junior schools, and that at Wheaton Aston had recently been extended to include the district Middle school. However Acton Trussell had no educational facilities of its own, schooling being provided in the two adjacent villages. Parents are, therefore, forced to decide at an early age whether to send their children to Dunston village school and then through to the Middle school at Penkridge, or to Bednall which is linked to Stafford Middle school. This tends to divide village social networks for not only does Acton Trussell lack the 'social centre' provided by a school, but the children and thus their mothers, (see chapter 11) fall into two distinct social networks based on the two schools.

As well as possessing several educational advantages, due to small classes and close personal attention, the presence of a village school is perceived as serving various social functions. It was frequently suggested that female networks are extended and maintained through the personal collection of children from school, households of different classes and ages are encouraged to mix and the remoter households within the wider parish linked to the village. The school is seen as encouraging a stable, coherent community, whose balance is maintained through the attraction of young families to the village. From the perception of many of the residents the school is projected as the centre of village life, not only in itself but in that as its pupils are involved and create wider village activities, so parents are encouraged to

participate also.

The degree of emotional attachment felt by many inhabitants for the village school is aptly demonstrated by an extract from the literature written by members of Bradley in defence of their school:

The school is the heart of the village - cut that out and like any other living body the village will die. Bradley will be left with its soul - the Church - but no heart (21)

Most of the social factors will remain implicit throughout the following discussion and will be analysed in greater detail in Chapter 11. We are here primarily concerned with the typical educational relationship each group has with the village school; however we shall briefly discuss the wider relationship of school and group where this merits particular attention.

Only a third of the households have children at the village school: offspring are resident in half the households (22) with half of these at primary school age (23) and of these three quarters attend the village school. Table 10.10 reveals the use of educational facilities by each group. Owing to the factor of age no household of either Late Age Group, and few of the Long Term, have offspring of junior school age.

There appears little practical difference between groups with children of junior school age in their use of educational facilities, although a higher percentage of the upper socio-economic groups educate their children privately at this age, reflected in a slightly smaller use of village provisions by the Spiralists and agricultural Locals. Thus with the exception of the Long Term, over two thirds of each group send their children to the village school.

Table 10.10

Attendance at village school

Groups	Households with children of Junior School Age	Households with at least one child educated at the village school	Households with all Junior School age children educated outside village
	No.	%	%
Tenants	4	100	-
Council	14	100	-
Locals	10	70	30
PRG	71	79	21
Spiralists	37	73	27
Origens	19	68	32
Long Term	4	22	78

The reasons for involvement however, vary substantially between groups while children of lower socio-economic households, in particular those of the Tenant and Council residents, have lack of access to alternative education facilities through financial considerations, the children of higher socio-economic groups, in particular those of the Early and Spiralists, attend village schools for reasons which include educational and social factors. In addition these two latter groups and to an extent all mobile incomers, possess the opportunity to choose the Junior state school their children will attend through their selection of settlement, an option generally denied to the restricted incomers and established groups. The groups will be examined separately within the broad division of the Restricted Incomers and Locals, and the Mobile Incomers.

Education plays little role in the lives of most of the Tenants. Only a third of the households contain children of school age, and of these over three quarters are at secondary school. Thus only two Tenant children in Cheriton and two in East Tisted attend school within the settlement. Contrastingly the three main Council areas are all within villages with large Junior schools, and in one case a Middle school. Given the very high proportion of children from local authority housing who are educated within the state system nationally (24) it is to be expected that all the Council children of junior age attend the village school. However few Council mothers used the school as a social base, their networks forming primarily within the Council estate itself (see Chapter 11).

Significantly while non-agricultural Locals send their children to the village school, under half the children of

agricultural Locals are educated locally. There is however, a strong regional pattern for while the children of the large farms in south Hampshire are generally educated privately, offspring from the small Stafford family farms attend the village school.

Half the PRG households possess children of Junior school age and of these over three quarters attend the village school. Significantly the proportion of children attending private schools is reduced if the settlement has a school (25) due to convenience and, increasingly, peer pressure and, in addition several families stated that the provision of a good school had influenced their selection of settlement.

We definitely took schooling into account when we moved here. When we first came she was eight, had been in classes of thirty plus, doing well there, but we found she was not up to standard here! Now there's no complaints. she's advanced in leaps and bounds

However not only is the village school favoured for its convenience, it is also perceived by this group as an important social centre. The village school bonds women in particular closer to Place and plays an important role in maintaining friendship contacts for this group. As this mother, as leading campaigner against the closure of Bradely school expressed:

The main argument against closing the school is a social one, lose the school and you lose the centre of the village. You wouldn't know anyone so well if it went

However it is the Spiralists who appear to give social and educational factors most consideration and are amongst the strongest supporters of a school threatened with closure. Though past research has suggested that the offspring of high socio-economic groups were rarely educated locally, in

recent years there appears a growing trend to perceive village schooling as beneficial to both child and parent, allowing close parental contact with education at this crucial early age, encouraging an informal mix of social groups, and maintaining a high educational standard owing to small class rooms and individual attention. However among these higher socio-economic groups, the tendency is to combine state and private education(26) and this is reflected at the local level, resulting in dissatisfaction among those who wish their children to remain within the state system.

Two of mine are there [village school] .
 Its fine up to eight years, then I'll
 send them to Portsmouth Grammar's Prep
 School. I'd rather they went to the
 Grammar than a comprehensive, I prefer
 the old fashioned education which you
 get at the Grammar

Its been good so far, well mixed really.
 The girls tend to stay but the boys go on
 to prep school at about eight. There were
 two boys in my eldest daughter's class
 last year and that not good

Spiralist families in which both partners are working, also use child minders and nursery groups, enabling both parents to leave the village during the day.

Pre-school nursery organiser:

I've six [children] at the moment. Five
 of the mums work, mainly teachers, and use
 us every day, and the sixth just comes
 three mornings a week, to give Mum a rest!
 ...We've had only one or two before now.
 Its this random baby number that's causing
 the problem, affecting the school as well

The majority of children from Origen households also attend the local school. Relative to the other mobile incomers, the Origenes tend to have a low income, and thus few contemplated

private Junior education. As was noted earlier the migratory decision making process for the Origins involved consideration of a good local environment for their children and factors of local education were included within this schemat. However owing to unrealistic perceptions several Origins are dissatisfied with the teaching and stimulus their children receive locally. This mother for example has two children at school within the village, one at the Junior and one at the Middle school.

I'm very worried about the kids, they're not being stretched enough, not enough of their own kind. When I was J... 's age, I was very different. She's not interested in clothes or makeup, or anything that girl's of her age are. If we were in Brum I think it'd be different. The kid's at school aren't very sophisticated.

Owing to the generally late age structure of most of the Long Term (table 7.1) only a quarter of the households contained children of Junior school age, and only a quarter of these are educated locally. This group had moved into the village at a time when State Junior school education among the middle-classes was not so popular and opinions of village education are generally low among this group:

I don't think its a very good school. One of ours was there for a while but we took him away and sent him and his brother to private school. The standard is low, its the fault of the pupils, they're not of a very high standard I'm afraid

In addition many of the households with young children have 'split families' with considerably older siblings who have left home. The parents are thus in the fourth stage of the financial life cycle (27) with greater financial freedom to pay for private education if they desired. Similarly due to the

generally older age range of these parents, few women make friends through their younger children and thus the village school is not generally perceived as a social centre by these mothers.

There's a high turnover here that's the problem. My kids are 27, 21 and 9, so I notice the change in mums. Fifteen years ago there were a lot of us and all our kids grew up together, then there was a huge turnover and a whole load of new mums moved in. You can't really bridge those sort of generation gaps

10. 2. 3.

Religious Facilities.

In this section we are primarily concerned with the relationship of each group with its parish church. Although all parishes contain an active church and priest, attendance varies significantly between settlements. This is partly a reflection of the social composition of the parish but also directly influenced by the parish priest, for the current research suggests that as wider social pressures to exhibit overt religious behaviour decreases so factors of personality and social criteria move to the fore.

The parish of Cheriton was without a priest at the time of fieldwork and in the state of interregnum, significantly both church participants and non-participants were equally aware of this fact. Whereas the parishes of East Tisted and Bradley were each held by a traditional priest of several years incumbancy (28), Weston under Lizard had recently lost its priest and with the adjacent parish of Blymill shares a Diocesan Missioner, who acts as a priest-in-charge. All

three Metropolitan villages had received new priests within the year prior to fieldwork. The incumbent of Rowlands Castle was still unknown to most parishioners and had yet to establish himself. However both the parishes of Lapley (Wheaton Aston) and Acton Trussell and Bednall, had young active priests who have been encouraging families to attend through the 'baptism effect', and have substantially increased their congregations. The 'baptism effect' arises through the insistence of both priests that a baptism will only occur if at least one parent attends a series of group baptism classes and regularly attend church services for a period prior to and following the baptism. In both cases this has resulted in large baptism classes and increased congregations, both revealing a social element. In most cases regular family attendance appears to continue after the period required.

The research suggests that church attendance is influenced by six general factors: religious beliefs; perception of status significance; social criteria; contemporary mores; peer pressure; and past behaviour. The wider social implications of church involvement will be examined in Chapter 11. We are here primarily concerned with the religious behaviour of each group as demonstrated through the relationship with the village church (29)

Table 10.11 demonstrates church attendance. Attendance is defined as at least one member of the household forming part of the congregation or choir. The categories are deliberately broad (30):

Regular attendance generally occurring weekly, monthly or at

Table 10.11

Patterns of Church attendance

	No.	Regular attendance at village church	Occasional attendance at village church	Attendance at alternative church	Never attend
		%	%	%	%
Tenants	87	37	15	2	46
Council	63	11	14	6	69
Locals	44	25	9	5	61
PRG	140	26	14	6	54
Spiralists	74	19	20	16	45
Origens	51	10	18	6	68
Long Term	43	19	21	21	39
RLA	23	48	26	-	26
Retired	57	28	16	12	44

See text for definitions of 'Regular', 'Occasional' and 'Never attend'

"Attendance" defined as church attendance by at least one member of the household.

more frequent intervals than the main festivals;

Occasional attendance is restricted mainly to festivals (Christmas, Easter and Harvest Supper); and participation at funerals and weddings is included with the category Never Attend. Broad categories were defined because previous research (31) has indicated that religious adherence is often exaggerated (32), though in the contemporary secular climate (33) this may no longer be the case, especially in the larger villages with a high proportion of young households. Furthermore participant-observation within the parishes suggested that some 'regular attenders' form part of the congregation only at random intervals, though more frequently than the main festivals. However most of this category appear to select a service and weekly or monthly join its congregation. An overt example of this is the growth of 'family services', generally monthly with large gatherings. Participant observation and discussion with the parish priest confirmed that the estimated congregations obtained from my field work are generally accurate.

In just over half the households no member attends a religious service. In the remaining households just over half possess a member who regularly attends the village church, a third occasionally attend, and in fifteen per cent of these households an alternative service is attended. These included a range of christian denominations as well as participation in non-christian services, though the latter form a very small proportion of the residents.

At the group level there appeared three distinct patterns

of religious behaviour:

High level religious behaviour - regular church attendance
by just under half the group;

Medium level religious behaviour - regular church attendance
by a third of the group;

Low level religious behaviour - regular attendance by under a
quarter of the group.

The two Late Age Groups and the Tenants exhibit a high level
behaviour; the Early, Spiralist, Long Term and Locals - medium
level; and the Origens and Council Residents - low level.
As previously discussed the patterns may be similar but the
reasons behind reveal significant contrasts.

High Level religious behaviour.

The RLA reveal the highest level of religious participation
with three quarters of the group attending church services,
half regularly. While the scope of the current analysis does
not allow an estimation of religious fervour it must be noted
that this group perceive the church as playing an important
role within the local status hierarchy, and many adopt
positions of authority within its structure. This •
is inevitably reflected in church attendance. However
there also appears to be a definite relationship between
advancing age and an increase in church witness,
and this appears a contributory factor to the high level of
participation of this group, and that of the Retired. This
late age group is of particular interest in that only a quarter
associate with the village church, the other participants
joining congregations elsewhere, primarily for religious reasons
due to membership of denominations other than Church of England.

The third group to reveal a relatively high attendance is the Tenants. However in comparison with past recollection current attendance was considered low by this group.

People aren't interested in church, not like they used to be. I went three times on a Sunday when I was younger, now (even) I just go the once.

Not enough go to church....the church has changed a lot. I'd hate to see it close, ...we're trying to get a parish magazine going at the moment, to nudge people.

Within these communities the church appears to have been traditionally perceived as a Place of Worship rather than of community, and Tenants still view the institution as having limited parochial influence beyond the sphere of religious behaviour. This is closely tied to the presence of an overall authority in the shape of the estate landlord, who supports the community framework maintained by the church in open villages. Consequently discussion about the church generally centred on religious aspects:

The church is trying hard, but it don't succeed. It's not doing much at the moment, not so close as it used to be. We've just introduced Series 2, it's more interesting for the young but not for us older ones though.

Even those who do not regularly participate are aware of contemporary difficulties, for example this description produced by an 'occasional' member of the congregation.

In 1960 the churches of Weston and Blymill were united. We'd had two separate rectors up till ~~then~~, now he's a 'priest in charge'. His main work is Diocesan Missioner, so he spends only one day a week working in the parish, but if we'd not offered to take him as priest in charge, they'd have lumped us in with somewhere like Wheaton Aston, and nobody wanted that.

similarly few Tenants attend alternative churches outside the village except on religious grounds. In five of the seven case villages the priest had changed within a year of the survey. In several communities this had caused several members of the congregation to join other congregations. This behaviour did not occur among the Tenant communities though the new priests had in all cases caused comment.

The new one's (priest) like a lay preacher.
The other rector took more services, like
the rector at Tong, but then you shouldn't
go to church for the vicar!

Medium level religious behaviour.

With the exception of the Origens, who will be discussed separately, one third of the mobile incomers regularly attend church. Various factors appear to account for this religious pattern exhibited by the PRG, Spiralists and Long Term. The presence of children encourages family church attendance, usually through involvement with a village or Sunday school, and in two of the Metropolitan villages there is the 'baptism effect' mentioned earlier. In contrast with the Tenants, these groups view the church as a social arena, a method of meeting people.

I got to know people through the church.
We go each month to the family service and
to coffee afterwards. We've a new vicar
now that's much better, much more goes on
....my husband helps cut the grass in the
graveyard.

In a similar way several women's groups maintain strong links with the church, not only the traditional societies such as Mothers' Union and Women's Institute, but also the more modern female associations, strongly supported by these groups (see chapter 11).

The introduction of social criteria into the context of religious behaviour by the residents themselves, may account for the high proportion, nearly a fifth of the Spiralists and Long Term, who regularly attend congregations outside the village. For while the Christian Church maintains various denominations, and even within the Anglican branch there exist levels of celebration, many of the reasons produced to explain selection of a particular church were social and subjective,

We all go to Idsworth. It happened by word of mouth, friends went, so we went, so our friends went: now there's a whole group of us. They get at least forty, it's a super parish - and priest .

As with the Late Age incomers these groups are also aware of the social significance of church positions, although fewer appear to adopt official positions for reasons of status. This projection of 'priest' and 'social significance' to the fore is in striking contrast to the high level of religious awareness exhibited by Tenants. Whether the following man would have joined the congregation if pressed is irrelevant; the significance of the statement being the high degree of bias in his perception of the church and its establishment towards the personality of the local church and priest, revealing a singular lack of religious context.

I'm not impressed. We've had three rectors since I've been here and not one has tried to get us to church. If they'd have asked, come round, we'd have gone, but they just weren't bothered .

However within these broad trends, certain group characteristics specifically influence religious behaviour. As will be discussed in Chapter 11 Spiralists fall into two main

categories defined by the inevitably temporary state of their residence. They thus either decide that involvement in the village on anything but a superficial level is of little point, or that complete submergence within village activities soothes the path of frequent upheaval. Both may be reflected in their religious activity. This family who had been resident in the village for six years and have no immediate plans to return to Scotland, prove an example of the futility that may pervade all.

We're Church of Scotland. If we were living here then I'd encourage the kids to go to church, but as it is.....

In addition the generally high level of education and experience possessed by the Spiralists, produces an ability to place their own situation within a wider context:

I go to Wednesday Communion, but I'm not involved in the Church as such. But then I don't think you have to attend church to be a good person

I don't go to church. I follow the Ten Commandments, they're the basic model of life - the base of life - they're the teachings of the church, but not just for the church - they're a code of conduct

Both these statements reflect an abstract awareness often absent from discussions with other groups.

Similarly, a recurrent theme of the Long Term, the gradual withdrawal from village activities, also finds representation within their religious participation.

We're used to being involved. I was Sunday School teacher for a while, but not under this new vicar thank you! in fact I think we frightened him off! I rarely go now

A similar pattern of attendance is revealed by the Locals. However the few (under a third) who do regularly attend, often

take on active roles within the church, a large proportion of church positions are filled by Locals within all villages. However these are generally strictly divided between the agricultural and non-agricultural Locals with male and female farmers tending to adopt official positions such as Church Warden, sidesman/woman, P. C. C. member and M. U organiser, while the non-agricultural Locals turn to supportive tasks: the choir, bell-ringers, members of the M.U.

Low Level religious behaviour.

The two groups exhibiting the lowest level of regular church attendance are the Council Residents and Origenes. Indeed among the Council Residents the church is frequently dismissed as having no role to play, infiltrated as it is by the 'establishment', this demonstrating part of the wider phenomenon frequently revealed by this group of acute social consciousness.

The Origenes exhibit the lowest rate of religious participation, with only five households possessing at least one member who regularly attended church, and two others who participated in their previous place of residence. This pattern of behaviour further stresses the social role the church plays for many of the Mobile Incomers: the Origenes possessing little desire to seek village involvement do not require the church's assistance and thus neglect her almost completely.

1. The broad age structure of the Locals, Tenants, and Council residents is reflected in their low percentage of economically active males, similarly several of the Long Term households contain males over the age of sixty five. The Retired group contained households where the male was officially 'retired' yet continued some form of part time employment, while RLA households are comprised of males in full time employment, partially retired and fully retired. Nineteen of the young Mobile Incomer households are without a male member containing single, widowed or divorced women.
2. Examples of Tenants working past the age of retirement include a dairy manageress, butler, cook and blacksmith in their early seventies and a part time shepherd who was still shearing sheep at 82.
3. The data hides various regional factors. The employment centres of the West Midlands Connurbation often fall beyond twenty miles from the resident's home, while those in Hampshire are within twenty miles of the settlements, and in the case of Rowlands Castle within ten miles of the village. Thus the fifty three per cent of the Spiralists who work within ten miles of their homes are mainly the inhabitants of Rowlands Castle. The fifty six of the Origins working within this distance are mainly divided between a small percentage living in Rowlands Castle, and residents of Staffordshire working within Stafford and nearby smaller centres, while those Origins travelling over twenty miles typically work within the West Midlands Conurbation.
4. An exception to this occurs in the case of some Spiralists whose employers have moved the household as part of a decentralization or relocation scheme. Particularly in the case of those originally living in London, this may actually involve a decrease in the distance between their work and their residence.
5. All residents of Hampshire.
6. The occupational status of the RLA households includes two Managing Directors, one Chairman of a Multi-national company, four Directors, one Admiral, one Airforce Chief, three members of the Foreign Office, one Diplomat, two Lawyers, two Stockbrokers, one Fine Art Dealer and several senior managers and service personnel.
7. When assessing the group differences in employment it must be remembered that while the Mobile Incomer groups are broken down by age, all age groups, including past the official age of retirement are included in the Restricted Residents and Locals, and this will affect the percentage base at the group level. Those past retirement age were included within the figures due to the presence of females in economic labour after the official age of retirement, similarly all females were involved in non-economic labour until physically unable to do so.

8. This percentage is particularly high when it is noted that over a quarter of the Tenant females were over 65.
9. This low number is in part a reflection of the fifth of this group past the age of 65, although see note 7.
10. Village shop employment appeared dominated by the PRG and Long Term females.
11. The four professional women were two accountants, a lawyer and a doctor.
12. Cooper 1979. p. 107-121 describes the changing role of the wives of the executive and professional, few women over fifty having worked during their marriage. See also Marshall and Cooper 1976.
13. Mosely M. and Spencer M. 1978. Found a broad correlation between population size and number of outlets, with parishes of over 800 residents possessing over three shops including specialist stores p. 36. See also Mosely et al 1977 p. 53-55, and Harman R. 1978 p. 107-126.
14. See Chapter Five for a detailed list.
15. Mosely et al. 1977 give examples of the frequency and range of daily items sold in village shops in Norfolk p.58-5
16. An alternative moralistic viewpoint was expressed by certain individuals in a Metropolitan village which had just opened a store belonging to a chain of national supermarkets, several individuals preferring to shop in the more expensive village shop than support the supermarket.
17. Fourth Age refers to those over seventy five.
18. Bracey H. has suggested that the elderly make frequent shopping trips for the prime purpose of social interaction.
19. This finding thus contradicts the finding by Mosely M and Spencer M. 1978 p. 37, that wealthy households shop outside the village. While this is true for those of limited wealth, those households with high incomes can afford to shop locally.
20. An assessment of rural school provision in Britain is provided by Watkins 1979, while Cooper 1979 reviews school closure.
21. Bradley Church of England Primary School p. 10.
22. This includes offspring of over eighteen who still live in their parent's home, in the majority of cases these were students in higher education, although as will be discussed in Chapter 11 locally employed adult children in agricultural households often remain resident with the parents until marriage.
23. Children attending Wheaton Aston Middle school are included in this calculation.
24. In their model of educational attainment, Byrne et al 1975 discusses the level of educational provision in local authority areas revealing the dependency of children in local authority housing on the state system.
25. Acton Trussell has the lowest percentage of Junior school children in state education with nearly half of its Primary children being educated privately.
26. The pattern establishing itself appears to be state Junior education followed by private Secondary education returning to a state Sixth form college.

27. Johnson P. 1985 discusses the advantages of this stage in the financial life cycle.
28. East Tisted lost its priest in 1984
29. It is acknowledged that religious adherence and church attendance are not always linked to each other, we are here interested in the influence of the church upon the rural community in a practical sense.
30. These categories are akin to those discussed by Gittus E.1972
31. Previous research into religious affiliation within a British community context include Frankenburg R. 1957, Kerr M. 1958, Rees A. 1961, Chapter 10, Rosser T. and Harris C. 1965; Stacey M. 1960 Chapter 4.
32. See for example Pickering W. 1967 analysis of the 1951 religious census, also Martin D. 1968 Chapter 10.
33. Macintyre A 1967 discusses the effects of urbanisation and mobility on religious decline, while Dovey 1979 p.5 assesses the dramatic increase in the secularisation of rural areas.

CHAPTER 11The Social Relationship.

The social relationship of People with Place will be examined within three broad categories of interaction: the networks of friendship, the networks of kinship and the patterns of social interaction. This latter section is defined as the interaction of People with and beyond Place, during non-work times, times of rest or leisure. In each case each group will be examined separately within the broad division of the Restricted Residents and Locals, and the Mobile Incomers.

11. 1The Networks of Friendship

Throughout the analysis the emphasis is on the differing relationships of People and Place revealed by the groups, with particular stress on the contrasts between the Restricted Residents and Locals, and the Mobile Incomers. Underlying this study is an awareness of the contrasting concepts and perceptions of 'friendship', in particular between the established and Mobile Immigrant groups, and between those in early and late age stages. Figure 11.1 reveals a spectrum of 'definitions' provided by each group, though broadly the young Mobile Incomers, in particular the PRG, tend to regard people they see on a daily basis as friends, while the Locals and older age groups reserve this title for a few contacts of long duration.

Figure 11.1

Definitions of friendship

Group	Long association	Proximity	Same interests	Assistance	Privacy	Loyal
Tenants	X				X	X
Council	X		X			
Local	X				X	
PRG		X	X	X		
Spiralists		X	X	X		
Origens	X			X		
Long term	X				X	X
RLA	X		X			
Retired	X					X

Characteristics of a "friend" frequently mentioned by members of the group.

The following perceptions of a farmer's wife reveal a significantly different concept of friendship from that of two female PRG:

Farmer's wife: I wouldn't say we had any close friends, we've acquaintances - the farming people from local farms around and one new couple.

Female PRG : I've many close friends in the village, I can always drop in to their houses and they can come in here. If there's trouble they are always there, and any excitement and they'll join in with it.

I've lots of friends - there aren't many people you don't know by sight. A few don't speak in passing but the ones with the kids are more friendly....at 3.15 p.m. we all meet and have a good chat.

Similarly these last two contrast with these comments from members of the Tenant group:

Young Tenant Couple : We're not desperate to make friends really - we may happen on a couple but true friends are not easily made.

Elderly Tenant Male : As you get older you learn you never really get close to people - you keep yourself to yourself and never say anything about anyone.

However these contrasting perceptions not only serve as definitions of 'friendship' but are reflected in the actual behaviour of the groups. Thus while young Mobile Incomers may refer to many casual contacts as 'friends', their relationships with these 'casual friends' are frequent and intimate while the more established groups, referring to these contacts as 'acquaintances' continue a shallow relationship with these, reserving their intimate behaviour for family and long standing contacts.

Tables 11.1 and 11.2 illustrate the breakdown of male and female friendship networks for each group, by the place of main contact.

11.1.1

The Restricted Residents and Locals

Tenants.

An important characteristic of the Tenant group is isolation. The sense of unity present in the estate village geographically separated by space, is present in the collection of tied property in Cheriton, an encapsulated self-isolated community. This self-imposed isolation is demonstrated by the low number of friendships per household with several stating that they had no friends. One contributory element to this low proportion of friendships is the close association of employment, residence and leisure. Several stated that after working with someone all day they did not wish to socialise with them after hours:

Working in the estate office I know everyone - but there's little village activities - we see each other when we go to the shop - we all work together so we don't need to see each other the rest of the time.

The people on the estate have long term friends - last for years - I think most of them feel that if you work with them you don't want to go out with them as well.

A similar reaction is found among the agricultural Tenants in Cheriton, who while having the entire village with which to associate, have so strong an identity with the members of

Table 11.1

Area of main friendship contact for male householders

Group	No.	Village	Area	Past Place of residence	Work
		%	%	%	%
Tenants	70	53	26	20	29
Council	55	71	29	24	7
Local	39	67	54	3	31
PRG	137	62	35	36	14
Spiralists	73	33	25	59	18
Origens	50	24	30	76	20
Long Term	37	35	58	52	20
RLA	20	40	60	80	20
Retired	43	33	29	67	14

Each respondent mentioned up to four areas of friendship contact for himself or for the respondents husband.

Table 11.2

Area of main friendship contact for female householders

Group	No.	Village	Area	Past Place of residence	Work
		%	%	%	%
Tenants	74	59	32	23	14
Council	59	83	10	19	2
Local	39	69	51	10	5
PRG	136	68	33	32	13
Spiralists	73	50	18	62	11
Origens	50	32	28	78	14
Long Term	42	57	62	48	11
RLA	21	43	57	67	10
Retired	56	56	14	69	-

Each respondent mentioned up to four areas of friendship contact for herself or for the respondents wife.

their group that they stated what as they did not wish to socialise with those they saw at work they were unable to develop friendships within the village. Thus only those in the immediate farming community are perceived as potential village friends.

This complete domination of all aspects of a Tenant's life by his or her employment is emphasised by a replication of the work hierarchy in social terms. Thus associations prohibited at work are discouraged socially by the group, both for the employee and his or her family. This has particularly acute implications for the managerial level whose already limited choice of friendship is substantially reduced by their position in the work/social hierarchy, as this conversation between a forestry manager and his wife graphically illustrates:

- Wife : Most of my friends are outside the estate which makes it a little easier - with non-estate friends no one can get at him through you - it can be difficult.
- Manager : Good managers avoid familiarity - you can't mix socially with the men you work with by day or else you are accused of favouritism - I don't do it from choice because I don't like it - but you can never gauge friendliness. They somehow lose respect for you.
- Wife : My only contact is H.... - another manager's wife - I've not a close friend in the whole estate.
- Manager : Yes its always 'Mrs. M.....'.
- Wife : I suppose its easier to be old fashioned.
- Manager : I wouldn't choose friends from the hierarchy.
- Wife : Yes, only from the non-estate people... we've many acquaintances but then what is a friend.

A theme succinctly verified by this manager's wife:

My husband's head of a Department - and in a village that controls your social life. Its different to where you're employed here, there, everywhere.

In addition to this inability to form friendships within the Tenant community, managers and their spouses are also frequently restricted by the class consciousness of outsiders; and several commented that potential contacts of their own social class/type reject them because they are tenants and not members of the property owning elite.

Some of the ladies are reserved - they make it estate and non-estate - they own their own houses for example - them and us - how can you mix with them. I just chat away and ignore it!

Among the Tenant community as a whole the low number of friendship contacts can also be accounted for by the large proportion of households with kin in the settlement and the importance attached to family ties, for as will be explored later, close friendships appear to grow most successfully when strong kinship bonds are absent. Moreover a significant section self-styled themselves 'loners' having no need/requirement for friendships:

I keep to myself - what with the family and the dogs - I've no time and what would I want with friends - we find our own things to do - don't bother with friends - we're so busy really, we have nought to do with anyone.

I'm a loner - I've no need for many friends - my best friend's at Medstead - four miles away - I visit him occasionally and we go for a drink.

I don't make friends easily - work friends are my friends - I don't see much of the village - but then I'm not a person who has close friends.

Of those who did have close friends, the majority were within the village and thus inevitably bound also to the Tenant's work. However the spacial layout of tied cottages Prevents the informality revealed on modern housing devel-

opments and the casual, often transitory, acquaintanceships, so evident in Metropolitan villages, are rarely perceived among Tenant communities. In fact of all the groups the Tenants place the greatest emphasis on privacy:

I've two friends - one here and one in Alresford - but there's no dropping in - we respect each other's privacy - we're a different community up here - everyone keeps themselves to themselves.

I'm very happy - they leave us alone and don't interfere - never banging on the door and saying come to this.....there's no borrowing of sugar but we're not shunned or anything.

Owing to the generally small size of Tenant communities and their apparent reticence to venture out of their immediate group, many Tenants are unable to form relationships with people of their own age and thus within the village are forced to adopt intergenerational friendships. This is especially the case for young Tenants:

There are very few people of my age; so I have no close friends here but a few I get on well with - mainly of the next generation.

I know two other young women but they're not in the village - there's more older population here than average - you don't notice the age difference in the village - in a town even five years older and they're a different generation - here there's probably fifteen years difference with the neighbours but I don't notice.

The village thus provides the main venue for Tenant friendships. However a third have made close friends in the surrounding area. Some of these are maintained by Tenants who have moved from the nearby locality; while others, born in the village, have had time to evolve area contacts, these usually taking longer to develop than village friendships. In addition new friendships are encouraged through member-

ship of societies and, owing to the small size of Tenant communities, even female societies may be area based in order to be supported by a viable population.

Friendships in places of past residence are limited by access to private transport and the small number of immigrants. Also, owing to the decline in agricultural employment the majority of non-local Tenants migrated to the settlement several decades previously and thus passage of time has reduced the number of contacts here.

Council Residents

Over half this group were born or have lived most of their adult life in the village (Table 7.3) and nearly three quarters of the Council residents have village kin, clearly perceived as friends:

My friends are here but I am related to most of them.

You say 'hello' to everyone but they are not your friends. Your close friends are those in the family and those you have known all your life.

The Council residents possess the highest proportion of friends within the village of any group with over three quarters having the majority of their close friendships here. Outside kin, village friendships are generally restricted to other Council residents and in villages with several Local Authority Housing estates their occupants reveal closer ties with inhabitants from distant Local Authority estates than with the house owners in adjacent private development:

I've good friends here but only on the [Council] estate.

I've only acquaintances here, no friends.
The people I know are mainly on the
[Council] estates.

I only know people on the [Council] estate,
we sit on the front lawn and talk or have
house meetings.

Of the few friendships which have been established in places of past residence, many were made by women who later moved to the settlement on marriage. However, lack of access to private transport severely restricts any regular contact with past friends, Council residents being the least mobile of any group with only half of the households having access to private transport. Women are particularly penalised in this respect. Thus although many of the immigrant Council residents grew up in the local vicinity, regular contact with friends within the area is also limited.

Friends made through employment are negligible. For women this can be related to their type of employment with cleaning for middle-class households being the most common (Table 10.3*), for while contacts are made, few describe their employers as friends. The limited number of male work friends, however, appears linked to their conception of a friend; for example many male Council residents did not appear to regard a drinking partner as a friend (1).

Locals.

This group is strictly divided between agricultural and non-agricultural households. However despite the contrasting characteristics of individual members of this group, their length of residence in the settlement leads to certain similarities in their friendship network. The most striking of these was the assertion by a large number of respondents, with various backgrounds, that they had no close friends. With three quarters of Locals having family in the village, this group have the highest percentage of kin living nearby of any group, and this appears to substantially reduce the requirements for close friendship, as this conversation between an agricultural couple and the following statement from a nurseryman reveal:

wife : I suppose our friends are further afield,
in fact we don't really have that many.
farmer : Not with the children and their families,
we don't really get involved socially.

We're too busy to see friends, what with
the business and the family and that.

Similarly a third of the Locals are of, or approaching, retirement age (Table 7.1), and in general the number of friends appears to decline with increasing age. For those involved in agriculture both sexes have heavy day and often, evening commitments.

For those who did recognise close friendships two thirds of these are in the village with half the respondents also having friends in the surrounding area. These are often contacts established in childhood and the majority of this group are sufficiently mobile, with access

to private transport, that they are able to maintain these links. A few, all spouses of native residents, retain friends from places of past residence and only a small number have formed close friendships through work. This latter phenomenon appears due to the isolation of the occupation of agriculture, for the farmer is isolated socially from his men and spacially from other farmers, and his wife rarely meets other women through her agricultural activities. Similarly other Local women, whose husbands are not involved in agriculture, tend to find employment in domestic labour or assisting in shops and public houses and few describe their employers as friends.

The following comment by a farmer summarises the typical behaviour of this group:

We have friends among farmers, and non-farmers, but we don't really mix, we're not on bad terms or anything, we just keep to ourselves.

11.1.2

The Mobile Incomers.

Principal Relocating Group

The PRG group has the greatest propensity of all groups for establishing friends within the settlement, with a large percentage of friends being established initially, the number of new contacts diminishing with length of residence. The initial establishment of village contacts appears influenced by the resident's pre-conception of the village prior to immigration:

households who moved to the settlement to find 'village' life are more likely to establish friends quickly and become initially involved in the settlement than those who move for other reasons (2). This young woman moved to the village for a 'new life style' and immediately became involved:

When we first arrived we did not quite know how to start so I decided it was up to me. I smiled at everyone and said 'hello' in the street and joined everything I could! Everyone said they were snobs here but the neighbours are great. There're different things in different houses every day.

However, this woman who moved for 'personal' reasons appeared to have little true concept of life in a small settlement before she migrated:

Its not as I imagined a village to be. In the early days I expected village life to be more caring, but this is missing. Perhaps a lot commute and when they come home they just go in and shut the door. I used to work but I gave it up, I like being at home but I miss friends, a chance to talk.

In contrast this female respondent used prior knowledge of village life to plan her relationship with the community:

I find it a kind village, if you need someone you always find someone. They're not always in and out though, having lived in a village before and moved away, I'm cautious. I got too involved before and it was difficult to escape so I keep myself to myself here.

The presence of children also encourages friendships, initially among mothers through the school or mother/child societies.

When we first arrived I was at work so left on my own. I used to dread being here with the kids, but its great. After I left hospital the village literally turned out to welcome me.

I didn't really enter the village scene until I had A - its up to her rather than me! Once you've a child you're invited to coffee mornings etc. so she can play - its all been through A

When I was working I knew no one - but once the baby arrived I knew all!

My friends are mainly through painting - and the kids. You start at play school and school, and later meet the mums of older similar aged kids.

Fathers are then introduced via home meetings. This group also provided most support for village societies, a successful venue for establishing contacts.

The number of area friendships is relatively small as these take longer to form, in several cases only being established when children left village junior schools and moved to an area secondary school - parents of schoolmates then becoming friends. Although men's friendships are typically formed through their wives a small proportion have made close friends at work. Similarly a few women also develop work friendships, especially those in full time employment.

As friendships are established in the new settlement, past contacts are correspondingly dropped and only a third have retained friends in places of past residence, despite half having moved from within only twenty miles from their last home (Table 8.1). Transitoriness is thus the dominant feature of the friendship network of this group. To some this endorsed their feelings of pointlessness, with this emotion

originating not from their life styles but from that of their neighbours. As these women discovered:

Most of my friends are in the village - just one or two elsewhere - but my close friends tend to come and go, they don't stay long here.

My only real friend is moving out. Most people here are retired - or they are not my type, or if they are they don't stay long. I feel a bit isolated really.

The two other early age Mobile Incomers groups exhibit similar networks within the broad framework provided by the PRG, however life style and socio-economic characteristics influence the more detailed behaviour patterns.

Spiralists

Spiralists reveal two distinct friendship patterns: either local and transitory or widespread and permanent. Many of this group have difficulty in establishing close friends locally through a feeling of futility due to the transience of their stay:

You don't make close friends in two years. We are friendly with the neighbours and we could become close friends but we have only been here one and a half years.

It's very friendly, all the village is very close knit...If I live here long enough I'll feel part of it. I spent eight years in Bristol but other places just fade.

I do not give a damn about the people, I am only living here until my husband moves his job.

Others find the receiving community reticent to establish close friendships with short term inhabitants or in some

cases to make any contact at all as these women living in three contrasting villages discovered:

I got to know one person and from then it was O.K. but it took a long time to get to know that 'first person'.

Our friends are either here or one hundred miles away - it is strange - I.B.M. only mix with I.B.M. and the service people, mainly navy are very cliquey. We are in business, but not I.B.M! It has taken me ten years to get into village life.

It is not really a village where one has close friends - no one spoke to me until the baby was born. We have lived here four years and I only knew the neighbours five months ago.

Experiences vary in relation to individual characteristics and stage in the life cycle. For those women among the higher socio-economic groups, often highly educated and halfway through their own careers, the frequent moves demanded by their husbands reduce their own promotion prospects and often lead to the temporary abandonment of outside employment. For these, life with young children in a small settlement can prove stifling and a higher proportion of these women stated that they had difficulty in identifying with possible friends than any other women questioned:

We have definitely no friends in this area, they're all where we lived before. They are not our type - it is a commuter village, salesmen type people. They're mainly working class and we do not fit in. I am afraid we are too educated to match up.

Nearly all my friends are here, but I had to start from scratch. I meet most of them at the National Housewives Register Group. We actually think there, its totally non-domestic, babies are banned!

Many of the older women also face reduced opportunity to meet friends as their children grow up and several suggested that although they enjoyed the mobile life when young, they now wished to settle on a permanent basis.

I thought Wheaton Aston would be nice, but it is only a baby factory - if you are not producing you feel out of it, so we came here but this place is not much better.

When I was young it was easy moving around - with children you meet lots of friends but now most women of my age have gone back to work and you never go along to schools when they are older. I feel very lonely but my husband's promised that we are only here for two years.

At the alternate end of the spectrum young mothers who have moved many times are generally able to quickly establish friendships. These relationships are generally based on frequent contact and reciprocal assistance and typically develop a high degree of informality within a short period of time.

Men appear to have a more varied friendship pattern. Typically male Spiralists pass a greater proportion of their time in employment and associated activities than other male Mobile Incomers with a relatively high percentage stating that they had made close friends through their work. Similarly men have a slightly larger number of friends in the surrounding locality than women, although for both partners, frequent movement results in few friendships being developed in the surrounding locality as area-based friends generally tend to be made after several years. Male Spiralists also tend to retain more friends in places of past residence and seem to

take longer to develop village friendships than women:

I know very few here, but it is my fault.
I've kept most of my old friends away from
here, so I have no time or need to find
new ones.

My real friends are in the States, but
I have some good acquaintances but we
are only here for a couple of years.

Village friendships formed by male Spiralists are generally
made through their wives.

Both sexes solved the problem of frequently disrupted
friendships by retaining close friends in areas of previous
residence. Only those couples liked by both partners are
retained as close friends as long distances must often be
travelled to maintain contact, meetings tending to be
formal and pre-arranged. In several cases these permanent
friends provide much of the support which is usually given
by kin within an extended family network. This was
particularly the case where individuals had moved socially
upwards through education or marriage.

Origens

By definition the Origen group have a large percentage
of their friends and family contacts in places of previous
residence and this is regardless of length of residence.
The friendship description of the first two Origens who
have lived in the village for under ten years:

All our friends are in Stafford or Gnosall -
they're the people we seek out and visit. It
varies though, there's no set pattern, we've
had the odd word with the people here but
they're only acquaintances, nothing more.

Oh, we've lots of friends, well acquaintances really, here among the new - but our permanent friends are still in Wolverhampton.

are identical to the two latter accounts by Origen's of eighteen and twenty six years residence respectively:

All our friends are in Wolverhampton; we go over every couple of weeks and see them.

I've met a few people through school and societies, but they are not what you would call close friends; they are in Southampton.

Reasons for the retention is complex although two broad strands of explanation emerge: a close kin and friendship nexus prior to movement and the decision process leading to migration. For over half of this group the move to the village was the first since marriage and the majority have moved within twenty miles of their past residence, usually the parental base area (Table 8.3). Two thirds left the town to find a better house and environment for their family, unable to afford these in the conurbation. The village was thus perceived as a source of cheap housing and open space but not of community, this still being available in the place of previous residence. This focussing of attention on cheap housing, combined with inexperience of moving, led to unreal preconceptions of village life:

I didn't realise the difference between village life and the town. I miss my friends, I liked having houses all round me. Socialising is difficult here - people tend to keep more to themselves in a village than on a housing estate, we all went into each others houses there. We were all young and bought houses together. Here people are older and more established.

This group accustomed to the close kinship/friendship links of an established city experience difficulty in adjusting to the modern village with its transitory population:

You feel an outsider, everyone is from different backgrounds and different jobs. Everyone is on the move. If you are a woman at home you feel an outsider - everyone keeps themselves to themselves and don't say 'hallo'. Our friends are from before.

The neighbours are very friendly, more so than in town. In general people are friendlier, they all acknowledge you, they were mowing the lawn and organising groups for the kids before we moved in... our friends are in Walsall.

Although the predominant pattern is of a large number of friends in places of previous residence, and a small number in the local area and settlement, Origins also maintain work friendships and nearly one third have close friends at places of employment. Owing to the local nature of many of the migrations in this group, both sexes generally retained their previous employment and these work friendships are long established and akin to those from places of previous residence.

A few women felt that it was a mistake to leave the town and wish to return (although their contribution to the decision process appears minimal) using the possibility of a move back to the city as a reason for non-involvement with the village as these two women reveal:

They're acquaintances - its not their fault. Our friends are in Birmingham - thats where we come from. They're a funny lot here - we never intended staying, not here. I don't know why we have.

I've always hated it here - wanted to go back. I'm worried about the kids, they're not outgoing enough, there's not enough for them to do. But I suppose we'll stay - we've stayed so far.

A small section describe the village as a congenial place in which to live and the residents friendly, yet still retain close links with their place of previous residence:

People are friendly, especially after being brought up in a town. You know more people in a village; in the town you know the immediate neighbours but no one else, but most of our friends are in Wolverhampton still.

This pattern emerged in both regions, although Hampshire Origins have a higher proportion of friends in the surrounding area as a larger number have moved from within the general locality rather than from the South-Hants conurbation (3).

Long Term.

The broad nature of the Long Term residents as a collective (Chapter 7) is reflected in their friendship networks. While as with all residents the household pattern is at the last dependent on individual personality and preferences, wider external factors can be determined which introduce general correlations. The friendship networks of the Long Term appear influenced by the stage of settlement development on their arrival and the subsequent rate of influx. In those villages which commenced rapid growth with the entry of the Long Term residents, these

households were typically able to identify with other incomers and form relationships similar to those of the PRG, in particular if the household contained young children. However, many of the Long Term gradually seeped into settlements sometime prior to subsequent expansion, and for these immediate identification with potential friends proved difficult.

The village networks pertaining to this group fall into three broad trends. Several residents initially formed many close friendships. These, however, proved but transitory as the contacts subsequently left the settlement with new friendships in later life proving more difficult to form, as this woman describes:

We have very good friends here, very good friends, but less so than before. When we first arrived we easily made friends and over the years they've all gone. You don't seem to get the same chance now to meet people.

Similarly this man who moved into the settlement at the same time:

It was very welcoming, parties, social life, the elderly and the young, all involved. Of course it's all changed now...you just don't get to know the new. They all use it as a dormitory.

Other households had managed to keep these initial close contacts, or had slowly formed friendships over a longer period of residence, and it was these residents which now appeared most tightly bound to the settlement. The following all expressed a desire to remain within the village:

My friends are scattered. I've four very close friends here, and my husband likes

their husbands, I think that helps, don't you.

All our close friends are here, I'd not want to leave.

We're not the dropping in types, so we have very few what one would call, close friends, but we have many friends [in the village], there's a lot of our age group here and of course we've been here a long time...we have a cottage in Wales which we always said we'd retire to, but I think we'll stay here - it's a nice village and we know people here.

A few, however, had found it difficult to establish close friends even after a long period of residence in the village. These included residents in settlements which did not expand until several years after the initial arrival of the household. On entry the incomers found few inhabitants with whom they were able to form friendships, and the subsequent influx was of young families with whom the Long Term residents, now approaching later age stages, possessed little common interests. The situation was aggravated within households in which the female was economically active outside the house, especially if the couple was either childless or possessed teenage or adult children on arrival, as both the daytime absence of the female and the lack of young children appears to make the adoption of village friendships more difficult. These households compensated by adopting contacts elsewhere, as in the case of this household who after twenty one years in the village discovered a sudden vista of friendships when their own adult son moved into the neighbouring settlement.

Our friends are all over the place. We arrived here from Singapore and knew no-one. In three years we didn't make a single friend...most of our new friends are through our son, he lives at H...and has a very active social life.

similarly this couple who have both recently retired, finding that after twenty years residence they still have few friends within the village itself.

We didn't like it when we first arrived, but you get used to a place. We both worked so that didn't give us much time here, but we've never made friends here have we?

The majority of the Long Term possess friends in the surrounding area, having had time to establish these. Despite having lived in their current settlement for over fifteen years a large proportion have also retained friendships from the previous place of residence. Typically these are households who had moved to the settlement late in life, after the passing of the main arenas of friendship formation, education and children. These friends although seen infrequently are regarded as lifelong contacts and accorded higher status than the more transitory relationships held in the village.

A high proportion of close friendships, in particular male contacts, are made through employment. Aligned to the long period of residence lies stable employment and continued association with colleagues. Similarly, several of the female Long Term residents who are economically active outside the home, also possess strong friendship ties with work.

I've acquaintances here really, every one is out at work. No, my friends are in Stafford, where I work or in Wolverhampton where we used to live.

Our friends are elsewhere, not here. Oh where we used to live, through the church, from work, sport.

Before I started working I was much more involved, not much time now. The village is dying, times are changing...my friends are through work, and where we lived, very few here, acquaintances I'd say.

The Long Term, by virtue of the length of residence within the one place, have gained both friends and acquaintances, although this long habitation has not necessarily resulted in the formation of close friendships. Those close contacts that are established within the settlement however, differ from the networks exhibited by the other Mobile Incomers in that these have had time to evolve and grow through frequent contact within the one space. While the older age groups may once have possessed such stable relationships, for many of these, their recent relocation has spacially dissected these friendships.

Rich Late Age.

Among members of the RLA there is a strong resistance to the development of village contacts and under half have made close village friendships despite their generally long period of residence in the settlements. This is based on an acute class consciousness for, owing to the distribution of housing, there are a limited number of their social group within each settlement. However, members of the RLA are generally reticent to admit to class differences and formulate excuses based on length of residence, age differences or lack of interest from others, for their non-association with the lower socio-economic groups. These comments

taken from three different villages illustrates this:

The bungalows, they're a little bit - well - a different generation. We don't really meet them - and the retired don't really want to. It's not just their background.

They're not really country people, which we are. It's not because they don't have the same background, there's a barrier, they're townies, they do new things, but this end don't join in. We're mainly village people up here.

There used to be parties and social life, it's finished now - IBM changed that. They're a different sort of person, there's the odd lunch party still, but pounds, shillings and pence changed the village.

As selection of friends from within the village is self-restricted, it is necessary to locate new contacts from within a wider spacial area. The RLA are able to achieve this through access to private transport, all twenty three RLA households own cars and in over half the households, husband and wife own separate cars. They are thus able to establish and maintain area friendships which are denied to households where both partners rely on public transport or where the private vehicle is confined at a place of employment during the day. Thus over half the RLA have made close area friendships, the highest proportion of contacts within the local vicinity of any group:

I've good friends in the surrounding villages, but there aren't many people here which I have a lot in common with. Socially I know few people here, my friends are all around the area.

My close friends are all over the place. I don't know a lot of people here, everyone leads their own life. The majority of my friends are round about.

In addition the RLA tend to retain friends from previous places of residence, and this despite over half of the households having lived in the village for more than ten years (Table 7.3), and over half having moved further than fifty miles from their last place of residence (Table 8.1). Owing to the employment demands of the husband the group have generally been mobile prior to retirement or late age and have gathered friends during these migrations. The group has also retained a high proportion of childhood and college associates, again spacially scattered as this woman explains:

My friends are mainly from University or from school, and they're all over the place. I see them occasionally but mainly we write.

All friendships tend to be shared by husbands and wives. Females of this age and class regard contacts developed by their husbands through employment, as joint friends, presumably as a result of the hostess role many of them had adopted. As distant contacts are generally visited together, these also tend to be, or later develop into joint friends (4). The convention of shared friendships is reflected in the couples' adoption of these when forming new relationships within the vicinity of the settlement. The typical friendship pattern of the RLA is thus widely spaced over space and time and undifferentiated between the sexes.

Retired.

The friendships possessed by this group are typically close, limited in number and of long duration. Few new close friends are made at this age, though numerous acquaintances may be formed. Socialising tends towards formality, an apparent cohort effect, related to the social norms applying during this group's youth, rather than a phenomenon

of their age.

An examination of this group's network of contacts reveals that two thirds of the Retired group have retained friends in previous places of residence. This is to be expected considering the age structure of the group and the generally limited length of residence within the settlement, over half having moved to the village only within the last five years. (Table 7.3)

You meet people through coffee mornings and the Institute and just walking around, but its still nice to go back home and see your friends.

We meet people at the Bridge Club, or Golf Club, but none of my close friends live in the village. They're all in B...where we used to live.

The Retired find it difficult to meet other people as their age group is the least mobile, and they appear content to rely on these prior friendships. Various explanations are provided:

It's tougher as you get older, less easy to make friends. When you're young you meet mothers at the school gates and get to know people. The neighbours are friendly and perhaps I'd know more people if I went to church. I'm not W.I but I joined to meet people - women like to talk.

I don't know anyone of my age - they're all town people - from Brum and Wolves-business people. They just sleep here - they keep themselves to themselves.

These established friendships are usually shared by husband and wife.

Over a third of those with close village friendships moved to the settlement to be near family and former friends,

for many these long-term local contacts are seen as sufficient:

My best friend and I grew up together so she bought a house in the village to be near me. I've no other close friends here, only acquaintances, people you meet at coffee dos and things.

I moved here to be near my friends, but you're never left on your own, everyone makes you very welcome. But at my age, dear, you don't make new friends.

However, a few do quickly establish new local friends. These tend to be households which have moved several times during their married lives and are thus accustomed to developing new contacts. Of those who have made village friendships over three quarters have moved more than twice since they were married. As in the case of these two Retired respondents:

When we came here it was a shock - a very bad winter. We had nothing and no friends. But we quickly made friends didn't we? People you can depend upon. Where we live, you know what everyone does.

Our old friends visit us, but they're all dying off. But you find you make friends. I was ill when we arrived and I'm known for being ill. All sorts came and made enquiries. In a town you don't know who lives next door even.

These new local friends are often separate for husband and wife; women appearing to develop friendships with greater ease than their male counterparts, in particular, friends within the village. This may be related to the lifestyle of the couple prior to retirement. As the woman has generally spent a large proportion of her time in the

immediate environment of the home she is adjusted to establishing contacts from within the community. The man, having had an alternative work environment, has relied to an extent on this for company, though not necessarily friendship, and is unused to relating on a daily basis with village residents. The following conversation succinctly illustrates this point:

Husband: We've no roots here, no deep friendships.
 Wife : But we've fallen on our feet - the day we moved in one neighbour had a hot meal ready and the other brought round an information sheet.
 Husband: I don't know the village people...
 Wife : But I joined the W.I. and the neighbours are good and we've met people through church.

Furthermore among this age group close friends appear to be selected only from members of one's sex and there is a far greater number of females from all groups in the village during the daytime than males.

The national age structure also ensures that men have a smaller selection from which to choose and must thus enlarge their search to the surrounding area. In addition whereas female societies, a natural environment for establishing new friendships, are usually found within the village, societies attractive to men, such as sport or specialised activities, often require support from a larger population than that provided by a single settlement, and are thus area based (5). This polarisation of female/male friendships into village/area contacts, is enhanced by the greater mobility of retired men in comparison with their spouses, (few of the latter having the ability to drive or access to a car), enabling them to seek area contacts denied to their wives.

Friends developed through employment similarly tend to be male contacts. Owing to the low level of employment outside the home among females of this class and age, no women established friends through their own work and wives appear to have little contact with their husband's work colleagues. This appears to be associated both with their perception of friendship and with an underlying feeling among females of this generation that it is important for men to retain their own personal friendships:

His friends are still his local government friends - still sees them in Wolverhampton, plays badminton or has dinner. Mine are in the village - they keep changing!

11.2.Networks of Kinship.

The study of the relationships held by the groups revealed that the kinship network performs two clearly defined functions: a support role and a social role, the predominant role being determined by the location of kin. Thus the support function occurs when kin are in close proximity to each other, the social function becoming dominant as kin are separated by increasing distance measured in either space or time.

The support function comprises psychological support and physical support, and in most cases the two run in co-existence. Physical support is defined as practical assistance such as shopping, transport, cleaning etc. and for those without kin in the immediate locality, physical support is provided by friends. Psychological support occurs both on a daily basis in the form of companionship and confidant, and at times of crisis. Although a degree of psychological support is still obtained from distant kin via the telephone or letters, daily psychological support is typically drawn with greater ease from the providers of physical support, and in many cases where kinship links are particularly tenuous, crisis support is also provided by friends.

The social function is often formal and prearranged, and regardless of kin proximity, is emphasised at traditional times, religious holidays and anniversaries. For those with kin nearby, however, the social function is

typically linked to the support role, especially among siblings and those of contemporary age, and in these cases there is a greater degree of informality.

Throughout the analysis the emphasis is on the differing relationships of People with Place, with particular stress on the contrasting patterns revealed by the Restricted Residents and Locals, and the Mobile Immigrants. Tables 11.3 to 11.11 illustrate the distance of groups from their kin and frequency of contact.

11. 2. 1

The Restricted Residents and Locals.

Tenants

Tenant households have kin throughout the immediate area, that is they tend to be local to the area rather than the village. This is especially so where the estate is sufficiently large to own or previously to have owned - more than one village, as in the case of Weston under Lizard. Thus although this family is employed by the one estate it is spread over several square miles.

George's father's at Tong, he's 80, all his family are close by...they're all within the community, mainly over Allbrighton way. His father was on the estate, and his brothers they've mostly moved but still live within the estate...George's own brother works over in W...E.

A prominent characteristic of this group is that adult Tenant children often remain in the parental home well into adulthood, several finding employment on the estate, as in the case of this family:

I've four children, all on the estate, the boys are outside, maintenance and machines, the girl cleans the office. Then I've a son at W...Poly. We all live together still!

It is typically only with marriage that offspring set up an independent home, commonly in the village:

My daughter runs the stable next door... she was always mad on horses so when the farm next door became empty she asked if she could take it over...doing very well she is.

However, increasingly neither work nor accommodation is being made available to the offspring of estate workers, a source of frustration to this family:

mother : Tricia wants to get married...

daughter: He won't let me....

mother : She wants to live next door, its been empty since last year, but he won't let her.

daughter: No. Dad asked...

mother : How can they get married with nowhere to live?

daughter: It could be years before...

mother ; If not she'll have to live in Alton, won't you Tricia? He comes from there, have to get a council house or something.

or this family who've spent all their married life in

Cheriton:

I do resent it that my kids have to leave because of newcomers. At one time all the families were related, as everyone used to stay. Not now, weekend cottages have put an end to that.

Despite this nearly half the Tenants have family in the village and nearly three quarters within ten miles;

one third see kin daily and over two thirds at least once a week (Table 11.3)

This cowman's wife has a typical family structure:

My son lives at home and my daughter's down the road. She was lucky to get a house so we've grandchildren near, which is very pleasant. Then I've a son and daughter two miles distant, they come over a lot, and another son four miles away, my brother's at the other end.

Similarly this retired chauffeur:

My son's three miles distant, a bricklayer there and my grandson's in forestry over at the other estate. I've another grandson four miles away and two daughters, one twenty miles, she comes down each weekend, and the other eight miles, she comes of a Wednesday.

who is the brother-in-law of this groom:

My wife and sister worked in the laundry, that's how I met my wife, she married me, and my sister married the chauffeur!

Due to the complex kin hierarchy present within a limited geographical area kin are relied on for both support and leisure and related to in an informal, casual manner. In addition Estate villages generally have limited range of services and facilities, and thus daily basic tasks for example shopping and transport, make specific demands which are usually shared among family members. As this support is evenly distributed among kin, individuals rarely endure intense daily pressure, despite the often large numbers of elderly people requiring care. Thus the regular giving and accepting of aid creates a climate of observance, maintaining an accessible source of assistance, which in times of crisis can adapt to provide immediate physical and psychological support.

Table 11. 3Tenant kinship network.

Frequency of contact

		Daily	weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village %	33	11	2	-	-	33
	0-10 %	-	15	11	2	-	28
	11-20 %	-	8	8	-	-	16
	21-50 %	-	2	11	3	-	16
	Over 50 %	-	11	4	15	2	17
Total %		33	31	28	20	2	

No = 87

Each respondent named up to four members of their family with whom they were in regular contact.

Such benevolence continues if the offspring have to move out from the village, many maintaining assistance over long distances, as this eighty year old man discovered:

My wife had a heart attack last month, she's in N...My son takes me in each week, I doubt if she'll come out... he's self-employed in Birmingham, both my sons were clever lads, passed 11 plus and moved on...I've a brother at T...and another one on the estate at B...my sister-in-law does the shopping for me each week.

or occupying considerable time travelling as did this woman who moved to a nearby village but still cycles the three miles to Cheriton taking half an hour each way:

I come over each afternoon to see Ma, just to help around...I do her hair once a week...my younger sister still lives with her and she does the shopping, and cleaning...sometimes we just sit and talk, she can't get out that much, she likes the company...I enjoy it.

Thus among close Tenant communities a complete nexus of kin obligations and reciprocal aid slowly evolves, allowing individuals to adjust to bonds and duties, thereby creating a network of support which can be called upon at any time.

Council Residents

A similar spacial kinship pattern emerges between Council residents. Nearly half the Council households have kin living in the village and over three quarters have family living within ten miles. Although nearly half see a member of their family daily and over three quarters once a week, under a quarter maintain regular contact with family living over twenty miles away. (Table 11.4). Various factors account for this. Many of the Council families were originally tenants of the farms and estates in the area and with

Table 11.4

		<u>Council kinship network.</u>					
		Frequency of contact.					
		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village %	34	14	-	-	-	46
	0-10 %	9	18	7	-	-	34
	11-20 %	-	9	16	-	-	25
	21-50 %	-	-	7	-	-	7
	Over 50 %	-	-	-	9	5	14
	Total %	41	30	14	9	5	

No = 63

the demise of work and growth of the family, the parent or grandparent had left the land. Applicants for local authority housing were usually settled within the vicinity, though not necessarily within the settlement they had originally inhabited. Employment and educational aspirations are typically satisfied locally so there is no pressure to leave the family base. Similarly marriage partners tend to be chosen from a limited social and spacial sphere and households are generally endogamous in their marriage partners (6). Thus the majority of relations will live in local authority property within the district.

As with the Tenants the family is the main provider of both physical and psychological support. Lack of money and limited access to private transport increases the requirement for daily practical, physical support and thus social visiting is often linked to joint shopping trips, shared transport or domestic duties, as this conversation reveals:

daughter :I was born here and moved away when I got married. After I married my marriage broke up. I came back and married Mum's son!

mother :She's a good girl, comes round everyday and we go to the shop.

daughter :Or I just clean and we talk, have a cup of coffee and a chat.

Such kin support is provided at all stages of the life-cycle:

Mum's great, comes over every day and does the ironing and gets lunch for the men. I work so it's a great help.

My daughter's in B...,over S....way. She does our shopping, so we see her every week.

Intertwined with these support visits is a valuable informal, social interaction. Recognised social meetings are, however, very formal, often restricted to family occasions and requiring preparation and style.

Many of these residents have a unique concept of space, referring to places within a few miles as being at a great distance. This appeared related to their frequent use of public transport: mileage in time-distance terms being two to three times further for a Council resident using a bus than for a car owning Mobile Incomer. Thus a daily shopping trip for the latter covered the distance travelled by a Council resident on a weekly or monthly family visit. Furthermore the general proximity of kin produced the feeling that those outside the confines of the village were distant:

My family come and take me out, but they're not local. I've five children in L...
 [two and a half miles distant], two in P...
 [eight miles distant] and one in H... [one
 and a half miles distant] (7)

I was born here and nan lives here. Its good to come back. My sisters come over from L... [two and a half miles distant] for a holiday, makes a change for them. We go for walks around. Its nice out here.

It is thus clear that within established rural communities the occupiers of Tied and Privately rented accommodation and Local Authority Housing reveal similar kinship structures. This is through the generally long period of residence of the current inhabitants and their kin within the area, if not the immediate settlement, and the low economic status of the two groups, as inability to pay for outside assistance appears to encourage close kin support.

Locals

It is to be expected that of all groups the Locals have the highest proportion of their kin living in the vicinity. Nearly three quarters have family in the village and all households interviewed have kin residing within ten miles (Table 11.5).

The extended family of the farming Locals is directly based on land ownership. Offspring usually inherit the farm or are given land locally, and large farmhouses mean less pressure to leave home; as children take over the farmhouse so ageing parents remain with them or in nearby farm accommodation. In addition the wider family often owns other local land so siblings, uncles and aunts live within the area, if not the village, so completing the kinship network. For many it is a matter of pride to have the family still around them, like this woman whose family have farmed locally at Bradley for over one hundred years:

My parents farmed at B...until I was two when they took over Wells Farm. My husband died in 1944 and his brother had it until 1950 when my son took it over. My other son has White Farm...I've three sons and two farms so the youngest is an agricultural engineer, he lives on the new estate.

The situation among the non-farming Locals differs in that although ancestors (parents and grandparents) and the horizontal extended family (siblings and cousins) are present, lack of local employment and accommodation means that offspring are not always able to remain in the village. Most, however, will remain within the area, their education and employment aspirations typically being satisfied locally.

Table 11. 5Local kinship network.

Frequency of contact.

			Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
			%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village	%	48	23	-	-	-	72
	0-10	%	-	30	3	-	-	33
	11-20	%	-	8	10	-	-	18
	21-50	%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Over 50	%	-	-	-	8	-	8
Total			%	48	41	10	8	-

No = 44

Kin are primarily viewed as a source of support rather than for social purposes, though in reality the two are intertwined. Over three quarters see their family at least once a week with nearly half meeting kin daily and all Locals see family at least once a month. Only three households keep in regular contact with kin living over twenty miles away, these are seen four to six times each year. Although for many families physical support is provided on a daily basis there appears little resentment at this interdependence, it is part of daily life and, as with the former two groups, a reciprocal system of demands naturally occurs and is satisfied as and when they arise. For example the natural style of this extended non-agricultural family who have lived in Acton Trussell for over one hundred years:

I go to my daughters each day and spend the day there. She works, so I do a bit of cleaning and get it ready for their lunch, they all come back for lunch...and my eldest grandson comes and sleeps down here with me in the winter; he's a good lad, makes sure I'm okay.

Only in times of crisis, when kin are relied upon to provide instant support, does the family situation appear to be discussed; even then the feeling of being taken for granted which sometimes arises among newcomers when suddenly thrust together, is not openly apparent. The case of this grandmother, whose eldest son now farms her late husband's land, illustrates this point:

I go down to my eldest boy's place most days. My daughter-in-law died last year and my granddaughter is on her own ...she's eight.

When faced with a family crisis the grandmother slipped into a ready made role. Having seen the situation prior to her daughter-in-law's death, and experienced the role in her younger life, she has no need to learn her part.

Intertwined with this daily support is a social role: again unspecified and unquestioned. Kinship meetings are casual, informal and rarely planned:

There's three cousins on my father's side and three on mum's side...and Mum and Dad of course, and both sets of aunts and uncles. I suppose we do see each other quite a lot, every day probably...not socially though, they're just around I suppose.

During these meetings daily problems are casually discussed and tensions released as this young mother found:

I see my sister every day, I go round to her house with the girls. She's a little boy, and we go to the shops; it's nice to have someone to talk to who's always around, we're very close.

The availability of family to fill social needs thus reduces the requirement and time available for friendship connections. Only if the family is unable to fulfill social and support obligations is an extended network of friendship ties sought and adopted, but among most Locals the family still provides an intact system of assistance and companionship.

Having completed an assessment of those whose families have typically been established for many years in the vicinity the Mobile Incomers are turned to. Immediately through losing

the shared phenomenon of extended length of residence, new kinship patterns emerge, which touch the spacial network, the roles individual kin members will adopt, and the interactive behaviour within families.

11. 2. 2

Mobile Incomers.

Principal Relocating Group

Of all groups the PRG reveals the greatest degree of variation in its kinship networks. A small percentage, eighteen households, have family living in the village, and a further twenty one have kin within ten miles, however this accounts for under a third of the households. Over half the PRG have family living over twenty miles away, and over a third have to maintain regular contact over fifty miles. Indeed for a fifth the entire kin with which the household are in contact are all beyond fifty miles, while a further fifth have an extensive spacial network crossing many miles with both near and distant kin (Table 11.6)

Of those with kin in the village, three categories emerge: those who have moved to be near their parents; those whose parents have followed them into the village and more rarely, siblings moving to be near each other.

The majority of the households with village kin, are cases where parents have moved in after their children. A catalyst is generally required to lead to the relocation of the

Table 11. 6

		<u>PRG kinship network</u>					
		Frequency of contact					
		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village %	8	4	4	-	-	16
	0-10 %	-	9	8	-	-	18
	11-20 %	-	6	23	-	-	29
	21-50 %	-	1	2	12	-	17
	Over 50 %	-	-	6	22	12	39
	Total %	8	18	44	34	10	

N= 140

household and even those moves which have been vaguely planned for several years occur only at a set point in the life cycle or after a specific change in life style.

Common reasons given are death, illness, retirement and grandchildren, and the move is more likely to occur if offspring live in what is considered a 'pleasant environment'. As these two women living in South Staffordshire reveal:

When Dad retired they came over from Walsall that's a nasty, dirty place, but Mum died in 1979, Dad's still here.

Although the decision is usually taken by both parties involved, the parents are obviously initially dependent on their children to help them to settle in, and this can put unpredicted strains on the situation. These moves, however, appear more successful than those where offspring relocate themselves and their families to take up residence near parents.

Only four of the PRG group moved to the village to be near parents. As this is a more complex manoeuvre than that undertaken by an older couple, often entailing the uprooting of a family comprising children and a spouse, it usually occurs only under serious circumstances or if an alternative motive is present: financial, employment or educational etc. There was only one household whose parents had retired and moved from the city to a village encouraging their child and family to follow; this did not appear to be a successful move:

When Mum and Dad retired they bought one of the bungalows...we'd come out and see them every week, the kids really loved it...so last year we came out too..it's great having Mum and Dad around...I missed them...I think they were lonely...Derek finds the travelling to work bad...I don't know any of the neighbours...we'll probably go back.

There were two cases where the move was to be near a sibling. A builder moved from the West Midlands to Wheaton

Aston, his younger brother then followed him:

I moved here about two years ago and bought this double plot, we built my house, this one, then D's...it's worked out very well.

The second was a young mother who moved from the West Midlands to Acton Trussell:

It's great here...my sister is moving out here, they've got one of the new houses on the end estate...she lives here already! always popping over, our little boys are the same age.

The relationships revealed by these families are very different from those which have evolved slowly over a period of constant contact, and both parties tend to have a greater awareness of each other. In all cases a conscious decision has been taken to live in close proximity to each other, usually after much pre-consideration. Several, though not all, households openly discussed their anxieties, suggesting appropriate terms of interaction and commitment and this leads to a more self-conscious relationship - at least initially. In addition new support patterns must be re-established following a period of predominantly social relations. Furthermore, the main kinship relationship is between parent and child; the PRG rarely encounters the sibling support structure, although households with parents living nearby saw more of distant siblings than those without:

My sister's in Woves, takes two hours on the bus, it's half an hour to most places if you have transport...I suppose she does come over more, now that Dad's here.

My brother's in C...E...we see him at parties he's in our clique...he calls round if he's been over to see Mum.

Although this relationship is similar to that revealed by the Retired group (in many cases both households were interviewed), certain subtleties emerged owing to the perception of the situation by the different groups. PRG women tend to be affected most by the nearness of kin and in particular find it difficult to transfer from a predominantly social to a predominantly support relationship. Several feel the demands made on them are unreasonable. Unlike a traditional kin structure where offspring share the burden for ageing parents and the pressure slowly increases, these women face sudden responsibility, as death, retirement or illness result in parents moving to the village or area. As in the case of this woman whose eighty year old mother moved into their home:

Mun's a sweetie and I love her dearly,
but she's completely deaf and does need
a lot of looking after, she's only been
here six weeks and my whole life's changed
...what else could we do, she's slowly
getting worse, I'd hate to see her going
into a home.

However the amount of physical support varies; in many households the parents of the PRG couple are relatively young, having only recently retired and little actual caring by offspring is required. Practical support tends, therefore, to be reciprocal, the most common form being baby sitting by parents and shopping by offspring. It is an increase in psychological support that the PRG find most difficult to adapt to, in particular as the reunion of parent and child is usually provoked by a life style change (retirement) or crisis (death/illness).

Similarly the type of social interaction between nearby kin reveals considerable variation. Several households attempt to maintain the more formal arrangements that had existed when the two families were apart:

We decided right from the start there'd be no 'dropping in'. Mum wanted to keep her independence - so I generally ring and check its convenient.

Others appear to enjoy the new informality close contact can bring to these social relationships:

My mother moved here when Dad died. She's on the new estate. It's great having her around - she pops in everyday to help me with the house - its great.

This kin interaction is generally on an individual or family basis for, with the exception of siblings, differences in age generally precludes kin involvement in the wider social activities of the PRG - such as large scale entertaining or sporting activities.

Several PRG were influenced by kin consideration in their selection of area of residence; these chose to live near to their family though not in the same settlement. Contact is usually formal and occurs at regular intervals, with the respondents making frequent journeys to fulfil commitments and the social relationship typically includes a strong support role as in these two cases from the West Midland:

We moved here to Bradley to be half-way between our families in North Staffordshire and G.....'s work in Wolverhampton. In Birmingham, where we were before, it was too far to keep an eye on them, especially if anything were to happen.

My parents moved to Huddersfield and my husband worked in Wolverhampton, and we needed to be halfway. Here Wheaton Aston we're near the M6 for both Wolverhampton and my parents.

The PRG have less contact with relatives at a long distance than other groups. Lack of money, the importance given to friends, and the time spent with children, appear the main reasons.

Although grandchildren create a strong impetus for contact with the couples' parents, many feel that they are less mobile once they have children. This especially is the case when children reach school age and join their own home based societies and make local friends. Similarly children increase demands on family income and there is less money to spend on long journeys to see kin. A primary reason for lack of kin contact is that education and employment has caused the PRG to grow away from their kin, introducing new ideals, attitudes and standards, so they no longer have much in common with family. Friends replace kin satisfying many of the demands normally met by family, and the greater importance and reliance this group then places on friendship further reduces their need or desire for kin contact. Friends, often of only a limited duration, thereby take over the support and social roles of family.

A few households maintain so limited a relationship with family that even in times of acute crisis, such as death,

when kin succour is normally perceived by society as essential, friends will provide the required support:

M..... was wonderful when father died, we live so far away, but she came with me to the hospital each week, and on several days even went by herself...I'll never forget driving to the funeral, G..... was away at the time, so I went on my own...I didn't stay.

Whatever contact there is with family tends to be long stay and although most households seem to look forward to these visits some found even infrequent contact tiresome, and the fact that it usually lasted for a length of time appears to make the situation worse as this young mother found:

We've only been here six months and Mum and Dad have been here two of them! There're not a good influence on the kids, keep interfering. It doesn't seem to affect D....., but it's driving me mad.

The other two young Mobile Inmigrant groups the Spiralists and Origenes each reflect a variation of the above kin pattern, polarized extremes of the PRG, manifestations of their own specific life style characteristics. While for the Spiralists traditional kinship behaviour has been replaced and adopted by friends, at the other end of the spectrum the Origenes strive to maintain the kinship intimacy usually displayed only by long established, spacially intact family units.

Spiralists.

The Spiralists network exhibits several of the characteristics of the PRG who reside at a distance from their families, although the frequent moves and often wider

educational and employment experience of the Spiralists subtly alters their kin interaction. As the main criteria for membership of this group is continual movement around the country it is inevitable that few live in areas inhabited by their family. Indeed few have kin within twenty miles of their homes and for a quarter of the spiralist group regular contact with kin entails maintaining a relationship with people living over fifty miles away. Thus under a quarter of this group see family more than once a month and three quarters only four to six times a year or less.(Table 11.7) Families generally, therefore, play a predominantly social as opposed to a support role.

Work related moves usually commence early in a Spiralist career, and thus the family adapt at an early age to the concept of distance between kin, and most Spiralists are well adjusted to relating to their kin on a primarily social basis. Distance inevitably precludes frequent meetings so these tend to coincide with traditional festivals and holidays, be long stay, and formally arranged in advance. However, some households find this separation from their families causes anguish and frustration, especially for women: despite living in Rowlands Castle for ten years this forty year old woman has still to make real friendships:

I do feel lonely and I suppose depressed..
We've no family near at all, if I'd relations around then I'd not feel such a need for an outlet, but I rarely see them. We go to B... a couple of times a month and visit them, but it's not like having them around the whole time.

Table 11. 7

		<u>Spiralist kinship network</u>					
		Frequency of contact					
		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
	Village %	4	4	-	-	-	8
Distance in miles from relatives	0-10 %	-	6	-	-	-	6
	11-20 %	-	2	8	4	-	14
	21-50 %	-	2	6	6	-	14
	Over 50 %	-	2	8	66	10	80
	Total %	4	14	20	62	10	

N = 74

This general need to be surrounded by kin is not, however, common among spiralists. If the desire to be near family is to occur it usually requires a specific stimulus - a crisis for example like the death of a young woman's father, six months after she'd moved to Acton Trussell:

My father died just after we moved here, they lived in Bristol where I was brought up. Then I realised how far away we were. We leapt into the car and down the Motorway' ...since then we must have been back every week, for my mother you see. I was always closest to my father although I didn't see much of him really...what we are going to do with Mum now I do not know. It would have been easier if we'd all been nearer..I feel very lonely and isolated up here.

Alternatively the presence of children or grandchildren can initiate an awareness of separation: after three successful moves in eight years, a Scottish woman started missing her Dundee family after the birth of her first child:

We moved down through B...'s work. I'd have liked to stay up there. We left our parents and family - and well - we've no root contacts through them - I want that for my son's sake, want to give him roots.

Similarly for older spiralists a time of anguish and resentment at continual movement can arise when their children are too old to continue moving with the family and decide to settle in the present area, as this grandmother from Acton Trussell found:

We're moving to Sheffield soon, it's our eighth move in twenty five years. It never bothered me before, but this one will, having to leave my son and grandchild.

Most Spiralists, however are not concerned by lack of family support. Many, like this young woman from Rowlands

Castle, take it for granted that their families are not around:

Our nearest relatives are one and a half hours drive away so we rarely see them... it doesn't bother us, why should it?

Others see even the simple maintenance of kin ties as a tedious obligation as this woman in her late forties pointed out:

We see our families occasionally if we make the effort...they're about two hours drive away.

For many of the spiralists, then, lack of close family contact was compensated for by friendships. These adopted the family role, providing the support traditionally supplied by kin. Thus friends of only a short duration would help in times of crisis, become confidantes and advisors, as well as supplying the basic daily support of baby sitting, shopping and transport. Among this group therefore, infrequent, pre-arranged, formal family meetings co-exist with frequent, casual friendship associations.

Origens

The unique feature of the Origens is their frequent contact with kin despite the latter's distance from the village. Most of this group grew up swathed in a complex kin-network, accustomed to relying on an extended family for support and leisure. Often the Origens are the first of their family to migrate from the city, leaving parents,

grandparents and even great-grandparents. The women, in particular, appear to find the transition difficult to accept. As most of this group have moved to the village for environmental or economic reasons, places of employment are rarely altered and the men still travel daily to the city for work, thus visiting old haunts and maintaining past contacts. The woman, plucked from a close knit family and isolated in the village, often without private transport, finds it difficult to adapt and to cope with feelings of loneliness and disconnection from the family. In addition, as this is generally the first move from the area of birth, neither partner has had to make new friends since adulthood and many, again especially the woman, lack the confidence to approach potential friends and this further strengthens family ties.

Thus two thirds of this group have regular contact with family living ten to twenty miles away and a quarter with families over twenty miles distant. (Table 11.8).

These relationships are distinct in that though the families are rarely able to maintain daily contact, weekly visits being most common, kin provide both physical and psychological support. This occurs mainly at the weekend, with kin fulfilling household tasks (shopping, cleaning, gardening), transport and child care, and for many women in particular, the time spent with parents and siblings at the weekend is the focus of the week. Despite this family having lived in Acton Trussell for six years they still rely on the maternal grandmother to provide baby sitting:

We see a lot of Mum and Mun-in-law, Mum's in B...that's about 8 miles away, and Mum-in-law's in Wolverhampton. My sister's

Table 11. 8

Origens kinship network.

Frequency of contact

		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village %	10	7	-	-	-	17
	0-10 %	-	21	4	-	-	25
	11-20 %	2	21	22	-	2	47
	21-50 %	-	7	7	5	2	19
	Over 50 %	-	-	2	5	4	7
Total %		12	51	33	8	6	

N = 51

in Wolverhampton too, I see a lot of her..
 Mum always stops with us Friday nights so
 we can go out, we take her back on Saturdays,
 do some shopping, see Dad and spend Saturday
 evening with S...'sister .

Equally in times of crisis the family is sufficiently near
 to provide full time support for a limited period of time,
 as this young mother discovered five years after she'd left
 the West Midlands for Wheaton Aston:

Daughter :Mum comes over every day since the baby
 was born.

Mother :I have to catch the 8.20 a.m. from
 Wolverhampton and take the 3.30 p.m.
 back, it's the last one, but a daughter
 needs her mother at this time.

Social roles are intertwined with this support and the
 distance does not appear to preclude informal relationships:

My family's in Cannock ten miles from
 Acton Trussell, I see them every week.
 My sister's just had a baby as well and
 she comes over most days and we go for
 walks and chat and that.

Furthermore at the weekends the entire family often move to
 nearby kin, as did this Wheaton Aston family, even after
 two years in the village:

Our families are both in Wolves, and my
 friends and all my relatives are there.
 In fact my friends are mainly relatives
 ...we spend all our weekends in Wolves.

The Origins thus possess a unique kin structure for
 despite being separated from family by many miles they still
 reveal the close kin ties normally only found among those in
 constant intimate contact. They have thus transposed the
 tightly knit kinship pattern of inner city areas to cover an
 extended physical area of many miles. They can do this
 because in reality the Origins have two homes: the physical
 home of the village and the social home of the conurbation
 they have left behind.

Long Term

The kinship networks of the Long Term residents can be broadly divided into two patterns related to the age of the household's offspring (Table 11.9). Thus those families containing children of secondary school age, and young dependent adults, possess contrasting family support systems to those whose offspring are young independent adults with their own households. These two patterns fall at opposite ends of a spectrum of movement of kinship orientation and obligation, the process by which the household's active extended family shifts from the ascendants to the progeniture. For as parents die and the siblings become increasingly orientated towards their own descendants, so the emphasis on reciprocal kin support moves towards the children as a focus of attention.

Those households with older dependent children appear to possess the weakest extended kinship links, particularly in cases where the couple's parents have died. Through leaving the original family home at an earlier age, these households have typically reduced contact with other members of the extended family, including siblings, and have established their own local networks, based on friendship. The nuclear family however, is not yet prepared for an extension of the support downwards through the children. This fifty year old mother of three children in their late teens and early twenties provides an extreme example of this situation:

The kids are our only family. Both our parents are dead. My husbands got a brother he hasn't seen for years; we've both got distant cousins, or something, not that we ever see them. They're not our family. Well I suppose they are, but you know what I mean, not the same.

Table 11. 9Long Term kinship network

Frequency of contact

		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village %	7	7	-	-	-	14
	0-10 %	7	14	-	-	-	21
	11-20 %	-	14	49	5	-	49
	21-50 %	-	-	14	19	12	33
	Over 50%	-	-	2	21	7	26
	Total %	14	35	54	35	17	

N = 43

The transition of the extended support network from the antecedents to independent adult children typically appears a smooth process for the Long Term residents. Due to the household's length of residence within the one Place, the majority of the offspring passed their childhood and young adult life in the settlement and, while few appear to settle within the village itself, typically marry, live and work within the local vicinity. The resultant family network thus resembles that of the established households, a relationship which has been allowed to evolve over a period of time, neither hindered by spacial distance, nor formally reconstructed following a session of limited contact. In addition as the bonds of the household with parents and siblings have been weakened through death and distance, the couple appear eager to cultivate ties with offspring. For many the relationship with children and grandchildren is given priority over all other external contacts, consuming the majority of the households' social and support time. This comment by a fifty five year old woman illustrates a typical support relationship:

My daughter's in Wolves, has two young babies. She has a nanny but she works, a doctor, always on call it seems; so I often have the babies, we see a lot of her.

Similarly:

I suppose the children take up most of our time. Both of our daughters stayed in the area, and since the grandchildren were born I suppose we don't really seem to have time for anything else!!

Or this description by a young woman whose in-laws, Long

Term residents, occupy the neighbouring house:

My father-in-law is a dentist in Stafford and when G....qualified he suggested he joined the practice. It was their idea for us to live here. This house came up and they suggested we buy it. It has worked well, especially since E...was born.

The extended kinship network of the Long Term is thus a network in transition, passing between the system of the early Mobile Incomers which reciprocates aid and support with parents and antecedents, and that of the retired and late age Mobile Incomers, whose kin orientation is clearly towards their offspring. Unlike both these however, the family pattern of the Long Term is akin to that of the established groups, in that for many of the households, the relationship between the Long Term resident and child is typically undisturbed by distance or time or enforced physical separation. In turning to assess the kinship networks of the older age Mobile Incomers both these latter factors return to the fore.

Rich Late Age.

None of the RLA have family living within the village - a situation making them unique. Employment and educational opportunities considered appropriate by this group are rarely local and thus kin are adjusted to the concept of a wide-spread extended family. Indeed many consider it inevitable that their children will leave and would be distressed if they were to remain in the family home without a break. As this mother of four expressed:

They've all gone, thank God - though we thought we'd never get rid of C...,O...

was different, couldn't wait to leave home...we've been very lucky - we've a daughter in Germany and another in America gives us an excuse to see the world in our old age!

Similarly most children spend a period of their education away and thus close family ties are relaxed at an early age. Owing to the late age of this group few have to contend with the responsibilities of ageing parents, although two households revealed that until a few years previously, parents had lived in the family home with them, RLA houses being sufficiently large to accommodate ageing relatives without strain.

Thus only six households, a quarter, have kin within fifty miles of their home and out of the twenty three households only three regularly see kin more than once a month. Thus for ninety per cent of this group, regular contact entails maintaining relationships across fifty miles distance. (Table 11.10).

Perhaps because of this early acceptance of kin-separation, expectations of the degree of kin support are realistic and the RLA appear to experience few problems in any transition between support and social roles. Physical support is limited as wealth reduces the need for practical support between kin through private transport, paid assistance with house and garden, au-pairs and boarding schools. In general relatively few demands appear to be made by either party for psychological support, possibly linked to the independence which is encouraged from an early age.

Table 11. 10.

RLA kinship network.

Frequency of contact

		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Distance in miles from relatives	Village %	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0-10 %	-	-	13	-	-	13
	11-20 %	-	4	-	-	-	4
	21-50 %	-	-	4	13	-	17
	Over 50 %	-	-	17	61	15	90
	Total %	-	4	35	65	15	

N = 23

However, several respondents have children living away in full-time education and thus complete kin involvement occurs at regular intervals. Similarly long-term physical and psychological support is provided in times of crisis. As the RLA generally live in large houses they can accommodate long stay visitors with ease as both these households reveal:

C... 's in the Army, our daughter-in-law stays with us for a short while, while he's away. Her parents are abroad, in the Diplomatic Service.

We had our grandson with us last week, he's three. J..., our daughter-in-law, is a University lecturer and was at a conference, M... our son, is tied up, so we had S...

The prime relationship with kin is overtly social. As the RLA have a limited selection from their own socio-economic group with which to associate, they tend to rely socially on relatives, to a greater degree than other groups with kin at a distance. As RLA females rarely work outside the home and all have access to private transport, they are able to spend periods of time away visiting family. Similarly adult children often spend blocks of time with their parents:

We saw the boys at Christmas, and at Easter. I suppose C... 's in South America with Shell, so he won't be home, but he and R... were home at Christmas.

The kinship pattern of the RLA is one of a primary long distance relationship with occasional short periods of close family contact, and yet the RLA appear able to oscillate

between the two, adapting to each situation with the minimum of disruption.

Retired.

The kinship pattern of the Retired falls into two distinct types: just over half the respondents have relations in the village or within ten miles; but for the remainder regular contact with kin requires maintaining relationships over twenty miles (Table 11.11). Thus half have daily meeting with family members, while just over forty per cent see kin only every two to three months.

Most of the first group have moved to be near their children, in particular retired spiralists. For these, the continual movement of the household in early life results in the nuclear family splitting as the children marry and settle locally while the parents continue to move. Retirement is thus an opportunity to live near to each other again after several years separation and pressure to do so becomes particularly strong when grandchildren are present. Similarly as both partners left their childhood home at an early age, and yet have rarely inhabited a location for any length of time, ties to individual settlements are limited. Few, therefore, regard a specific place as 'home' and while some may think nostalgically of their childhood area, most study the practical aspects of retirement and regard the most convenient family base as being the area their offspring inhabit.

Table 11. 11.

Retired kinship network.

Frequency of contact

			Daily	Weekly	Monthly	4 to 6 times a year	Once or twice a year	Total
			%	%	%	%	%	%
Village %			31	2	4	-	-	37
Distance in miles from relatives	0-10	%	13	2	2	-	-	17
	11-20	%	2	4	11	-	-	17
	21-50	%	-	-	4	16	4	22
	Over 50	%	-	-	-	27	-	27
Total			%	44	4	21	41	4

N = 57

However, even Retired households who may have strong local ties decide to follow their children to rural areas. Several express delight at being able to combine their ideal of country living with the practicalities of friendship and support. As this Stoke couple discovered when they moved south to join their daughter:

We moved here seven years ago when B... finally retired...to be near our daughter, she lives in the first house as you come into the village...we're totally independent but its nice to have her around...when we first arrived we were known as B...'s parents.

In four cases, offspring put pressure on their parents to move nearer so the responsibility for caring for them was more convenient and death or illness particularly encourages such a move:

My husband farmed near S...and when he died I thought it'd be nice to come here.. I've five daughters near...almost everyday one of them pops in...they're all in about five miles.

Of the retired households with relations in the village, over a third shared the house with family, five in 'granny flats' (independent accommodation within the confines of the house) (8).

Most of these moves appeared successful; like the case of the couple in their seventies who had lived with their son for thirteen years:

We lived in B.... for thirty years but when my son moved from S..., we moved in with

him. I think it's worked well enough, we go out for a drink of a night....I don't know anyone of my age, the wife's not well and my daughter-in-law's been good.

Although there could be problems as this eighty year old man discovered:

I was in business in D...,my son's a solicitor in S...,he was getting married and we moved in with them - well this parts separate but it's all one house really, I have my own kitchen and bathroom. Three months later we realised it was the biggest mistake. Within twelve months we had put the house up for sale, that was over ten years ago now! My wife was killed in a car accident shortly after...nobody wanted the house, so we stayed as we were.

Despite the apparent general success of retirement migration into a village inhabited by kin, several families still faced difficulties through the transition from a mainly social relationship to one including a higher degree of reciprocal support. For example, rarely is there full kin network to rely on (9) and sometimes the pressure for kin support may become overwhelming as this eighty year old woman found after two years in the same village as her daughter:

We'll probably move, it hasn't been very successful. I thought it would be nice being near her, but all they want is an unpaid baby sitter; leave the children with us at the drop of a hat, no consideration as to whether it's convenient or anything...we'll stay in the area but just far enough away so we can't be used!

Even those relationships which adapted smoothly reveal a greater degree of formality than those which have slowly evolved over time. The moves have usually been fully

discussed by kin members prior to being undertaken and certain criteria established and decided upon. For example, some rely on offspring initially and then find their own contacts, others are determined from the start to be totally independent. Like this couple from Staffordshire, talking about their daughter who also lived in the village:

We see each other - but not that much really - she lives her life with the children and we live ours up here.

Similarly dictates of personality result in the two households leading completely separate lives, as with the eighty year old man who moved in with his son:

I'm not often here....I'm away for three months each year and when I'm here we don't see much of each other.

For half the Retired the whereabouts of their family did not play an important part in their decision as to where to live, and they moved to rural areas with no kin connections at all. Various reasons can be produced: for example the offspring may inhabit an area considered aesthetically and economically unsuitable for retirement such as a large industrial zone; or they are spiralists, and moving frequently are unable to guarantee a stable base for their parents. In addition some parents decide to move to an area which has easy access to members of their children, though still living at many miles distance. For both of these life in the village and relationships with family are inevitably different from above.

Among those without a local kin network retired spiralists appear to settle into the village with the most ease. These are used to moving round the country and making friends without family introduction or support and reveal many of the kin characteristics of active spiralists. However, even for these the arrival of grandchildren can alter an accepted lifestyle, and introduce an element of regret at lack of family contacts, as this grandmother observed:

We rarely see the grandchildren, its sad but a sign of the times. We moved a lot and they always seem to be moving. You miss out a lot especially on family life, we all do, my daughter's family and us... they're in Nottingham at the moment.

Those Retired who have moved out from a large urban area to a retirement bungalow, commonly reveal characteristics similar to those shown by the Origens, especially if their children have remained in the city. For them selection of an attractive, remote settlement may produce feelings of isolation from family, as transport and travel becomes limited.

For all Retired who are parents, however, and who have moved to an area without family contacts, the sudden demise of employment for the man, and occasionally for the woman, coupled with a disruption of an established routine, leading to a sudden increase of free time, appears to result in an increased sense of isolation from their offspring.

Unlike the RLA many Retired cannot afford to frequently travel long distances to stay with family; therefore with plenty of time available, occasional long stay visits become

the norm. Although grandparents appear to welcome visits from grandchildren, this comment was representative!

I love the children - but a week at a time is plenty! One forgets how exhausting being a mother is!

In a very few cases retired siblings have joined each other (10), or single people retired alone to the country (11).

11. 3Patterns of social interaction.

. Social interaction, the interaction of People within and beyond Place, forms the final component of the assessment of the Milieu. As was earlier stated because most People are now employed outside the Place of residence, social interaction within the settlement forms for the majority a non-work pursuit comprising leisure or free time. Our analysis thus concentrates on relationships occurring during this leisure time. Place has a more direct influence on social interaction than on the other two facets of the social relationship, owing to the provision of physical facilities and social organisations. While this determines to a degree whether such activities occur within or beyond Place, described in Table 11.12, the main influences appear to emanate from the People themselves, each group revealing broad patterns of social behaviour. Table 11.13 describes the typical range of activities pursued by each group.

Table 11.12.

Place where leisure time is generally passed

Group	No.	Within the village %	Outside the village %	Within and outside the village %
Restricted Residents and Locals	194	64	19	17
Tenants	87	62	14	36
Council	63	78	17	5
Locals	44	48	16	36
Mobile Incomers	388	43	30	27
PRG	140	42	33	25
Spiralists	74	43	31	26
Origens	51	20	56	24
Long Term	43	48	26	26
RLA	23	30	17	52
Retired	57	58	12	28

Table 11.13.

Activity typically perceived as comprising leisure

Group	No.	<u>Activity</u>						Walking/ Driving
		House/ Garden	Public House/ Entertainment	Societies	Home Entertaining	Sport	Family	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tenants	87	55	16	24	12	24	23	10
Council	63	45	44	10	10	7	19	8
Locals	44	41	29	25	27	16	29	-
PRG	140	27	46	36	24	33	9	13
Spiralists	74	37	34	27	32	31	5	16
Origens	51	30	36	12	36	28	22	10
Long Term	43	49	28	35	28	16	28	2
RLA	23	57	35	13	40	9	17	9
Retired	57	79	7	38	23	18	21	18

Up to a maximum of six activities was mentioned by each respondent as being undertaken by him/herself or spouse.

Public house/Entertainment includes also dining out in restaurants, and social clubs, theatre, cinema, concerts.

Home entertaining includes both entertaining within the respondents own home and in the homes of friends.

11. 3. 1.

The Restricted Residents and Locals.

Tenants.

The dominant theme of the Tenant group is a continual blurring of work and rest. Free time is not only manouvered and adjusted to comply with the demands of labour, but both the activities indulged in, and the people with whom interaction occurs alter little between the two states of behaviour (12).

I don't have leisure time, never had any, farmers' wives don't and now my daughter runs the stables. I'm involved in that, so I've no real social life. It's the same for most of them, they work, go home and that's that.

When you've got horses its like a farm, you can't leave them, so I spend all my time here, but then not a lot goes on...yes I'm lucky I ride a lot, I'm either on a horse or under one!

In addition many agricultural workers do not formally retire, especially if they remain living in tied property, and they often continue with limited duties well into old age, as with this man who was still shearing sheep at eighty two:

Mr. G.... needed me again last night, his shepherd's ill, so I stepped in...found this little lamb, didn't I eh? I fed her some milk and brandy and a few drops of whisky and she tottered round the room!

or this seventy year old cow hand:

We have the occasional party, at birthdays and weddings...or else it's the family or television...but I've always worked, wouldn't like to give up completely - like - I only stopped the cows last winter, and I still do the hens.

This couple, a maintenance men and a horticulturist, describe a fairly typical leisure sequence for many adult Tenants in full time employment:

We don't go out, potter in the garden and walk. Jam making, I do a lot of freezing, vegetables from the garden, odd bit of fruit. My husband cycles to the Whyte Hart and plays darts, or dominoes once a week and he runs the angling club. He started it with three estate workers. I go to the Ladies Circle, that's once a week and do the church flowers, and I help both the Autumn Fair, do the odd jumble sale...they have the annual dinner and dance at the Hall, we go to that, and there's the odd cricket match. Occasionally we'll go out, but mostly we stay in and watch television - if it's winter, or in the garden in the summer.

House and garden thus provide the main leisure venue - gardening being the dominant activity although for many, working on their land, while a source of enjoyment was not associated with the concept of leisure:

I suppose I do spend most of my time out here. The thing about a garden is that there is always something to be done, something to be cared for. You have to cherish a garden, look after it. Now take that edge over there...

I spend a lot of time in the garden. You should see my dahlias in full bloom. Oh, they're a sight. People stop and ask if they can take a picture, a real sight they are.

However, work in the garden does not cease with the maintenance of appearances, garden produce is collected, brought into the house and stored. For the female Tenant who works on the estate, the upkeep of the house (among this group a female preserve) including both housework and house crafts, leaves little time to pursue recognised formal leisure.

In both Estates the physical layout of the village severely restricts venues for social interaction: the small size of the village results in few societies, neither village has a public house, and both recently lost their village school, a popular venue for female interaction. This compounds the apparently inherent reticence of this group for overt socialising. Similarly the high degree of regular contact between friends through work reduces the need for formal interaction during free time and formal social commitments are thus rare, in particular home entertaining on any major scale. When entertaining does occur it is typically a family occasion and as kin tend to be scattered around the area, such meetings are often in the form of casual weekend calling.

Suggestions that rural populations hold little stead by formal organisations is contradicted by this survey (13). Nearly half the Tenants belong to a society and three quarters bemoaned the loss of associations and formally organised leisure, desiring an increase in societies for all age groups:

We did things together, knew each other had fun together. There was a cricket club, tennis club, the football team. Mother's Union, the Men's club...an annual summer fete, bazaars, oh they were well supported they were, ...all sorts of events there were, whist drives and dances in the village hall, and then all the estate parties up at the Hall.

There is nowhere in this village where we can all meet together. We just sit all alone in our houses at night. If there was a Mother's Union for the women and a pub for the men it would make a difference.

Indeed the main form of social interaction outside work is undertaken at an organisation or associated event. As Tenant respondents within an Estate village comprise the majority of the population it is inevitable that members should play both a support and leadership role. However, In Cheriton where Mobile Incomers provide the main social structure of the village, Tenant populations have been driven out and are barely represented in the organisational hierarchy of village society.

In the Estate villages, female societies were the predominant organisation, traditional in format and, owing to the age of the population, generally orientated towards the older woman: for example Ladies Circle, W.I., Mothers Union. This primary direction of catering for the older woman has the effect of isolating younger females:

The Evergreen used to be well supported, now there's just six or seven in my kitchen each month. It's the same with the Ladies Guild, there're twenty, maybe thirty, now there's under ten, meet once a month in the Vicar's house. The younger wives just don't want to know, I blame the television myself(14).

While within the Estate villages, Tenants will provide the support hierarchy for the Church, if others are present Tenants appear to withdraw from these roles. In Cheriton for example, no Tenant belonged to the Parish Council, or was involved in the formal church hierarchy. This

appears akin to the general hesitation exhibited by the Tenants over the adoption of positions of authority within a non-estate village. This is in part due to lack of confidence in the face of those of greater articulation and education but is also linked to the complexity of demands made by their work environment; demands incompatible with recognised boundaries of time, leaving a confused time-order pattern, which is not easily confined to structured social interaction patterns and obligations (15).

The Estate Tenants are totally dependant on the estate, represented by the landlord, for housing, employment and numerous minor provisions, and this idea of a complete lifestyle being exchanged for labour penetrates into their non-work activities. Dependancy on the Hall for formal entertainment has always been a vital element of social life for Tenants and this group will maintain complete social involvement while those in power provide the entertainment. Once this facility is removed there is a deep feeling of loss.

The picture, painted by the Tenants of East Tisted:

There was always something up at the Hall, parties, well there still is the Christmas do, but it's not the same. We had Girls Friendly classes and a Summer Dance and Sir G...always came to the cricket matches ...but not any more, nothing happens now.

is mirrored by those of Weston under Lizard:

Nothing goes on. They have a dress party every Tuesday, but I can't afford to go and if you go they expect you to buy something, it's not what you'd call a village event..things have changed at the Hall. Used to be things for us, parties and dances. Now it's Horse trials, candlelight evenings, flower festivals, Antique fairs..for the visitors you see.

If Mobile Incomers introduce their own organisation they are rejected on two levels. From a practical aspect few Tenants appear to find subjects of interest to these Incomers appealing to their tastes, and the new societies frequently fail to coincide with their requirements and available time. On a deeper level the Incomers cause self-isolation as Tenants withdraw into their own small encapsulated community.

Council.Residents.

The social interaction of Council residents is strictly divided between the sexes: women spending most of their free time informally with family and friends, usually at home; men tending to drink in public houses and play sport. However both activities generally occur within the village.

The female leisure pattern appears predominantly based around the house and garden:

I garden, knit, listen to the radio,
watch television...

I like my own company...I don't know a
lot but I'm always busy...I've not joined
any societies...there's always the garden
to do and decorating and I knit and watch
television.(16)

Daytime social interaction occurs with friends and family from the council estate or from other local authority areas.

Young childless couples tend to socialise together, in particular in public houses. However, once children are present the woman is confined to the house for most of the week and will only go out drinking on particular nights and at the weekends.

This forty year old mother reveals a very common leisure pattern for Council females of her age:

I stay in most nights, except Wednesdays when we go down the Horse and play darts, Mum comes over for the kids...Friday night Dave takes me down to G...for the late night shopping, we take the kids and have a bite on the way back...we sometimes go out on a Saturday, but it depends if D 's got a match, they'll all go down the Horse after...if T 's playing my sister'll come round and we'll watch the television, and have our own drink here!

For many male Council residents leisure is divided between drinking in pubs and playing or watching sport, usually football. Whereas women communicate with ease in each others home - male Council residents, appear to require an excuse, an activity, within which to place their socialising. These activities are generally confined to within the village with both public houses and village sports teams receiving firm support from male Council residents.

Formal entertaining among this group is rare and typically restricted to kin, anniversaries and major occasions in particular are usually strictly family events (17) Although female neighbours may drop in during the daytime, they are rarely invited for an evening meal or weekend lunch. Similarly, eating out is a rare event and rural Council residents

appear not to visit cinemas or theatres very regularly. In fact a number find any recreation outside the village curtailed through lack of private transport:

You have to go into the town for enjoyment, disco's and dancing and that, but the last train's a quarter to eleven and you can't afford a taxi.

I stay here, I cannot afford to go anywhere else.

I can't drive so I have to stay here.

Societies are not well supported or perceived as a venue for meeting friends by either sex, and only a third of the Council Residents belonged to a society. This appears related to the strong class consciousness of many Council residents and their resentment of Mobile Incomers taking over village social life.

They're snobs and toffee nosed next door - middle class, and we are lower class - people are O.K. as long as they leave us alone, but I got enemies - who hasn't?

I used to walk through the village and the old people used to come up and see you, now people think you shouldn't be there. Its snobs only here - not a village any more.

It's not a friendly sort of village, this road is O.K. but the posh houses ignore you. You say 'good morning' and they ignore you. Castle Road is O.K. but elsewhere - no.

For some, formal village life has altered to such a

degree with the influx of new, that they no longer wish to belong:

In the last fifteen years, village societies have gone from village life...everything is more sophisticated now. The village had the Young Wives, but the bungalow people changed it to the 'Wednesday Group'...village people feel they're not welcome, it used to be kids and coffee, now it's lunches and hotel visits...we had a super village choir...now it's the choral society...the Young Farmers used to meet in the Village Hall...now it's taken over by the Drama Group, they complained that the Young Farmers were too rowdy, or something...they've completely taken it over...the village people used to use it for weddings and twenty firsts, now can't...

Women in particular, are affected by a change in village organisations. Not only are women's groups the ones most likely to be attractive to newcomers, but Council women in particular, having a relative low level of education, feel in awe of the educated women who are articulate and used to organisation. Many Council women feel that the new societies provide nothing to interest them; that they no longer cater for their needs and that furthermore they have little in common with the women who now attend:

I help run the play group, and I did belong to the Wednesday group, but I felt I wasn't of high enough class for them! so we're thinking of starting our own keep fit class, aren't we Sandra!

We want proper societies. I used to be in the choir, Brownies, Guides, Youth Club. Now they've all been taken over by snobs.

Charities are the only association Council women still seem to belong to but again in a very supportive role. These women are generally reticent to take on leadership and heavy

obligations, rarely having held positions or responsibility in any other sphere of their lives.

Male membership is almost exclusively restricted to sport, in particular village football. Village sports teams however, are areas of potential tension. Male Retired residents and Locals have generally managed to retain positions of power and manipulation within such organisations, and these sports teams are often the last associations to be infiltrated by the Mobile Incomers. When they are, Council residents can react angrily to this violation:

We ran the Green for years - they the new came in - and, oh, they wanted a tennis court, didn't they, not satisfied were they? so we said - right, we want nothing to do with it. And did it work? When they found that they had to cut the grass themselves and maintain it - they all lost interest.

This conversation between two Council women in their twenties illustrates typical attitudes to their leisure:

Female (1) We go down the Coach a lot, but we know all of them, so it's not like going out. If we want to get out of the village we go to Stafford, pictures, discos, night clubs. If I stay here I read or watch W. V... I was in charge of the Youth Club, not anymore!...and we both belong to the Sports and Social Club...

Female (2) It's ever so cliquey...In fact it's the 'Cricket Club' now. Always was the cricket club, don't know why they had to change the name...

Female (1) Oh, now it's classy to call it the 'Cricket Club'..."I'm orf down the 'Cricket Club'..."

Locals.

The main theme for this group is lack of free time. Both farming and non-farming Locals work long irregular days and the women are either involved with the farm or business or work locally. This unavailability of leisure is summed up neatly by these two conversations - the first with a farmer's wife, the second with a nursery owner:

We're involved in nothing, then we're so tied you see...it isn't that we don't like people or anything, we just haven't got the time to go and do things...there's only the two of us. It's a lot for B...to do but we work hard...we enjoy it but sometimes I look around at the end of the day and think 'where has it gone to' and by the time you've got the meal you're just about ready to sink into bed.

We've not time for leisure! but then we're not typical really of folks around here [Mobile Incomers].....we're too busy to make friends, we work all the hours God sends.

Within this limited free time, there is a marked difference in the leisure patterns of farming and non-farming Locals with the farming community exhibiting their own distinctive style of life, heavily embedded in agricultural pursuits and the countryside.

Leisure activities for the farming households are based around the house and land. Agriculture is a lifestyle rather than a job and farming pursuits are re-orientated to become leisure activities. Thus agricultural shows and markets become areas of entertainment, sport is individual

and land based, and societies are biased towards agriculture. This group create their own social sphere of activity, unhampered by change and an influx of Mobile Incomers.

Social interaction is limited and generally restricted to family and close friends, although casual meetings with neighbours and acquaintances occur at formal social events or agricultural occasions. Home entertainment is usually a casual family affair, often in the evenings and nearly twice as many farming Locals regularly entertain or participate in such entertainment elsewhere, as any other established groups. However, informal daytime socialising for women is rare owing to heavy work commitments. Shooting, hunting and hacking are the most common sports both for the large landowners and for smaller family concerns.

Any spare time we have we ride. We show ponies and that takes up any spare time I have anyway!

We all ride as a family. The girls started hunting this season. I suppose I go out most days, hacking that is. In season we hunt twice a week.

Among the older farming fraternity drinking in public houses is an almost completely male pursuit, although younger females follow the modern trend of increased female drinking and acceptance of this in public.

The numbers belonging to an association is limited and tends to be restricted to agricultural groups or traditional village organisations: Young Farmers, NFU, Parish Council, W.I., M.U., etc. Society membership for women is especially low and few hold positions of authority, apparently due to

pressures of other commitments. Men are more active and take official roles on the Parish Council, P.C.C. and Agricultural bodies. It is noteworthy that their involvement in societies is often confined to those where they can influence their own lives, either directly through planning, or indirectly through farming recommendations. Associations are perceived as bodies of assistance and not entertainment:

My time is now with the National Farmers Union. I'm county chairman, into farming politics. I worked for ten years with the Conservatives, but it all got nasty. I'm disenchanted with national politics, it's not worth the time, but farming politics, ...now that's different.

Within the village the farming Locals thus form a distinct physical and social unit. They live within the settlement and yet their social and spacial spheres rarely touch those of the other inhabitants.

Non-farming Locals pass a large proportion of leisure within the house and garden. Time spent in the home is usually with family and forms the main social interaction pattern of this group. Activities outside the house for men are divided between drinking in public houses, and sport. Until recently the former was a rare activity for female Locals, but again, as younger women are now accepted the older female is gradually joining in, especially where food and entertainment are provided, this being more acceptable than straightforward drinking. Sporting activities are, almost without exception, male and generally confined to the village in the form of village teams: cricket and football being the most popular.

Few non-agricultural Locals belong to a society. Many non-agricultural women feel isolated by Mobile Incomers and resent their takeover of village societies, therefore rejecting them; while in cases where the village is sufficiently large to provide choice, the traditional female society is chosen ⁱⁿ preference to a new organisation. These women appear distrustful of change and complain that the new societies do not appeal (18) and that the increasing tendency to hold evening meetings conflicts with domestic responsibilities. Locals, in particular female Locals, are not innovators, preferring to remain within known and tested territory. A few men and women actively support the Parish Council, though generally on matters pertaining to themselves. Strikingly, despite the large number of households with children, none belong to a school association.

Many of the Restricted Residents and Locals thus follow a life pattern in which work and rest are closely linked, both spacially and in kind. The Mobile Incomers, however, generally occupying modern property, requiring little maintenance, pursue rest activities, which are distinct from their formal employment, and typically involve considerable social interaction with others, both of and beyond the settlement.

11.2.3.The Mobile Incomers.Principal Relocating Group.

The PRG generally interact with friends jointly, most contacts being initially developed by the wife, and then the associated husbands introduced. Thus women meet their friends regularly at daytime societies and home visits and the couple then socialise together in the evenings. (19)

Home visits for women are generally informal and frequent with coffee mornings being the most common form of socialising, their degree of informality and child orientation varying:

We all have lots of coffee morning, sometimes they're for the school, sometimes just for us. Some people have set days for coffee, but that's not me, spontaneous coffee mornings - that's me.

There are certain groups who have coffee mornings but I am not that sort of person.

There's only one couple here we have much to do with, but then I am not a coffee morning person.

The second main venue for female interaction is formal village societies with nearly half the women belonging to a women's association and over a third to a woman and child society. But these women do not only belong, the majority of female societies are run by PRG females. Having in general greater energy and enthusiasm than the existing members, they quickly adopt such organisations as their own, taking over current societies both as leaders and through numerical superiority. If such organisations are not pliable, they form their own, and thus in several cases PRG women have created informal

women's groups to replace or compete with the traditional W.I. or M.U. As in the case of these two women in their mid-thirties who dissatisfied with what they found, reorganised the traditional female village gatherings of Cheriton and Bradely:

When I arrived no one came and said 'hello' or 'come and join the W.I. or Mother's Union' so I started a new one! the Wednesday Club, mainly for younger married women, although everyone is welcome. A new person is immediately visited and invited to come along, it's a chance for people to get to know each other.

The W.I. had twenty four members, with that number and all that paper work it was silly, you couldn't take advantage of it. So we disbanded and formed our own society - the Phoenix - you know the bird that rises from the ashes!

Both measures tend to isolate the established groups. In addition membership is typically by personal introduction and as young Mobile Incomers join, so they introduce further young female Mobile Incomers themselves.

It's only the young mums who come to the Wednesday group - socially we're a group apart - there's no council house girls for example, all the council people here have a chip on their shoulders. The retired throw themselves in and get too old - if it wasn't for us lot propping it up the whole thing would collapse.

However the ever-increasing proportion of women returning to full time employment is having a detrimental effect on this aspect of village life:

Most of the mums here are middle class and working mums, people have so many opportunities to do other things, their lives are full already, and they're just not eager to take on committee work...the committee tend to be people who are not working and there aren't many of us left now.

The charity organisation appears one of the few societies within which the established have retained control as few PRG females seem willing to commit themselves to duties required by such voluntary organisations, preferring to organise their own casual, flexible routine.

A society which appears purely the formulation of the Mobile Incomer is the Mother and Child society. Based on the Play group or Nursery school, it is an excuse for young mothers trapped in their homes with young children to meet other mothers, and allow their children to associate with other youngsters from an early age, sometimes at only a few months. Run informally it tends to occur in a resident's home two or three times each week and can be described as a 'coffee morning with babies'.

There was a gap, mums sitting at home with naught to do - so we started a play group, I'd run one before and my friend had been a secretary of one - we've now fifteen mums and babes - we call it Mother's and Toddlers.

Evening social interaction appears dominated by group socialising typically in formal entertainment centres, public houses, restaurants, clubs for example, both in and beyond the settlement. Nearly half regularly spend their leisure time in this manner, the highest of any group.

We spend a lot of time in the local pub, we're great friends of the couple who own it...we go to a lot of parties...and go into Birmingham to eat, eating plays a bit part in our social life.

Most members of this group are young enough to have regularly socialised in public houses since adulthood and thus for the PRG females, drinking in public and visiting pubs does not

have the stigma it carries for many older women. Baby sitting circles (19) abound among this group and thus the couples, though parents, appear to have much free evening time - and regularly socialise as a couple:

I joined the baby sitting circle as soon as we moved - I belonged to one before...here everyone starts with ten coloured counters - each time you babysit you get one and when you have a baby sitter you give her one of yours...if you run out you have to do extra sitting to get more counters!...I usually spend the end of the month in other people's houses - they say I see more of their kids than mine!

Evening entertaining at home is not a frequent manner of social interaction - under a quarter regularly take part in such occasions. However, this is in part accounted for by a preference for socialising outside the home in formal leisure facilities; public houses, dining establishments, sports centres etc.

Outside this joint socialising as a couple the male leisure pattern is pervaded by sport. For many it comprises use of formal leisure facilities (squash courts, golf courses, sports centres) although increasingly PRG men are moving into village sport as was earlier mentioned, an area of tension as often regarded the clear domain of Locals and Restricted Residents. However, PRG women also take part in varied sporting activities - often belonging to a sports and social club. Many households have family membership of such an organisation and make frequent use of the facilities. This is especially prevalent in Staffordshire where small sports centres are common. In Hampshire the complexes tend to be larger and confined to urban zones, although 'Country

clubs' with associated sports facilities are increasing:

I play squash every week, and in the summer a group of us play tennis...during the holidays we all take the kids swimming.

The society which is heavily male dominated is the village society - a 'power' association (20). The 'Village Preservation Society' is the creation of the Mobile Incomers and in particular of the PRG. Seen by the established groups as a pale ineffective imitation of the Parish Council, the mere shadow of a rival, - for the Mobile Incomers, who feel isolated from the traditional, land owning Parish Council, regarding it as a cumbersome, ineffective body, the creation of an alternative association, one which will protect and preserve their rural environment by investigation and action, establishes them as full members of the countryside. Although support of the 'Preservation Society' is a joint venture between husband and wife, and the PRG has the highest number and proportion of females supporting a 'Preservation Society' of any group, leadership and organisation is almost without exception a male preserve.

Many Mobile Incomers migrate to the country to discover 'village life' and if they are unable to find their dreamed-

for sense of community they create it:

We tried to create village life, we started up societies...about two years after we came here my husband, a few other newcomers and some enterprising locals, set up a photo society, a flower society - oh, the village hall committee. We definitely set up the gardening club and the Amenity society...we sent out a leaflet saying we were an Amenity Society and asking people what they wished to join.

PRG households thus create and maintain village social life and representatives of this group are to be found in all activities. Female day time society in particular is dominated by PRG women; men tending to take a lesser role in the village at this stage of their lives with the exception of forming and supporting a 'Preservation Society'. As will become apparent later this creation and maintenance of village life proves a significant influence in female ambience and their relationship with Place.

Spiralists.

Spiralists fall into two main categories: those continually aware of the transitoriness of their stay and therefore, perceive involvement in the village on anything but a superficial level as futile; and those who decide that total and immediate immersion in village activities is the only solution to frequent upheaval. The

group falls into a high income bracket and typically most can afford to regularly eat and drink out and visit the theatre, cinema and other formal centres of entertainment. In addition such activities are perceived as important ways of spending leisure and given priority. Similarly home entertainment is a popular form of interaction.

Over a third regularly spend their free time around the house and garden. A substantial proportion of these are 'non-involved' and exhibit two main patterns: those whose employment operates under heavy pressure and who perceive the house as a place of evening and weekend relaxation; and those decorating, gardening and maintaining their property, usually after a recent move. All these activities are usually joint between husband and wife.

Among the involved Spiralists both men and women belong to a complete range of societies, primarily due to females adopting traditional male membership patterns and joining, on both a support and organisational level, associations usually patronised by men. This can be related to their generally higher level of education than females in other groups, and to a confidence which arises through frequent movement and the continual re-establishment of contacts and roles. However, few female Spiralists participate in voluntary social work and rarely contribute to this aspect of village life:

I used to do meals on wheels, but I wasted so much time - the organisation was non-existent! then I did teacher's training and now I'm an accountant.

This attitude by a woman now in full time employment illustrates the widespread frustration of those women used to relating to an organised work environment, at the more gentle, relaxed approach used in many voluntary associations. It is this inability to discover within rural community life the stimulation experienced in a work situation that drives many highly educated women back to full time employment, a trend which is undermining a valuable component of the structure of village society.

The interests and attitudes of those highly educated female Spiralists who are not economically active frequently fail to coincide with those of the Restricted Residents or of some of their less well educated Mobile Incomer contemporaries. Many of these women find traditional village societies stifling and either search for more intellectual pursuits or socialise with other Spiralists on an informal basis.

I once joined a Young Wives Group, not here, in another quite similar village, and never again! The women were so bitchy, just a group of silly gossips getting het up over such trivial things, and climbing on each others backs...my main interests are outside the village.

I've what you might call a loose connection with the W.I. but I'm not really that sort. I'd rather go to something more interesting, with a purpose, where you'd learn something. In fact I go to a couple of groups in the area: a Crusader Class and a Bible Class.

I did try the W.I. but it was so boring I couldn't stand it, flower of the week and tea cosies and talks by women doing 'good works..

I now belong to the NHR National Housewives Register , the Stafford Group...we try to be as fluid as possible to fit in with people's lives and interests. We alternate police talks with coffee mornings, day and night meetings...

The formation and rapid propagation of the National Housewives Register (NHR) has been particularly important to these women:

The NHR is ideal for mums with kids. You have to read a book, for example 'The Plague Dogs', something quite serious, with a purpose and then we have a 'book session' where we all discuss our reactions. Most weeks there's a talk on something or just someone's given a topic to think about and introduces ideas and we all discuss it, what have we had recently?... Nuclear Disarmament was last week, Rape, Women and Defence, that sort of thing. Everyone there is very young, with babies, but babies are taboo! The Women's group here, the Rowland Castle Wives' is so mundane. You know, a speaker and then coffee.

The NHR made a big difference for me. For the first time I met people in the same situation as I was in, they understood, knew how boring it can be. I think it really helps if you can get together and talk.

Origens.

A pattern of social interaction for the Origens is of primary orientation to the past place of residence, with the occasional support role within the village. This woman's admittance was repeated on many occasions:

We very occasionally go to a barn dance in the Hall, but we don't go regularly and we're

not members of anything - in fact we don't really take part in village life at all.

The main venue for leisure is thus the city, and the participants are past friends and family.

I socialise outside the village. You know meals, see friends - all my close friends are in S.....- where I come from - go to the cinema, those kinds of things.

We always spend the weekend in Wolverhampton, we see the family a lot...my husband and I don't go out a lot, except at the weekend of course.

This socialising continues both privately in city homes and out at restaurants, clubs and public houses (21).

Oh, we don't stay in the village...we go to dinner parties, see friends, pictures, theatre, all at home, that's Wolverhampton. Until I had the baby I was never in the village. No, we don't stay here much of an evening.

If we go out, its to Stafford, we occasionally go to the cinema, or for a meal. My husband has a lot of work functions, mainly in Stafford, so we rarely make the village ones.

Social ties with past places are strongest among the women who, generally confined alone in the house during the week take solace in weekend socializing with past companions;

For many of them so long as hubby takes them to see Mum once a week, then they don't mind

if they're out every night, drinking with the boys. It's hard, few of them have relations near to help with baby sitting...

Similarly although Origen men will sometimes drink in the village during the weekdays they too return to their old urban local at the weekends, and as many still travel daily to the city for employment, they will play sport in the evenings with former friends, before returning to the village. In fact sport is a prime activity of this group, though it is typically a male preserve, and frequently linked to an urban social club. Thus whilst women meet in city homes at the weekend, the men will watch or participate in a sporting activity.

It is, however, inevitable that some free time must be passed in the place of residence. This is usually confined to the house and garden, and passed as a single family unit:

We do nothing in the village! If we are here it's decorating or gardening or playing with the kids. But for a meal or a drink, it's definitely not here.

In addition a small proportion of women belong to a female village society or a woman and child society. There is an underlying anxiety, among some mothers, that as they themselves have so few contacts in the village, their children will also become isolated; this is especially the case if the child is below school age. Membership of a woman and child society can help to alleviate this fear as this young mother discovered:

There's a play group which I go to if I have to - but I'm not into it, I only go because

of Adam, I feel guilty if he don't get the chance to meet other kids, but my interests are elsewhere, not here, classes and that.

If the Origen is to break free from the circle of maintaining past friendships to the exclusion of new introductions, contacts made through children can be the vital key.

The 'Preservation Society' can also claim a relatively high membership of Origenes. In this case also, it is often feelings of guilt which encourage membership. Origenes are frequently aware of the image they portray to their fellow villagers and that using physical space as a dormitory, without contributing to the maintenance and survival of that space, leads to resentment:

Them's the ones that takes it all out
and gives nothing back.

Origenes fend off this suspicion and objection to non-contribution, by membership of the 'Preservation Society'. Though this membership is in a supportive as opposed to active role, and often only financial membership, it alleviates guilt and brings self-claims of involvement.

The village thus provides a minor social venue relative to that supplied by the world beyond its structure. The Origenes' leisure pattern, with its dependence on close friends and family for casual social interaction bears strong resemblance to the patterns revealed by the established rural groups - yet the Origenes' Place of residence and their Place of leisure are widely separated.

Long Term.

It has previously been determined that the Long Term are a broad group with a range of friendship and kinship networks, and it is thus to be expected that the social interaction patterns of this group are similarly diverse.

Half of the Long Term residents spend a proportion of their leisure time within the confines of house and garden, a reflection of the older age structure of this group, one fifth of whom are past retirement age (Table 7.1). For many who have partly or completely retired the condition of retirement is in itself a state of leisure, and it is thus inevitable that a large percentage of a retired person's free time should be passed in the house or environs. Kin also contribute an important role in the social interaction pattern of this group, with over a quarter placing high priority on time spent with family.

Although a third actively pass leisure time at a society their involvement within the formal organisation of the village varies considerable. Several of the current societies were started by the group themselves and they continue to control their activities; in other examples, however, with the arrival of the young mobile immigrants, Long Term residents were disposed of their authority, a situation leading to considerable overt resentment, or alternatively they withdrew with pleasure, eager to pass on the responsibility. Regardless of the original situation, however, the Long Term

typically appear reluctant to join the new organisations instigated by the young Mobile Incomers.

At the time of arrival of the Long Term residents, none of the settlements were sufficiently large to support an alternative female society, and the then new residents joined, or indeed took over the existing organisation. In general the Long Term females remain with this organisation after the formation of an alternative society by the young mobile immigrants, and in cases where the young new have also infiltrated the traditional society, the Long Term tend to join the established members and leave. Significantly females of this group are among the highest supporters of charitable associations, perhaps a reflection of the free time now available to many following the dispersal of their families, and the social climate, orientated towards female charitable works, existent in their younger lives.

The main organisations supported by the Long Term men are formal village organisations. Many Long Term residents are or have previously been active members of organisations such as the Church, Parish Council or school governors. Although in their initial approaches they may have been rebuffed by the existent members, mainly agricultural Locals, now the two frequently side together to face a joint attack from the more recent Mobile Incomers. In a few cases Long Term residents held positions of power on the Preservation Society, but this seemed rarer. The following examples illustrate the range of societies supported by this group:

We belong to the Conservative Association,
the W.I., I belong to the W. I., but I'm
not what you'd call an active member. We

started Meals on Wheels in 1973, oh the Church flowers, and the Church Magazine, B.....does the Church Magazine, well we both do the Church Magazine, but B.... distributes it, is in charge of distributing it, and the W.R.V.S.

We've retired now so we are not so party minded as we once were, not so active... K....goes to the W.I. once a month, and we both attend the Red Cross.

They've just started a Womens afternoon at the W.I. I go to that, I think what happened was that all the women wanted to work so it had to be an evening meeting, and that's such a bad time for most people ...I do the Sunshine Hour, for the older, old village people! just once a month.

Those couples living in the larger settlements typically also support general interest societies, indeed several residents facing retirement with their families now departed, missed the stimulation of earlier life and were deliberating a change of residence in order to enlarge their leisure facilities, in particular access to cultural and general interest activities. This couple were an example of several facing the same dilemma:

We're wondering whether it would be better to move to a bigger place, with a wider range of shops, theatre, libraries etc. M....wants to be near a cathedral!!...It's a lovely village and we know people here, but the house is big, and we wanted a garden for the children, my hobby is archaeology and we're miles away from a decent museum....

Akin to all the Mobile Incomers, a large proportion of social interaction with People occurs in the form of home entertainment or visits to public houses and restaurants, although Long Term females exhibited the reticence, generally apparent among women of their cohort, for overt socialising in public houses.

Rich Late Age.

Formal socialising with friends plays an important part in the interaction of this group, with two thirds of the RLA more than any other group, regularly spending their free time in this manner. The ownership of wealth leads to a particular standard of living and such social activity becomes part of an accepted life style. As the RLA friendships tend to be joint, home entertaining or dining/drinking out, is an activity which can be shared by both partners, the couple operating as a single unit. There is, however, a strong regional divide in the format this social activity takes: whereas home entertaining is dominant in Hampshire with over half regularly interacting in this way, inviting friends to eat and drink in restaurants, clubs and public houses, takes priority in Staffordshire, two thirds regularly interacting thus.

Home entertaining is formal and pre-arranged, and three quarters of this group give or attend dinner parties on a regular basis. For those who spent their younger days in business, the services or professions, home entertaining became an integral part of their lives and for many women, this was their key role in their husband's work life (22). Now having numerous friendships at a distance from the village it is an important method of maintaining these contacts. Thus the RLA will travel long distances for evening dinner engagements or, at the weekend, luncheon and then at a later date, reciprocate the invitation.

Informal calling is largely absent, precluded by distance between friends, but even between near residents it is an unusual occurrence as this man explains:

We're friendly with the people opposite, an Admiral...the old people still leave cards. We still have the occasional coffee party where one finds personal introductions.

Dining out generally occurs away from the settlement, the village rarely being able to support facilities required by this group, and it is not unusual for the RLA to travel over fifty miles for a social entertainment.

There's the garden, we spend a lot of time in the garden and entertaining, Jerry still has a few business contacts but mainly it's old friends. We probably go out once or twice a week...we go up to London every couple of weeks, to friends or the theatre, or just to shop...we don't have many friends here in the village, we see Lady M...a delightful person, a widow, we play bridge.

The RLA regularly attend concerts and the theatre, again often travelling long distances to do so. However, the cinema is more rarely visited. Drinking in public houses is a male occupation and relatively limited in comparison to the other groups. Women of this age and background still rarely enter a public house, although lunchtime visits are increasing.

Although nearly three quarters of the RLA belong to a village society this membership is viewed as fulfilling a duty to the community rather than as an activity of recreation or a venue for social contacts (23). The RLA therefore, undertake official positions on committees and within

organisations, adapting the roles played in business and public life for performance on the stage of the local community. Associations traditionally regarded as the power houses of local society, are chosen; The Parish Council, Church and School. Women of this group have usually been well trained in arts of diplomacy and organisation, having spent much of their married life acting as support hostesses for their spouses' employers and they also adopt local roles of leadership and authority. The attitude of the R.L.A. towards, and interaction with, the village is paternalistic - a facet strongly revealed by the conversation of this couple in their early sixties:

Husband : Esme is chairman of the Village Hall Committee.

Wife : We like to do something for the village. I think if you live in a place you should become involved.

Husband : She runs the place, Esme does, Village Hall wouldn't be standing if she wasn't around. She's done a lot of this sort of thing, knows what to do, which frankly most people around here don't.

RLA women are also heavily involved in charity work, usually in a position of authority, re-emphasising the theme of duty:

I organise meals on wheels...I'm President of the W.I....I always have the choir to tea three times a year, Christmas, Easter and August, the Lady of the House always has done and we felt we should keep up the tradition.

The RLA also spend a large proportion of their Leisure within the house or garden, in part a condition of retirement, but also a factor of their large properties, requiring continual maintenance and upkeep. Although most of this group employ paid assistance, usually a domestic cleaner and gardener, with two households possessing a resident

housekeeper, many pass their freetime with practical tasks around the house or garden, regarded as a form of relaxation and/or hobby. In addition the spacious layout of these properties enables secluded relaxation to occur in attractive surroundings without having to venture into the settlement itself.

While the village settlement provides a venue for home entertainment and for individual activity around the house and garden, the village community is not typically perceived as a viable organism for social interaction. Instead the RLA maintain strong social linkages with Places and People far removed from the settlement, connections which play an important part in satisfying both their leisure and social interaction requirements.

Retired.

The main feature of the leisure activities of the Retired is the large proportion of time spent within the village, especially around the house and garden, this again being directly related to the large quantity of free time now possessed by this group. For a large number of men, who during their working lives have confined leisure to the evenings and weekends, retirement brings long hours to be filled at a time when other men are involved in employment. Thus many adopt home based activities, such as gardening, decorating, wine making etc. and occupy time with basic household tasks:

It's important to spend time with your wife and family. We go shopping together, we spend a lot of time shopping.

I spend most of my time gardening or helping the wife around the house.

Women, already used to spending a large percentage of their time in the home, change their leisure patterns more subtly. Thus routine activities previously pursued alone fall under the perception of leisure when shared with a partner. Furthermore the continual companionship of a husband allows that they need no longer seek external stimulation from others to the degree that they have been. For many women, although their actual use and distribution of leisure time has not altered to any significant extent, their perception of leisure and non-leisure has substantially changed.

The most popular activity outside the house and garden is membership of societies in particular among the recently retired who possess the highest proportion of active society members of any group; This is partly due to the large number of men now able to participate in daytime activities, and in addition women who previously confined their activities to traditional female societies may now join general interest societies with their husbands. For this group, more than for any other, societies provide the opportunity to take up new activities, maintain interests outside the home and meet friends and the Retired are typically 'active' members.⁽²⁴⁾ However, despite the tendency for Retired women to attend interest societies with their husbands, there is still a distinct pattern of male/female membership of societies with men belonging to

village and sporting associations, women to female and charity organisations. In both cases the societies tend to be village based, though a few Retired, especially men, will travel within the area to find an appropriate organisation:

- Wife : I started the W.I. with some friends about two years ago...[then] we started the Phoenix, you know the bird rising from the Ashes! like the W.I. but far less formal, less paper work, silly when there were so few of us...then R... and I joined the church...and I began furnishing classes.
- Husband : I was clerk to the P.C.C.
- Wife : And you're on the Best Kept Village Committee.
- Husband : And you do meals on wheels!

In sharp contrast to the RLA, the Retired tend to play a supportive role as opposed to organisational, and rarely view their position paternalistically. Although many feel it is their duty to support local events it is usually in the form of assistance and not leadership. This is particularly the case with Retired women, many of whom are unused to taking a prominent position in any activity. If Retired men do adopt a leading role, this will tend to be within a 'Preservation Society', sponsored by the Mobile Incomers, rather than on the Parish Council, typically the stronghold of the Locals and RLA.

This general confinement of spare time to within the village is emphasized by the reticence of the Retired, in particular those of the Fourth Age, to make use of formal facilities, such as Leisure centres, restaurants, and theatres, apparently due to lack of finance and/or the unsuitability of the facility for the elderly.

The pattern described above is however, heavily influenced by age, with the recently retired adopting new interests and becoming socially involved in the village, but with increasing age preferring to spend a growing amount of time quietly at home. The following short conversation aptly describes a typical leisure pattern for a couple in their late sixties/early seventies after several years of retirement:

Wife : You garden and grow vines and make wine.
 Husband : You have your soft covers!
 Wife : He walks - miles - and takes photos. You
 have a very good collection of photos.
 Husband : And then we belong to various societies.

But for others increasing age has led to a more restricted life-style:

I don't want to go out at night, so I don't go to meetings. No, I don't go to meetings, I don't want to go to meetings. I garden, spend five to six hours in the garden every day...and I read.

I spend all my leisure time here, doing nothing. I've worked all my life. I just walk, garden, do nothing.

We spend our time in the house or village. No, we don't do anything...we just be.

Thus the social activities of the Retired not only centre on the village but are further focussed on the small space that the inhabitant owns and now that retirement removes the daily requirement to leave the settlement, the Retired are able to pass the majority of their time within the confines of Place.

An examination of the social relationship of People and Place as exhibited by the inhabitants of rural settlements, has revealed that whereas the Physical relationship is to an extent dependent on the external characteristics of the rural settlement, the social relationship is more closely linked to the People themselves. The analysis now focuses on the internal interpretation of these two relationships, the resultant Ambience as collectively experienced by each group.

1. The very term 'friend' appears particularly off-putting to the Council residents

I wouldn't say friends, love, kids and women have friends. I've got my mates but I wouldn't say they were my friends!

2. Of the PRG migrating to the village within the last ten years for 'village' reasons, two-thirds have made close friends here, compared with under half of those moving for 'house' or 'personal' reasons.
3. Thus three quarters of Hampshire Origens moved within ten miles and friends had been established in the surrounding area prior to migration. In Staffordshire only a third had moved within ten miles, over half having previously lived in the West Midlands Connurbation up to twenty miles away.
4. In discussing their relationships the RLA refer to their friends by surnames, and as a couple. This is a distinctive characteristic of this group in contrast to other respondents who refer to their friends singly and by individual christian names.
5. Of those Retired who met friends at societies, all but two of the female societies attended are situated in the village, whereas half the men belong to associations elsewhere.
6. It appears rare for a female of middle class, houseowning parents to marry a working-class male in local authority housing, although the reverse did occur.
7. The word 'local' was used in contrasting ways by the different groups. For the established group 'local' refers to only life-long residents: for certain newcomers, 'local' was used to refer to anyone over ten years residence. Similarly 'local' in space referred specifically to the village or its immediate confines for the established, but covered a wide vicinity up to the general county area for some Mobile Incomers
8. Four of the Retired living in annexes to the main house used retirement money or proceeds from their own homes to jointly purchase a large property with their children. This either contained separate accommodation or was converted.
9. In only one case was there more than one child in the immediate vicinity, the widow with five daughters within a radius of five miles.
10. Two cases only were discovered of Retired siblings moving to live with each other.
11. It appears rare for a single adult to retire to an unknown area without local contacts or family. There were two cases of single adult women retiring to the countryside, both to join other single females.

12. While members of other groups have clear perceptions of the circumstances under which they regularly meet specific friends, a small population and close inter-relation of work and rest forces Tenants together at varied occasions, under the guises of numerous roles.. The implications of this multi-role play within the one population will be discussed later. This has the concurrent result that Tenants have difficulty separating individuals from the environment and perceiving the specific circumstances under which they interact.
13. Newby 1979 p. 197-8 suggests that in the eyes of the rural farm workers, village organisations reflect the downfall of community life.
14. Television was quoted on many occasions by the Tenant group as behind the demise of village life.
15. The reticence of the Tenant group to adopt positions of authority in the presence of other groups appear a complex phenomenon.
16. Council residents were the only group to identify television as a leisure activity.
17. Only six Council residents regularly took part in home entertainment.
18. A comparison of the agendas of various female societies reveals that there has been little change in the type of subject matter introduced at these meetings between the original societies and those introduced by the Mobile Incomers.
19. Where ever a large number of young Mobile Incomers are gathered together a baby sitting organisation appears to develop.
20. The concept of the Preservation society is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 14.
21. In Hampshire home socialising tends to predominate over eating and drinking out, which is the main activity of the two in Staffordshire. This appears due to the large number of social clubs in the Midlands which provide an ideal venue for meeting friends.
22. See Cooper 1979 p.107 - 121
23. Active membership of the Conservative Association (Committee work tending towards the fund raising and social activities) is also acceptable to this group, as are a selection of rarified sporting activities: Vintage Car Collecting and Racing, Hunting and, in Hampshire, Sailing.

24. This high membership however is typically restricted to the recently retired, with active participation rapidly declining with increasing age.

CHAPTER 12.The Symbolic Relationship.

The Triad is completed through the Symbolic relationship, whereby the groups internalise the other two relationships with Place. While this Ambience is for each a unique experience, their collective behaviour patterns and their continual interaction within these groups, or wider reference groups of a comparable nature, ensure similar conceptions of Place. The Ambience of those to whom one does not belong may never be clearly grasped, in turn to be made perfectly manifest to others; for as Bourdieu has stated, the very fact that the academic questions the taken-for-granted world of a group ensures that they will never truly experience the world as its members do (1). Yet at the level of the collective the manner in which the group express their emotions towards and perceptions of Place, unconsciously contain themes, biases and indications, accessible to the observer.

The following is a synthesis of these images, in the main verbally produced, occasionally communicated in another way. It was only through isolating each group and concentrating on the observations openly expressed, that the differences of perception emerged, and an awareness grew of the many Places extant within the one settlement.

12.1.The Restricted Residents and Locals.Tenants.

The Tenants perceive the settlement as an intact, functioning unit. For these the village represents their livelihood, and all aspects of their lives are intimately bound up within the physical and social structure of Place. The village is thus a symbol of their lives. Not only are the Tenants required to enact many roles within the one space, but inherent within Place itself are multivarious functions. It is the Place of work, the Place of residence, the Place of family and friends.

In discussing the settlement there is continual reference to the landlord, employment or aspects of the estate or farm.

The village is changing already. Five years ago the Lord had advisors in to talk about death duties, the gardens have gone commercial, the milk herds been got rid of and he's started renting houses privately

The reason why the village is as it is, is because all the farms belong to the estate, everything in this place is geared towards the estate

The village only exists for Weston Hall. It's not a village, just a bit estate

A form of neoteric feudalism permeates the lives of the Tenants, in particular those residing within a closed Estate village. The landlord controls livelihood and home, supports family and friends and to a limited extent still provides a social life. Among older Tenants in particular, overt respect for both the landlord and the system is the accepted norm, and

they appear to find security within this framework of a formal hierarchy. Their position may be fixed, but at least it is recognised, and few seem to feel such rigidity stifling, rather gaining comfort from their pre-ordained roles. For within these formal limits they are free, without the modern pressures of mass society to impress and be socially mobile.

Gamekeeper : Late Lord Bradford was a gentleman and his son the same, and Lady Caroline and Lady Selina, they don't talk to you like dirt, they'll talk to you for hours about gardening or anything...you've got to have such as Lord Bradford because look what they employ.

Groom : The Grays are good to us we can't complain. He built all those bungalows for the widows and retired, lovely they are. All fitted out.

Cook : My Gray's helped the village such a lot. I came over with Mr. Gray. We lived in Matre-Worthy before. We've always worked for him. When he came to take the farm when the first Mr. Gray died, we came too.

Estate Secretary : It has changed. There's a different regard. With the first Lord Bradford you stood up and said 'My Lord' whenever he came in, and you didn't speak unless spoken to...I had my wrist bitten by the Earl's dog. He asked to see me, so I went down to the House, was shown in by a footman, all in livery he was. 'Miss W...' he said. 'My Lord' I said and I bowed. It was rather nice in some respects. The ones that's just died he was more free, would talk to you but people still respected him. After twenty five years service the 5th Earl presented me with a gold bracelet, for faithful service and after forty years the 6th Earl gave me that clock...the estate was really run by me, oh for many years. The agent always had a christmas party...as I got older the agent got more friendly -and one year at the party called me Phyllis, there were quite a few who were jealous!

The younger members of the village are also aware of the feudal pressures, and even if they are less accepting of the existing hierarchy, no one escapes the practical force it lays upon their lives, either through employment or in its social replication:

Forester's: My husband's head of a department. The wife village and work are heavily linked, the class system in employment controls social life. It's different to where people are employed here, there and everywhere.

Blacksmith: It's unusual even the young are affected by it. Some people handed in their notice and the estate manager said 'In this day and age don't you consider it an honour to work for Lord Bradford?' They still have this attitude, that it is still 'an honour to work, touch forelock' for some people.

Horticulturist- We had a work experience lad. One day Lord :Bradford came into the greenhouse. 'Who's he?' said this lad, knew absolutely nothing about him, but he didn't understand...I suppose I'm in between the Lord of the manor and - well - I've no real social standing. But I wouldn't have his worries. The young don't see that, all they see is the money, they don't see the Lord as someone to be looked up to.

The village is rarely viewed aesthetically, it is a functioning unit and any criticisms are directed towards practical implications rather than matters of subjective taste: lack of services, decline in facilities, change in the provision of local entertainment. Tenants in all villages for example mentioned increasing traffic travelling through the village thus making it dangerous to walk:

Weston : The A5's always been a problem. It's the main road London-Wales. Huge great lorries, night and day...narrow pavements, and it's impossible to widen. Really breaks the village, it's a real danger, you can't walk along without fear of getting killed or something.

East Tisted : We've asked for a speed limit, oh numbers of times, but they say we can't have one. Know why? they say there has to be houses on both sides of the road before they put a speed limit on. As it if mattered how many houses there were if somebody gets killed.

Cheriton: You see all those great lorries, well they shouldn't be coming through the village at all. No. They use it as a short cut to avoid Alresford, and those bridges cannot take the weight...you daren't go out at night. I won't babysit at night anymore if they don't give me a lift. I don't want to be killed before the Lord's ready for me!

Bradley : Cars come racing along that lower road. The council tried to stop them, said it was 'No Through', but they still come. Someone is going to get killed.

Similarly the construction of Local Authority homes for the elderly at East Tisted was criticised by some Tenants, not due to the potential disfigurement of the village centre, but owing to the lack of facilities within the settlement required to support the elderly.

The self-identity of the Tenants, and their identification of others, is a reflection of their position within the employment hierarchy, and thus the social hierarchy, for the latter is but a mirror of the first. So immersed is their social world within the physical fabric of the settlement, that a contraction of their Environment is replicated within the Tenants Milieu. They thus experience 'existential insideness' (2), a deep and complete identity with Place, that united physical and social entity which reflects all aspects of their immediate and frequently of their past existence. The Tenant's perception of both the world at large, and the self within is filtered and absorbed by the village.

Council.

The symbolic relationship of the Council residents is immersed in the physical and social surrounds of the council estate, and their primary consciousness of People and Place is filtered through the mesh of this sub-area. Many have lived in the settlement or local vicinity for most of their lives and for those who have experienced other habitats, these have usually been other local authority housing areas. In addition, owing to lack of access to more distant opportunities, their employment is typically confined also to the local area, in particular female labour. This lack of acquaintance with alternate environments combines with a generally low-level of educational attainment, to produce limited consciousness of the wider context. The world is immediate, both in time and space, self-conscious introspection and analysis of the wider setting is rare.

Physically the council housing is often set aside, apart from both old and new developments, generally on the periphery of the village. Socially it is set aside too, by other members of the village and through self-isolation by Council residents themselves. From this state of social and physical withdrawal the Council residents look forth at the village without and classify the People they perceive, but it is a typology formed through reputation, and prejudice mingled with experience:

The new estates are full of posh houses,
they don't want anything to do with ordinary

folk, they live in a world of their own. It was a thriving community everyone working together, used to know everything that went on. Now people think you shouldn't be there. It's snobs only now, not a village anymore... the new are pushing the village people out and taking over.

Village life has changed so much. There's a lot of new people. Some are good at organising things, getting things done, but a lot aren't village people. They don't think the same way we do, it's a different outlook. If you said you'd be there, you were. Now-a-days say they'll come and help and that's the last you hear of them.

Whereas membership of the immediate Council community is taken for granted by virtue of residence (exclusion from this community, whether self or imposed, being regarded as an active state) to belong to the wider village one must 'join'. Little attempt is made by Council residents to enrol, insights into why may be gained from this conversation between two young mothers:

female (1): The new all form in groups, I won't join in, they all talk about people we don't know.

female (2): Oh I force myself in, it's up to them if they resent you, but S.....'s right they do all start talking about things you don't know.

female (1): We went to the Wednesday Club once, didn't we, and it was all 'did you know this' 'have you heard about that!!' We just sat there - didn't know anything they were talking about.

female (2): We're not of a high enough class for their Wednesday club.

female (1): It's all coffee mornings anyhow, they all go to coffee and then have meetings to talk about ^{what} happened at the coffee morning!.

This self-withdrawal into a succinct unit, set apart, results in paradox: they are of the village, but outside. Many of the Council families have lived in the village for

generations, these are the core of the original village, and yet now they are self-isolated and apart from the village: at the one time they are the core and the discarded peel. It was among the Council residents that the strongest examples of resentment arose. The village which, in their eyes, had grown and evolved for their needs was now being wrenched from their grasp, manipulated for and by others. Although in reality the village was always beyond the command of these residents, yet those who were in control before, had at least regarded their duties and obligations paternalistically, providing for the needs of those falling under their self-imposed jurisdiction.

For years village people ran the W.I. Now its Links Lane and Bowes Hill high quality modern housing who squeeze all the old people out, just because we live in a council house. If you live in a council house you're out. Tennis Clubs, Bridge games, that's all it is now...these people move in and tell you what to do - in your village.

Snobs run things here - the Hall, the Church, Rec. They ask for money and the likes of us give it. But I can't have my say 'cos I don't know when the meetings are on. There used to be a mothers group which met up at the Parish Hall once a week, we had different people in to tell us things and different people to make tea and biscuits...now they have the Wednesday group. I won't have anything to do with it.

The gentry only see us as gardeners or chars, never as real people.

The symbolic relationship of the Council resident is thus unique within the village. Their long term association and knowledge of Place, instead of adding depth to their perceptions, has been stunted by the new growth and cankered

into prejudice and resentment. They appear more deeply reached by the modern development than any group, for the introduction of the new middle class into the village has divided these residents from a heritage, built up by generations, and relegated them to a class-bound existence on the periphery of Place and People.

Locals.

In the social world of the Local spacial awareness is included the dimension of time. They have seen the settlement grow and develop as a living organism; they have memory, knowledge of the same space, but a different existence. Place is now, it can be experienced by all, but the Locals have a consciousness of the space as it was, which lends depth to their perceptions and their impressions are multi-layered.

There is no dissection of People from Place, they are one, pattern and fabric. Indeed it is the continual interaction of the community with its spacial setting, which creates a living, evolving entity. People engrave their being, their character on a Place, so that even after they are gone, their image survives, and the perceptions of those remaining become sensitive to the personality that has been left behind. Buildings are people's homes, lanes have characters and names, woods and fields have stories to tell. The house on the corner that is being demolished for an estate, is not 'the house on the corner', it is 'Old Mrs.

Marney's'. Compare this description of the village of Bradley packed with personality, names, images - a living Place, with the abstract ideals and concepts given later by the PRG:

There were two old cottages there where Mr. Dodkins lives and a very large house down by the Shredicotes...until the end of the First World war there were only two cars in the village, one was owned by the Vicar, Rev. B...and the other by Farmer S... he had a chauffeur...and we had all our food delivered - in vans. Bread came every day, butter twice a week and the groceries once a week. There was only one shop, where the Old Croft is now, a baker from Penkridge
 Bradley : bought it after the war and ran it for a while, and then made it his house...in the end cottages were two carters, drove around in a pony and high gig...all the farms were occupied with big young families...the postman used to walk from Stafford. Where Miss Windsor has her caravan there was a shed, he sat in there, could boil his kettle and have lunch, and he'd stay there until five o'clock and then he'd collect the letters - you know where the Ashcrofts live? well that was the Post Office - and then he'd walk back into Stafford.

A Local does not contemplate joining the community; one is the community. Having lived in the settlement prior to it's growth and alteration, at a time when self-conscious questioning of one's membership of the village did not arise, the Locals still consider themselves an integral component of the community, despite the considerable growth and influx of Mobile Incomers in the larger villages:

As a villager I'm involved in true village life, but the village don't tick because the people needed to make it are the sort of people who work all day and go away for the weekend... though you can feel the presence of a small community at the shop and pub. People may know each other but they're imported townspeople, they bring town's ways.

The farming households, in particular, self-represent themselves as the core of the village: the new arrive and depart, but their family remains, bound to the Place by their livelihood. Non-farming Locals do however, show concern that their offspring will be unable to remain in the village. Perhaps surprisingly, many of the young also share this desire and concern, as does this twenty three year old woman:

I couldn't wait to leave, escape, go somewhere new. So off I went to London as a secretary. And hated it! Stuck it for two years. I came back and started a course at Wolverhampton Poly...it wasn't until I left here that I realised how much it meant. I don't think I ever realised that it was my family's home, until then. Now I'd love to stay, but probably won't be able to - unless I married a local - a local-yokel probably!

This empathic relationship is epitomised by feelings of 'at-homeness' (3), whereby a spacial and temporal awareness is internally expressed through an unquestioned, unself-conscious experience of being at one with Place:

It's changed beyond all recognition. Twenty years ago this house was surrounded by fields. I don't know why we stay - it's my home I suppose.

Regardless of individual concerns the relationship of Local and Place of Residence is subjective, unquestioned and total, a relationship which has been tested by time and change, and has survived. For this reason, and because there exists in the consciousness of all Locals a reality beyond the arrival of the incomers, 'the new' regardless of their depth of association, or length of residence, will remain 'the new'.

12.2.The Mobile Incomers.Principal Relocating Group.

The image projected by the Mobile Incomers is of a different Place, a setting within which to reside, a settlement devoid of time, personalities, or purpose. Function is wrenched from Place, social relationships separated and segmented from their environment. In the eyes of the Mobile Incomer the village is a physical shell containing a specific type of community. People and Place are intact entities in themselves, in co-existence together, but apart. This is no more clearly described than through the perspective of the Principal Relocating Group.

Place is viewed aesthetically and subjectively; it is 'peaceful', 'pleasant', 'isolated', 'rural' and 'apart'.

Cheriton: This is a complete village. It has a Hall, Church, garage, pub, Post Office. It's peaceful, pretty; surrounded by fields. What more do you want?

Acton It has access to most places yet has a village atmosphere...most people are concerned with the appearance of the place. Those two small estates up there are bad, in one way it has lost it's character.

Bradley : It's peaceful and pretty and close to amenities, the M6 and there are nice shops in Wolves and Birmingham.

Yet the village per se can be destroyed if it's structure or contents are tampered with. For a lane to be straightened, given pavements and lights is for it to become a 'road' and thus no longer a part of the country - it's function as a safe carrier of traffic and pedestrians ignored; a field that is developed with old people's homes destroys the

environment, obstructs the view - its function as an area of obsolete farmland appropriate for development is unaccepted; a dying tree must be saved, it is of the rural heritage - its purposelessness and potential danger disregarded.

It's changed, so much building, it's becoming urban. They've widened and straightened the roads, put up street lights and pavements. No I don't like it. It was a country lane along here.

We moved here because it was out of the way and we could be ourselves...of course we want to conserve the village. We'd hate it if they bought the field and put old people's flats there.

Why shouldn't it village grow? If there's room and it won't spoil the views.

One or two roads have been widened since we arrived, it is a shame that lanes become roads and hedges, trees are removed for housing estates. That's what we came for the countryside, but I realise you can't be selfish and stop others...and the people on the new estates look after their gardens, it's pleasant to go round and see them.

The People who occupy Place form their own distinct entity with a singular internal structure. Knowledge of others is limited and is filtered and self-presented by the individual. Unlike Tenants in an Estate village, where multi-role play, tight kinship networks and specific functions are entrusted within Place, the PRG resident, having many 'hidden lives' is given status and position within a hierarchical system, assigned by external criteria such as supposed class or house type:

It's an odd place, just lots of big new estates. I don't feel at home. I don't

feel at home. I don't feel I belong.
The rest of the village are old and working-class and we are a transient middle-class plonked down in the middle.

Here who you are or what you do doesn't matter, it's what kind of house you live in that's important!

There are three main divisions: the titled and wealthy, and those who would like to be; the middle mixture, which is the largest; and the council houses. Each will mix together, but remain separate from the rest.

Folks who've been here for years don't like the townies...the housing estates don't mix with the cottages and houses. Everyone has their own clique for parties. The Vicarage, the larger houses, a few farmers and us meet socially, but you'd never get estate people there.

Spiralists.

The social world of the Spiralists carries similar perceptions of the village, the residents are removed from their settlement and each is assessed independently in terms of social or spacial structure. However, the Spiralists own specific experiences and lifestyles produce unique dimensions to this profile.

A generally higher standard of education combines with their migratory behaviour to produce a breadth of awareness and experience, absent from many of the PRG. Possessing a backcloth of alternative environments, they are able to locate their present situation within a wider context, which leads to a greater realism in their pre-conceptions and ideals:

Husband: You can't bring city thinking into the countryside, like cutting verges and making parks, that's not country thinking ...and a village can't expect town facilities, it's either a village or a suburb. If you choose to live out here, then you have to travel for things.

Wife : But is it a village or just a big housing estate?
 Husband : I think it's a suburb with all the advantages of the country.

The problem is that villages are low down on the list of priorities, so we have massive rates but few amenities. But then we chose to live out here, we knew the position.

and the introduction of comparative assessment into their perceptions:

It's far more comfortable to live in a village, smaller, cosy. When you're continually moving it's difficult to put down roots, in town it was impossible. But we've never moved to a real yokel-country village. I am a little worried about that.

The village was selected by the Spiralist with the use of objective criteria and expectations, and throughout the stay these criteria remain to the fore, and the Place is related to objectively. Spiralists are one of the few able to merge this 'objective-outsideness' (4) with qualities of education and experience, to produce a degree of self-conscious, self-awareness of themselves and their relationship to their environment. Such self-analysis is rare among other members of the community.

We have a suburban background, but we chose to live in a village. We want to get involved, be effective, make an impression.

This is a compromise place. There's enough village atmosphere, yet it's not too far off the motorway. People treat it in different ways: many of the commuters are not interested but then many of the rural people aren't either...we felt it was right for us at the stage we were at.

In an analysis of the village community they were thus able to distinguish between involvement in village societies

and involvement in village society, one being an active decision, the latter an innate state:

We actively went against being friendly,
we waited until people recognised us...
we don't belong to a specific society at
present, we can't, we don't have time...
I should say we were involved in as much
as one lives in a village one must be
involved. But you don't need to jump
on the bandwagon, you can be an individual
and have your privacy.

Spiralists were unique among the incomers in making this distinction. Indeed for many of the new, a village is not a village without societies and organisations, and one can only become involved in village life through membership of these associations.

This sense of objective analysis which pervades the Ambience of the Spiralists, is enhanced by the continual realisation that their stay in the village is temporary. Spiralists rarely appear to attain that deeper relationship with Place whereby Place moves from the object to the subject of an individual's existence. This latter relationship can only occur as Person relaxes into Place, takes it for granted, accepts it. The essential temporal element of this process is absent from the Spiralist's existence, both in reality and in the knowledge of an always imminent departure.

Origens.

The Origens share the essential impressions of the village as the other young Mobile Incomers, severing People from Place, perceiving both in terms of their

structural composition. However, the past life of this group is the reverse of that experienced by the Spiralists and their impressions are coloured by their generally limited knowledge and experience of other environments. Many have inhabited but one spacial form, in the main urban, and their image of the concept of a village is typically derived from secondary sources. They thus transpose urban standards and criteria by which to assess their current residence, many appearing to have presumed that a village would be a small urban unit with comparable facilities, surrounded by the countryside. The following rejection of field and request for formal park was repeated on several occasions.

There are swings and things on the Wimpey estate, but I never take him there. We may be in the country, but there are no parks where you can take the kids.

What we need is a park to walk in. There are fields all round, they could easily make one into a park.

However these perceptions are also grounded in reality and necessity. Origins are generally single car households, which is confined in the city during the weekday by the chief worker, in all cases the husband. The wife is thus left, often with young children, in a settlement with the barest of facilities and very limited access by public transport to alternative provision. The oft recurring image of the inadequacy of the village is based on real need:

We need a recreation centre, squash, swimming ...everyone would take part in it. The nearest is Stafford...it'd be easier if you could pop round the corner, if you've not got a car it's half a day's journey there and back.

If the services had improved with the increase in people and houses it'd be okay, but the services are terrible. I'm worried about the kids, they're not outward going enough, not enough for them to do... I like the village, like where we live, but I wish we lived nearer facilities for the kids: swimming baths, skating, things like that.

Of all the groups the Origenes exhibit the greatest degree of separation from the Environment and Milieu of their Place of residence, possessing the least empathy with these relationships. The following descriptions by a female Origen, the first of the settlement where she lives, the second of her 'home', illustrate this concept of two spacial worlds: one the physical residence, but the Place of apartness, the other the home of the mind, the Place of empathy.

Its empty and boring - I feel empty most of the time. I feel very trapped out here, stuck. I sometimes take the baby for a walk and all these high hedges - the roads are so muddy and dirty - mess everywhere.

Do you know S....? the netball courts by the railway line, under the bridge. Our house is just down that road by the ground. You don't notice the trains down there. People often used to say how did we live down there, so near the line; but you don't notice them....my sister has a house by the parade - opposite the M.....Arms.....those houses are so close together you can look out an upstairs window and see people in bed across the road!

While in assessing the other relationships the Long Term fell neatly after the younger Mobile Incomers, here, as the symbolic relationship with Place appears less aligned to age than to length of residence, moving on to the Retired appeared the more natural progression.

Retired.

The Symbolic relationship of the Retired appears most akin to that of the PRG. Those who moved to the village in search of an attractive environment within which to pass the remainder of their lives, in particular viewed the settlement as a scenic edifice possessing the desired aesthetic qualities.

Cheriton Its an interesting beautiful place, genuine
an authentic village. The ducks and the
village green, the little cottages, beautiful.

Bradley Bradley must be the most attractive village
in the area. Have you seen the church tower
from across the fields, at this time of year?
with the creeper? We often just walk round
the village, down the lanes. The cottages
are so pretty.

For those formerly resident in less visually pleasing surroundings the relocation to the settlement is perceived as a scenic component of retirement, an element of the process of retirement

Significantly whereas the young Mobile Incomers tend to classify their group as comprising the main immigrants, to the neglect of the older new inhabitants, so the Retired appear primarily conscious of the other retired.

Bradley There are fifty bungalows and houses
up here, quite a few retired. The bungalows
go on the market and the young can't afford
them, so the middle aged and retired move in.

Cheriton Its a three strata village here. The lords
and ladies, who keep themselves to themselves,
the bungalows, mainly retired couples, and the
villagers who've been here for generations,
and the three don't mix much.

Few express the desire to control the formal society of
the village, those wishing to become involved in the 'community'
preferring to remain active participants as opposed to leaders.
Many are thus able to withdraw from the tensions and conflicts
experienced by the other groups, and assess the interaction
beyond. With age has come a natural depth of experience,
enhanced within the large number of this group who have en-
countered a variety of residences during their lives.

The new arrive and many do rather blunder in.
But it's not because they're new, it's that
they're young, inexperienced with dealing
with people.

Suddenly in a well established agricultural
village one hundred people are brought in.
It modifies the whole village. It used to
be feudal, farmers and agricultural workers.
The introduction of the new people bridged
the gap between the haves and have nots.

This group appear to acknowledge that they may never
belong. Members declare that 'it takes twenty years before
you belong' in the knowledge that they may never attain this
membership. For many the village appears but a Place of
retirement, a Place of rest and quiet. An underlying theme
behind the actions and perceptions of the Retired is aptly
summarized by a single comment:

I suppose a village means peace.

RLA.

The RLA follow the general theme of all incomers; one of separating People from Place. However, they go beyond this, stand back from the settlement, self-isolated from the mass, perceiving themselves as a circle, an elite, which operates within a separate sphere above that of the village. Those below are divided into distinct entities: the 'village' and the 'new'. These are defined by vague criteria of class and length of residence, but are concepts rather of the mind than of reality. The 'village' comprises Locals, Tenants and Council residents, regardless of their length of residence, and a miscellany of others, who belong by virtue of image: thus service people, shop keepers, school teachers and vicars, are 'village'. These are regarded paternalistically; they are a source of labour; gardener, daily help, housekeeper; they add character to the settlement.

Its difficult for us to get daily help. There are lots of women one would have though one could have called upon, but the snag is they don't terribly want to. Their husbands all work at the Timber works and are well paid. Others have young children and a growing number are going outside the village to work. You see young girls hopping on the bus each day to go into Winchester.... for six weeks I had to clean the Village Hall myself, someone had to.

It must be hard for the village people, the bus service is appalling....there are children at the school who have only been to London once or twice in their lives, and who've never been on holiday....many of the wives would find it easier to live in Alresford.

The 'new' comprise the middle-class and anyone who resides in Modern, in particular estate, property. They are intruders

into the traditional, established way of things, they are urban mediocrity en masse, they are new. This is despite the fact that in many cases the 'new' will have resided in the village longer than the RLA.

The worst offenders are those superior bungalows. They keep themselves to themselves, and contribute absolutely nothing....never see them at the Village Hall or in church. The retired are simply horrid, but every community has those. They move out from Southampton and the suburbs, come here and continue to live their urban lives. They don't know any better, but they have no business to live like that.

RLA, 'village' and 'new' are fused together to enact the community, but a community so perceived that People form not part of Place, rather they react with Place. The community that is in the mind of the RLA relates with 'Place', both in terms of structure and function, though the latter relationship is only seen, never experienced. The relationship with which the RLA is involved is one overtly expressed through the direct interaction with the physical edifice. The 'community' cares for the structure of the settlement, they are wardens, caretakers of Place, and the Village is placed in their sole control for but a short time in its history.

Oh everyone joins in. We all look after the village. The B...have their grandchildren to say and they always clean out the river, pull out the weeds. There's a great community spirit, everyone helping to keep the village tidy.

Its a pretty village. We won the Best Kept Village in 1974 and 1976. Everyone mucks in, G....cuts the churchyard for example. But there is no bitterness there's no need for it. No one looks over the wall and says 'You're letting your side down'.

An awareness of time is strong among this group. Their circle, based on criteria of class and ownership of particular property, is seen to be self perpetuating; the middle -class in terms of both people and buildings, may change, but the village, formed by the elite and village people, is a situation that continues indefinitely regardless of intrusions:

I don't think it can change. Oh there may be more building and the occupants change frequently as in most places nowadays. We live in a mobile society, people's jobs move them...People will live in two or three houses in eight years. But the village itself never changes, I don't think they do, not the real village.

Long Term

The key theme of the social world of the Long Term is their ability to distance themselves from the village, to stand back and introduce a spacial and temporal perspective to their surroundings. The majority migrated to the settlement prior to the violent introduction of modern development, yet when it occurred they were still 'outsiders' and were thus able to adopt a dispassionate attitude to the growth, study the operation from an objective stance:

Since the bungalows were built new people have moved in and they livened the village up, the W.I. would have folded otherwise... the retired came first, then younger families moved in, they seemed to mix well...there was ill feeling about the bungalows to start with but that's gone now.

The new development is good. Unless you enlarge the village it will die. New houses means new shops, we need them....Twenty years ago when they built the Drift we were thrilled, new houses meant new neighbours!

Like the RLA they clearly distinguish between 'village' and 'new', but these are based on simple criteria of present and past development, rather than on the subjective, imposed criteria of the former. Again they stand back from the community and assess the village as a changing tableau before them, but unlike the Locals, this scene is devoid of individuals, of characters; the personalities are fixed by the corpus, each parade exposing a dimension of the community as a whole:

There are different walks of life here. The office workers work all day, come home get in their cars and go out to have a good time. Ant the land man, he comes in and wants to sit and rest because he's to be up and out at 4.30 next morning.

If you come in and hope to change everyone into Townies, you'll have problems. Some new come in and immediately put up fences, like living in little pens...new people should give. We've had some very nice people, chaps interested in the Youth Club. If you bring kids in you must be active as a parent, should create something for them...the old people just tootle around.

Owing to their knowledge of the village over time, especially prior to its growth, their awareness of the relationship between People and Place is more acute than that possessed by many of the incomers.

The bungalows brought life to the place, the new get more involved in the societies than the villagers...the villagers were upset by the growth, the kids went to private schools and not the village school, and this upset them, and the new were in business, and some people felt this was not 'Cheritonian'!.... one or two still regard the villagers as peasants, but these families can trace their history back over many years. You can understand why they felt the new were intruders.

They are a small group, a group alone, many regarding themselves as being outside the village sphere, though through circumstance, not desire. Unlike the elitism of the RLA, they feel little obligation towards the village, although they were often responsible for the formation of current village societies. They thus occupy an incongruous position: they are, and will always remain, the 'incomers' but already they are no longer 'new'. A lonely group with a lack of identity, indeed their label is synonymous with their non-identification with others, in particular with the young Mobile Incomers:

There were fields across there and builders just came in and slashed down the trees. There was a huge uproar... the new development still hasn't been accepted. It's good to have more people. We were very small before, but we were also 'oldy-worldly' which was nice....they don't really bother us, though, they don't drink or anything, they're very private, keep themselves to themselves, and as I said, don't bother us.

The Long Term perceive themselves as always 'outside' the village for they have seen a time to which they can never belong.

1. Bourdieu 1977 p. 3
2. Relph 1976. identifies a spectrum of the experience of Place: existential outsidership, objective outsidership, incidental outsidership, vicarious insidership, behavioural insidership, empathic insidership and existential insidership. A contrast is here made between the 'existential insidership' of the Tenants and the 'objective outsidership' of the Spiralists. p. 49-55.
3. Buttimer 1980. p.47
4. Relph 1976. p. 51. See note 2

P A R T S I X

P E O P L E A S P L A C E

CHAPTER 13The concept of Place Centredness

People are their place and a place is its people. Relph (1).

As People interact with Place, clarifying their perspectives and relationships, so they impose their personalities on Place; Place takes on the character of People. Not only through the direct interference and alteration of a Place by individuals, but in that space can only become Place through interaction with People (2).

Relph touches upon this theme in his description of landscape, when he states that though there is no simple inner force directing and co-ordinating the process of Place yet

it seems as though there is an individuality which lies behind the forms and appearances and maintains a coherent identity. We know that the spirit of a place can persist through countless changes in detail and structure ... The individual distinctiveness of a place therefore lies not so much in its exact physical forms and arrangements as in the meanings accorded to it by a community of concerned people (3).

Indeed Relph asserts that the very identity of Place varies with the individual or group image of that Place (4). It is the recognition of this symbolic relationship of meaning, of image, and of identity through and with Place, which links People to Place and enables us to approach the concept of People as Place:

places merge imperceptibly with the communities who occupy and maintain them, and with the minds of the individual people in those communities. As human individuality involves both something separate and something shared,

so part of what is shared is a place and a sense of place..... The strivings, failures and achievements of a community are in part recorded in the setting it creates for itself (5).

This relationship between People and Place has already been defined and established as Triadic (Chapter 9). Having assessed this relationship from the aspect of those living within Place, we shall now take Place as our subject, and by firmly merging it with its People, analyse the identity of Place through the concept of centredness (6).

Place centredness is a function of the relationship between People and Place. It occurs when all three elements of the Triadic relationship coincide in time and space for all People within Place. If People as Place confine their Environment and Milieu within Place, and share these relationships within, then Place is centred. Place centredness is thus the total empathy of all individuals within one space with that space; it is a process, a series of relationships.

This is not to suggest that within modern rural Britain, residents of some villages have no contact with the world beyond, rather that the majority of their social contacts, and their main interaction and behaviour patterns are confined within their Place of residence.

The Triadic relationship with Place for a single individual or group is illustrated by Figure 13.1. In this example the individual's/group's physical relationship, for example Place of work and residence, coincides with the social relationship, for example Place of friendship and kinship networks. In a group example both relationships are similarly interpreted, through the internalisation and association with perspectives and preconceptions, to

The Triadic Relationship 1.

I

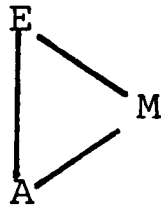


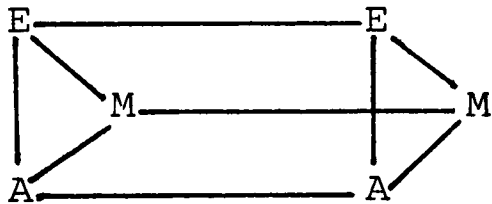
Figure 13.1

The Triadic relationship of individual/group I, where E stands for Environment, M for Milieu, and A for Ambience.

The Triadic Relationship 11.

I

II



E - Environment

M - Milieu

A - Ambience

Figure 13.2

provide an intact image of Place, the symbolic relationship, for all members of the group. All three elements of the Triad thus coincide vertically.

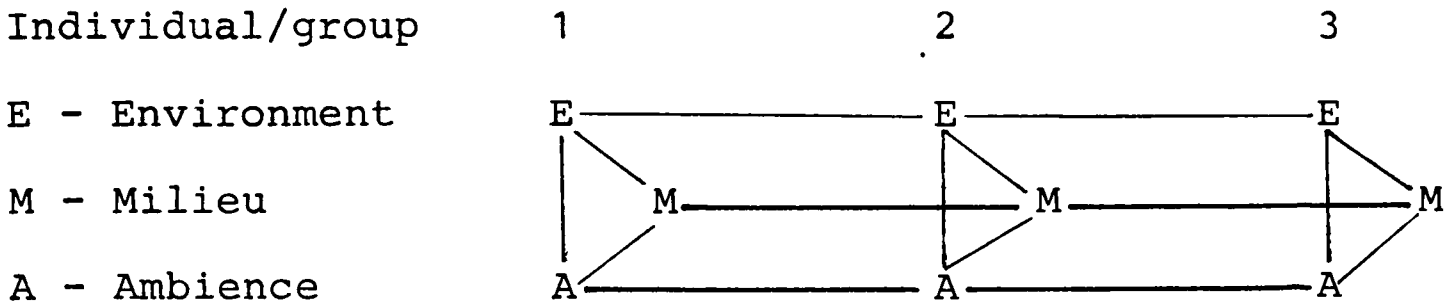
The horizontal element of the Triad is introduced in Figure 13.2 with the arrival of a second individual/group. In this case both individuals/groups share the same physical relationship, the same social relationship and the same symbolic relationship, and all three are firmly located within Place. All three elements of the Triad thus coincide horizontally.

It is possible to expand this concept of Place centredness to describe varying degrees of centredness. The current research identified three such types: a centred Place, a non-centred Place and a partially-centred Place.

A CENTRED PLACE: within a centred Place all three elements of the Triadic relationship coincide for all People within Place, both horizontally that is between independent individuals and groups, and vertically, when Environment, Milieu and Ambience are all confined with the one Place. For example Place X in Figure 13.3.

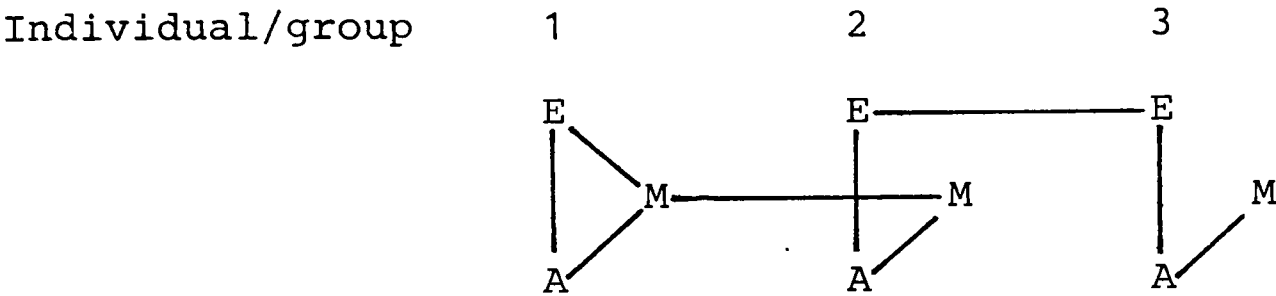
A NON-CENTRED PLACE: A place is non-centred when elements of an individual's/group's Triadic relationship exists independently outside Place, or when Place supports various individuals/groups possessing differing Triadic relationships. For example Place Y, Figure 13.3.

A PARTIALLY-CENTRED PLACE: A Place is partially-centred when all three elements of the Triadic relationship coincide for one distinct group or groups of People within Place; both horizontally between independent individuals within the group or groups, and vertically, when the Environment, Milieu and Ambience of this group or groups are confined within Place. However, Place also contains individuals or groups of People who do not confine their Triadic relationship to the one Place. For example Place Z, Figure 13.3.



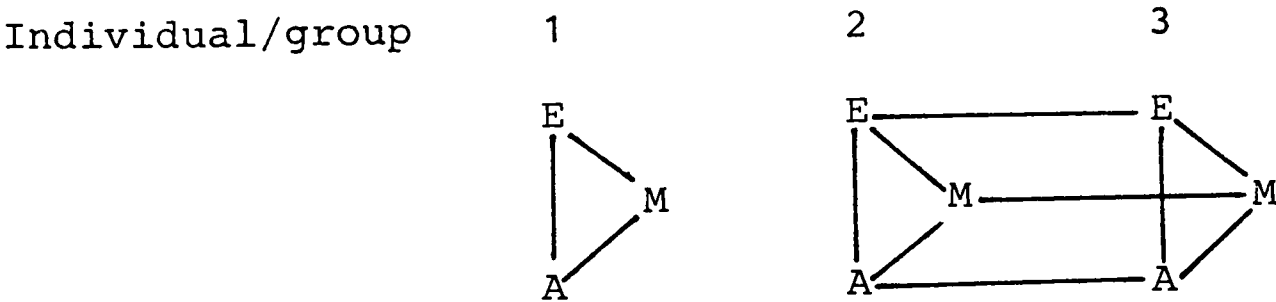
Place X

Place X is CENTRED as for each individual/group the physical, social and symbolic surroundings coincide and all three individuals/groups share these identical physical, social and symbolic surroundings, i.e. all three elements coincide vertically and horizontally.



Place Y

Place Y is NON-CENTRED. The vertical Triad is absent for two of the three individuals/groups, only two share milieu and an alternate two share environment. The ambience is different for all three individuals/groups.



Place Z

Place Z is PARTIALLY CENTRED. Although all individuals/groups reveal a vertical Triadic relationship one individual/group is not included in the intact horizontal relationship.

Figure 13.3. Place Centredness

Using the Triadic relationship as the basis for our approach two further characteristics of Place centredness can be developed. If it is taken that Place is but a specific space on which a meaning has been jointly imposed by a collection of People, then it can be argued that if Place has an intact physical, social and symbolic meaning, that this meaning binds the spatial structure with its function at any one moment in time. Thus in order for a Place to be centred its function and structure must coincide for the majority of its People. However during a process of metamorphosis the function and structure of Place may develop independently of each other. Thus if a settlement's structure grows without an alteration in the settlement's function, for example a large residential housing estate placed within a thriving agricultural community, the centredness of Place begins to dissipate, as the tensions between the existing agricultural function and the new residential structure begin to emerge. Similarly a settlement's function may subtly shift over time, without a corresponding alteration of its structure; for example the agricultural function of a community may die through rural depopulation and the settlement become purely residential, yet without a corresponding response allowing the settlement to grow and develop a residential structure.

The second characteristic of a centred Place arises from a continuous oscillation between work and rest within the one Place of residence. For as the physical, social and symbolic relationships of People as Place, coincide both spatially and temporally within a centred Place, so there must arise a continuous flow between the elements

of behaviour which can be expressed as work and those expressed as rest, within the Place of residence. As a Place loses its centredness so this dialogue between work, rest and residence, becomes dissected both in space and time.

The concept of Place centredness will now be applied to the case settlements. In the small, traditional rural estate village, where the majority of occupants are Tenants, the study of the life-world has revealed that the inhabitants share the same physical, social and symbolic surroundings. The Estate village can be said to be centred. However, if these villages are developed and through growth undergoing the metamorphosis of the Growth village, centredness disintegrates as a variety of groups, with multi-various inter and intra group and Place relationships, emerge within the one village. Growth villages are non-centred. However, it is argued that partial-centredness returns to settlements through the large scale development of modern housing, which attracts young, middle-class families who numerically dominate the Metropolitan village, as once again the majority of the inhabitants share the same Environment, Milieu and Ambience.

The relationship of People with Place has been assessed in relation to the manner in which People relate to Place and operate within the confines of Place. Yet it is a reciprocal relationship, and to obtain the full picture of People as Place it is necessary to examine the relationship from the aspect of Place, how a Place alters and emerges through the behaviour of its People.

It is suggested the People as Place co-exists on three levels, three spheres of existence: the Physical sphere, the Social sphere and the Symbolic sphere. In assessing the Physical sphere the analysis shall be confined to Place as manipulated by its own People, tracing the transference of this power from the control of a single landlord, through the hands of several landowners, to the concept of the community conscience. The Social sphere, as created and sustained by its People, will be examined at the formal level, the official society as represented through formal organisation, and the Symbolic sphere, an image, collective or individual, in the minds of its People, traced as the meaning of Place, the image of Place, as revealed by the majority of its residents.

An assessment will be made of the relationship between the structure and function of Place, as it pertains to the present, and examine the emerging future of People as Place.

1. Relph 1976
2. Tuan 1977
3. Relph 1976
4. Ibid
5. Relph 1976
6. Buttimer 1980a discusses a concept of centredness in relation to a person's sense of reach.

CHAPTER 14Rural settlement within the urbanizing hinterland.

The analysis is now able to approach the concept of people as Place and examine the link between settlement type, housing mix and the resultant Place as created through an interaction of its people. Dependent on the available residential property each settlement will attract a varying combination of the groups here established, and within each combination the groups both perceive themselves differently and interact differently. It is thus important to establish the manner in which each group reacts and interacts to form the social Place and the manner in which each works to manipulate the physical Place. As before to avoid repetition, only the broad themes associated with each settlement type will be discussed.

This chapter should be read with reference to Tables 3.3 - 3.5 which produce a breakdown of the characteristics of the settlements using Small Area Statistics. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 reveal the population mix of each case study settlement.

14.1The Estate Village: a centred Place

The complete domination of the settlement by Tied and Privately Rented Property results in the presence of a major reference group within the village, which possesses an intact Triadic relationship, coinciding for all People within Place. The Tenants, forming a social world whose Environment, Milieu and Ambience is united for all its members and firmly centred on the Place of residence, provide that the Estate Village is centred. While there is little requirement to re-examine their position as a reference group it is useful to reiterate the significant aspects of their relationship with Place.

Their physical use of their surroundings is complete and as a group they work within the settlement or area controlled by the estate. There is no enforced separation within the lives of the Tenants, their living space is intact for the dialogue between work and rest is continuous, not only for the individual but for the village in its entirety. The fracturing of existence into time-space fragments, behaviour strictly bounded by space and time, has no reality here, the temporal boundaries of work and rest are a response to the needs of Place rather than a rigid demarcation imposed by society, and the entourage of work, is the entourage of rest, the Place of residence. There is a freedom of access between the two which answers the demands of the environment, a continuous oscillation between work and rest, a continual interaction between People and Place. The following is by a nurseryman:

In the winter I usually do the boiler at about eleven, before bed, and then get up at about four and do her again. Sometimes she's lasted well but its just not worth risking it. I just slip a mac on over my pajamas and run down the road. M... says one day I'll have an accident and be found out I pop back into bed until about seven If we're sending we'll work right through until the vans come

This oscillation is not confined to daily routine, however, it continues throughout life, the demands of work and rest growing and dying with the individuals life span.

There arises no need for individuals to justify their existence with the Estate village, no need to explain their presence. The reason for doing is the answer to the equation of being - labour, and it is this work within and for the Place of residence that ultimately ties the Tenant to the Place of residence.

Their Milieu is unchanging in terms of kin and friendship networks. The presence of a single reference group within the one Place, the same group duplicated for work as for rest, for kin as for friends, results in multi-role play throughout the society. In every social transaction, selves must be established, defined and accepted by the parties concerned (1). Within the centred Place, however, the self established in one transaction, adapts, but does not change within another, members of the social world, shifting in emphasis but not in kind between the situations, confined within the framework of the reference group. Each individual is thus assigned a role within Place. Within the Estate village ones labour provides the reason for existence within Place, and as employment is the primary function of People as Place,

so the heirarchy established through work is primordial permeating down through society. The individuals position at rest is fixed by the individuals position at work. Social mobility within the heirarchy is rare, and the rank assigned at birth rules thenceforth. This continuous interaction with one reference group encourages a united set of perspectives and the symbolic relationship revealed by the Tenants is constant between residents.

Even within a centred Place, in particular a centred Place lying within an urbanizing hinterland, it appears unlikely that the settlement will not possess other individuals or even minor subsidiary groups. In the Estate village anyone who is not attached to the estate is considered to be peripheral, by both themselves and by the village. Within East Tisted Local Authority Housing forms the largest peripheral group, and the Council residents adapted well to the quasi-feudal situation pertaining within the estate, perceiving their exclusion in terms of labour, which is acceptable, rather than a factor of class, which is not. The estate/non-estate barrier is thus grounded on firm distinct factors, overtly recognisable and understandable to both those within and without; as Council residents they are not employed or supported by the estate and thus do not expect to be taken inside its boundaries. Yet the general Milieu of the village is socially and economically akin to their own situation, and in addition they share with the Tenants an attachment, through birth and life, to the local area.

Few Retired are attracted to Estate villages owing to the general lack of appropriate accommodation and amenities, and the tendency for such settlements to be isolated from alternative services. For example East Tisted and Weston under Lizard are eight and ten miles respectively from the nearest doctor, and although both are on major trunk roads, the bus service in each case is limited.

The RLA are similarly restricted by the range of attractive property, though they are the first to move into converted Tied housing as the settlement is opened up. However there are rarely sufficient RLA for them to enact as a group within the one Place. Furthermore within the Estate village is a functioning, operative head, the landlord and lady, who practise authentic, substantive paternalism, and thus the quazi-paternalistic behaviour found among the RLA elsewhere, cannot be played out within this setting. Although casual relationships evolve with farmers and estate managers, their main Milieu is established outside the settlement. Their physical relationship with the village is also limited. Requiring use of neither public transport or services and having access to a range of facilities elsewhere, they rarely make use of the local provision, such as shop, school or recreation and owing to the tightly bounded organisation of feudal society, are unable to penetrate the church or Parish Council.

Of all the peripheral occupants the young Mobile Incomers, including those who eventually become Long Term, find the rejection particularly difficult to accept. Some, having previously selected the village due to a pre-conception of the settlement as the 'true agricultural community'

possessing a commitment to 'village life', reveal actual distress at their exclusion. Their eagerness to belong resulted in a paradoxical situation whereby they are accepted on a personal level, as individuals, but rejected and excluded as newcomers by the village as a whole, as this young women discovered:

They asked if we'd arrange the annual cricket match. So we spent a lot of time, said they could use the house as a committee room, had weekly meetings, and everyone came up here. And then we weren't even invited to the Cricket Club dance afterwards - totally ignored. I suppose they felt it was their Cricket Club and we didn't belong.

It appears that after time the incomers will acknowledge and accept the formal parameters of estate/non-estate and look elsewhere for their peer group. When the above women was visited a year after the first meeting she and the other female Mobile Incomer resident within the settlement had turned to a nearby Growth village and established themselves socially within that community, taking part in a mother and child society, and the school-run, as well as forming personal friendships there.

As the immigrants are sufficiently few in number for each to be judged on individual merits, the Tenants are able to draw them within their own interactional status system and assess each, not by virtue of their position within the national class structure, but through their behaviour and relationship with Place. The Mobile Incomers form so small a proportion of the Estate village, (Table 6.3), that they barely infringe onto the life of the community, and the social world of the Tenants remains the support of the centred Place.

Within the Estate village as a whole the relationship of landlord and tenant, Hall and estate, creates a Milieu of reciprocal aid and obligations: as the dwellers, the body of the estate, support the Hall, so the Hall as pinnacle, provides for them and every element of their lives, private and public is meshed in this relationship. These small settlements, possessing limited facilities, or access to alternatives, comprise a high percentage of low socio-economic groups, due to type of housing and employment provision. It is the maintenance of this physical sphere within the Estate village which forms the key to their unique character. Dependence of the worker binds this individual to the employer, who is also the landlord, in a functional, paternalistic relationship, a relationship fundamentally devised and controlled by the landowner.

The landlord does not merely provide accommodation for his workers, under the terms of the 1976 Rent (Agricultural) Act, he is obliged to carry out all major structural and external repairs to the property, and provide the materials for the internal decoration. In both villages, following the retirement of the worker, he and his spouse were allowed to remain in the house until their deaths (2). Although now obliged to pay both rents and rates these are generally low and subsidised by social security rent and rate allowances, and by the estate itself, through the provision of free fuel, etc. Through subsidising the living costs of the retired employee, while encouraging application for state benefits in the form of rebates, the landlord thus reinforces and substantiates his paternalistic

position via the overt manipulation of the social security system, thus controlling even the Tenants access to state provision.

On both estates the landlords were reticent to rent housing to private tenants, due to the difficulty of eviction under the terms of the Rent Act for unfurnished property. Similarly neither estates were willing to re sub-let tenanted farms following the death of an heirless occupant, for under the 1976 Agricultural Act intergenerational transference is guaranteed. Thus such property was in both cases absorbed into the estate farm itself, though the East Tisted estate is now considering the sale of future vacant farms, its own farm having reached optimum size. With regard to existing privately rented property the estate carries out all major structural repairs, and covers half the cost of essential, external repairs, all other repairs and rates being paid by the tenant. Both landlords expressed a preference for sale of empty housing rather than retaining it for rental. However, both maintained that it was essential to retain a substantial quantity of such property as a security against unexpected taxation laws, or death duties.

The power hierarchy formed directly within the settlement as estate, is replicated within the settlement as village. In both Estate villages the chairman of the Parish Council was the lord of the estate, with the secondary position going to the estate manager, and the heads of department, with those of superior domestic positions (for example housekeeper) concluding the composition.

A similar power situation pertains to the Parochial Church Council. As was earlier described not only has the Hall slowly withdrawn from formal village social life but also owing to the high degree of social interaction at work among Tenants, formally structured leisure was not always regarded favourably. However in relation to the size of the settlement these centred Places sustain a formal social life which encompasses a large proportion of the inhabitants (3). Both villages support a committee to oversee 'village social life': the 'Social Committee of Weston under Lizard, and Village Hall Committee in East Tisted, and are responsible for such village events as the Christmas party, children's summer outing and the Autumn Fair. The sole female society in each village is a Ladies Guild, with a high religious input and traditional in format. Monthly meetings, attended by up to a dozen women, are typically unsophisticated and parochial in format, comprising a local speaker or demonstrator, generally unqualified and inexperienced, with a bias towards domestic topics. Each village also maintains one male society both actively supported by a large proportion of the residents: the Cricket Club in East Tisted, and Angling Club in Weston under Lizard. In addition East Tisted also possesses a Bingo Club, Youth Club and Evergreen, old people's society. Weston under Lizard has recently lost its Youth Club, and East Tisted a Children's Club, for mother and child.

The Estate village is thus centred. Its function is as a complete agricultural working unit, its structure supports that working unit. It is a Place of work, a Place of rest, a Place of residence. The men and women who dwell in the settlement, work the land within the settlement, maintain the buildings, service the estate. The village both supplies and supports estate labour, all labour is thus of and for Place.

While the village remains closed its structure and function will remain intact, the landlord able to regulate the number and character of the population through his control over both housing and employment. However, this does not exclude the ultimate disintegration of the village: if the village remains closed, and the labour requirements on the estate fall, then the village may evolve into little more than a farm community. Thus while structure and function may remain intact, Place centredness will dissolve, as low numbers force services to abandon the village, and prevent the maintenance of kinship, or even friendship networks within the settlement. Yet if the village is opened, either through the immigration of non-estate residents into empty housing, or through the development of private property within the settlement, function and structure will be divorced, work severed from residence, and Place centredness dissipated. Only if an equilibrium can be maintained between the economic pressures of modern agriculture, with its emphasis on high mechanisation and low man power, and the social requirements of a viable population threshold, can the Estate village remain centred. Within modern rural Britain this balance is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain.

The two villages of Weston under Lizard and East Tisted face contrasting futures. Eight acres of land in Weston under Lizard, the site of the old rectory, has been granted permission (1985) for the construction of 30 modern houses in the form of a housing estate. If this development occurs the population of the village will more than double within a time span of two years, and the closed Estate village undergo the metamorphosis of the Growth village, with function severed from structure; work from rest and the Triadic relationship, at present intact within the village, shattered.

Within East Tisted, however, no plan for expansion exists. Here the estate wishes to construct both private and public accommodation to enable the rehousing of estate workers and the retired, allowing the sale of part of the existing Tied Property. Yet this request is continually refused by the local planning authorities as the village lies within an area of East Hampshire allocated the development of only 1,000 further houses, and East Tisted does not possess the required rural infrastructure to support the requested addition.

The estate thus plans to gradually release Tied Property onto the open market, while retaining sufficient housing against unexpected agricultural expansion, or financial commitments. In addition it proposes to establish small, light craft industry on the site of the derelict brickworks, as an alternative to agriculture employment. If both the housing and industrial proposals are successful, East Tisted could move gently forward through a process of gentle metamorphosis, retaining a large element of its centredness.

yet if the projects fail, then the village faces a slow decline. Over a quarter of the population are retired, and under present conditions their houses are remaining empty after their deaths. The school closed in 1981, the village losing its encumbant vicar on his retirement in 1984. The village of East Tisted is thus at present slowly slipping towards a Place which is but a farm with associated Tied Property. For once, the power of control over the villages future does not lie with the landlord but with the state planning authorities.

14.2The Growth village; a non-centred Place

The possible housing mix which is likely to occur as a settlement grows was earlier described. Similarly the analysis of the decision making process of the immigrants verified that certain groups are predisposed to select specific types of property. The examination of rural settlements has suggested that a village which is developing through the addition of typically private residential property will initially still retain employment within the settlement allowing access for the Tenant group and agricultural Locals, and may be considered appropriate for public Local Authority Housing. However the conversion of Tied and Privately Rented Property, and the sale of large Old Property, for private owner-occupancy enables the entry of the RLA, whether in sufficient number to form an elite sphere directly dependent on the presence of such property. For example in settlements where such property is demolished for Modern housing estates rather than converted, the emergence of an elite group will be less likely. Similarly the structure of the Modern Property will dictate the population mix. A high proportion of bungalow development will typically attract the Retired, Modern housing the younger Mobile Incomers; with cheap property resulting in a high percentage of Origins, larger residences attracting Spiralists.

Regardless of the specific combination, the opening up of the village by residential development results in the growth and polarisation of the peripheral members identified within the Estate village, and the diminishing,

both in proportion and number, of the Tenants. As a consequence there is no one dominant reference group, rather each, occupying its own spatial, social, and symbolic territory, vies for a position within society. The village finds its centredness shattered into a myriad of Triads, structure sundered from its function, and work, rest and residence, divided and scattered. Physically the village separates into residential segments, socially and symbolically the spheres orbit separate courses within the one Place.

The Tenants now inhabit a spatially separate area, usually round the farm; in Cheriton this area was even identified by name as North End. This spatial separation is reinforced by the conversion of Tied housing within the village into property suitable for sale on the open market, and its replacement by Modern accommodation typically on land adjacent to the farm. Although the group continue to use village facilities such as school, church, shop and public house, these are no longer integrally meshed with their living zone. Work and rest may still be combined within the Tenants own small spatial setting, but they must now leave this Place of residence to participate in other provisions of the village. Place is dissected. Though for the Tenant group as a whole, the Triad may still coincide, not only may the original society be split asunder as private residential development is erected between their housing, but they now become aware that their community is but a peripheral unit: they are now socially and spatially relegated to the outskirts of the major development, their Triad but a small component of the emerging Place. Furthermore for the first time this group encounters a set of contrasting

social worlds, reference groups demanding new perspectives and role play and the encroaching presence of others results in a reassessment of their social and economic status. Yet, unlike those living in public housing, the agricultural workers still claim fundamental attachment and right to Place, established and maintained through labour. For Place still supports the prime elements of life - work, rest and residence - and it is this, not length of residence, which provides them with status in relation to other inhabitants, and maintains their position in the community. Thus agricultural households of only a very short duration will symbolically and psychologically claim precedential membership of Place over those who have a longer association, but are without the bonds of labour to tie them to the settlement.

The agricultural Locals are similarly affected physically, socially and symbolically by the growth of the village. In many cases it is the farmers themselves who have sold large acreages of land for residential development, yet in so doing they induce a dramatic alteration in their own social and symbolic relationship with Place. The village is their livelihood as well as their Place of residence, more so than the Tenants who can always move onto alternative employment, and yet through the opening up of the settlement they find their past control over this livelihood, through the village power hierarchy, under threat from the Mobile Incomers.

In the same fashion Local Authority Housing does not mingle with private property but is confined to distinct council estates, usually on the village periphery, as in Cheriton. In Bradley reaction to a proposal to use a small

area of land with planning permission in the centre of the village for Local Authority Housing was significant: the objection was not directed towards the concept of council housing within the settlement but rather that it should not be placed in the centre of a village considered scenically attractive. This relegation of Council residents to the spacial periphery is but a reflection of their social position within the emerging village. While Place was a small agricultural settlement the Council residents accepted their exclusion from village society as arising from their non-involvement in farm or estate - membership was labour based. However as Place grows the Council residents perceive that they are also excluded from the society of the new reference groups by virtue of social criteria. Membership is being dissected along class lines and the Council residents are being pre-defined by nationally established socio-economic variables which are being introduced into Place. Faced with this sudden mirage of external reference groups, the Council residents are forced to reassess their very position within society as a whole, as represented by the village. Of all the groups, these face the greatest adjustments through the metamorphosis of Place, exhibited by their open resentment and antagonism towards the immigrants who are redefining their position, imposing roles and social norms upon them, and relegating them to the periphery of their own Place.

The third spatially distinct area to evolve is modern development occupied in the main by the young Mobile Incomers and the Retired. This is adjacent to the village but firmly within. In both villages however access routes out of the settlement provides that the occupants of the

Modern development can enter and leave the settlement without touching its centre. Thus for residents working elsewhere, who make no use of the church, school or shop, it is possible to live within the boundaries of the settlement and yet not venture into the village itself. This physical arrangement but compounds the inevitable lack of social and spatial contact immigrants initially possess with Place, and reinforces an inherent attraction towards other Mobile Incomers as a group for reference, away from the more established residents. Thus distinct social worlds evolve on separate housing estates orbiting the original village, whose inhabitants have their own specific attachment to, and perception of, the rural settlement.

The remaining residents, the RLA, Long Term and non-agricultural Locals, live spatially together in the centre of the village, though as has been earlier demonstrated socially and symbolically each inhabits a different Place.

Socially, the rural settlement comprises multi-circles, shades of interest bound together and apart by interactive tension. Each social world is represented by sufficient number that a group image can be established and maintained; although individuals may no longer be known personally, most can be identified by group membership. Newcomers are assessed and assigned to a pre-ordained set, through the identification of external symbols of wealth, language and material possessions established via national status criteria. Interaction between these sets occurs at both the group and individual level with the practical issues of housing and social facilities arising as potential areas of conflict.

Competition for actual housing territory is rare between the groups as a whole. While the Locals may occasionally infer that the Mobile Incomers have taken housing required by their children, many have made substantial financial gains through the sale of land and property, in several cases enabling the household to remain within the village. Similarly the offspring of both the Long Term and those RLA households, who have been associated with the village for several years, are typically socially and spacially mobile and do not seek accommodation within the settlement as of right. While several Tenant households reveal frustration at the lack of housing available for their offspring, their greatest concern for their children centres on employment provision. Furthermore those whose own property has been taken for conversion and selling are generally pleased with their modern replacements, possessing few delusions about the rustic charms of old housing. The only group to express overt resentment are the Council residents, for neither the Modern estate property nor the converted Old Property forms a viable residential option. The arrival of the Mobile Incomers has emphasized for these residents the national status system as manifest in the construction of private residential property and the conversion of Tied and Privately Rented Property for owner-occupancy, rather than the provision of public housing, or of cheap housing within their means.

While actual conflict over housing is limited, social territoriality is potentially acute between all groups. The Growth village possesses but limited social resources and the polarized social worlds vie for these, resulting in overt territorial friction. In Cheriton the village

hall was traditionally used for village weddings and large parties, until the new Drama group erected a permanent stage and persuaded the village hall committee to stop such functions; the recreation ground, traditionally used for football matches and village occasions, was converted by the young Mobile Incomers into Tennis Courts and a cricket pitch. In Bradley the village pub became a restaurant and land set aside for council housing became the village green.

Competition for social resources is reflected in the polarisation of formal societies. For example in Cheriton the Locals and Restricted Residents sang in the church choir, the Mobile Incomers in the choral society (4). The RLA started 'The friends of St. Michael' a formal church association with little support from the Restricted Residents. This polarization is particularly apparent among female associations. In Cheriton the Locals and Restricted Residents typically belong to the Women's Institute, a society closely aligned to the Church which follows the traditional format of ceremony and speakers, with emphasis on voluntary service and domestic issues. This society, which meets monthly in the village hall, is also patronised by members of the RLA and Long Term residents. The remainder of the Mobile Incomers, however, have created their own society, the Wednesday Club, which holds informal monthly meetings in the Chairman's house with speaker, and alcohol, and little official business. The details of the speaker programme, however, are not dissimilar to that chosen by the WI. All new residents to the village are automatically sent a letter of introduction to the Wednesday Club. The village of Bradley is not sufficiently large to support

two female societies. The WI has been taken over by the young Mobile Incomers, disbanded and renamed the Phoenix Club. Despite their being little difference in the actual meetings held by the two societies, the original members of the WI do not patronize the Phoenix Club.

The village is still sufficiently small, that considerable contact between individuals outside their reference group is inevitable. Thus Council residents and Tenants will be employed domestically by the RLA and other Mobile Incomers, the RLA will provide village services, the young Mobile Incomers organise entertainment for the Retired, and females of different groups will gather together at village associations. Yet in each case the individual approaches the group as an outsider, enacts a role and withdraws, judged by others than with whom they share perspectives. As an illustration, the Tenant woman enacts the role of domestic cleaner for the RLA only when she leaves her reference group. Though she may be known by her peers as a cleaner, they rarely perceive her in this role, and thus her performance as a cleaner is not judged by her peers, but by others outside her social world.

As all the reference groups are small there is far less multi-role play within the one group. Not only does the Tenant wife and mother move outside her social world as she dons the role of cleaner, but the increasing proportion of residents now travelling outside the village for employment ensures that work roles in general are no longer played out openly before the community. They are now spatially and socially distant from the rural settlement, and each individual now possesses other social worlds hidden to those with whom

they reside. As such individuals have identities assigned to them on the basis of cursory meetings, one set of interaction patterns or particular role play. An individual is no longer the complete entity but the purveyor of a particular task, the displayer of certain overt characteristics. Thus transitory contact adds to status criteria already assigned on the basis of national values, and an entire group can be allocated an identity through the identification of a few of its members with a particular role.

The process of metamorphosis has a profound effect on the physical sphere of the village, not only on its spatial structure, but on Place as a ~~place~~ Place of residence, a Place of facilities. The physical sphere of the Growth village is manipulated by its People through various methods both direct and indirect, overt and unconscious. The provision of village facilities, for example can be influenced by the demands of, and usage by, the residents in an unconscious manipulative pattern. While the actual number of residents will increase as the village expands, the immigrants are generally of a higher economic position than the existing inhabitants, possessing access to alternative facilities through transport and wealth. Thus the number relying on local facilities actually decreases as these wealthier immigrants replace existing residents. Public transport appears particularly affected in this respect, often resulting in a gradual withdrawal of services. Although shops and local schools may continue to be supported for social reasons (see Chapter 10) this will only occur if the immigrants are of sufficient wealth to negate economic considerations

and overall this social effect appears negligible .

The general result of metamorphosis is thus to reduce the proportion of lower socio-economic groups dependent on cheap accommodation and local facilities and the concurrent increase in higher socio-economic groups. The process of manipulation is typically threefold. Wealthy immigrants compete for local property, forcing an increase in house prices and directly preventing local inhabitants from purchasing or privately renting local accommodation. Subsequently the immigrants neglect local facilities causing their demise. This not only makes the settlements less attractive to potential immigrants from the lower socio-economic groups, but may indirectly cause those already resident to leave, owing to limited access to alternative services. Finally the immigrants vigorously campaign against further development, in particular cheap property, preventing further large-scale immigration, and reducing opportunities for the off-spring of existing inhabitants to remain in the village, again in particular those of the lower socio-economic households.

This latter process is assisted by current planning policy aimed at preserving small settlements, and allowing further expansion only in settlements already affected by growth, and where facilities will allow. Such villages thus crystallize into enclaves of middle-class society: aesthetically appealing settlements attracting those defined by high status and wealth. Such crystallization preserves existing spatial and social spheres, with each element of society merely replacing itself.

The manipulation of Place is more overt however, through the action of those locally in power. The Growth village provides an example of direct control passing from the hands of one landowner, or several large landowners, to the grasp of the local elite, in the form of the Parish Council, typically dominated by farmers. However, as the process of transition continues so other self-imposed elite members move in and wish to have control over the village. The conflict polarizes between the Locals, in particular farmers, and the Mobile Incomers, represented by the RLA, Long Term, and to a lesser extent PRG and Spiralists. Within this broad dichotomy, however, tensions arise on a practical, often personal level, as each group, perceiving valid reasons for possessing authority within the village, lays claim to the controlling position within the settlement.

The agricultural Locals now find their positions of authority by virtue of land ownership not only questioned, but also threatened. The farmers perceive that an element of control over the settlement and its parish is essential for the maintenance of a successful livelihood. Yet practical alterations of the environment, considered necessary for economic agriculture, are now opposed by the Mobile Incomers on aesthetic grounds, as are the farmers attempts to maximize profits through the sale of land for residential development. Similarly the non-agricultural Locals perceiving their rightful position as one of authority, by virtue of their long association with village society, see their roles eroded by the wealthy incomers who possess the advantage of national status and social prestige.

Indeed their status within the community in general is reduced through this emphasis given by the Mobile Incomers to nationally developed criteria in assigning prestige.

The RLA are prime competitors for positions of authority. Within the Growth village, the proportion of Old Property attracts sufficient RLA to produce a distinct, identifiable sphere, which through a process of intra-group identification, establishes and maintains a social world which justifies their position and paternalistic perspectives. They are typically highly educated/experienced, retired or semi-retired professionals and business executives, who having abstracted considerable status from those with whom they worked, now expect such respect and deference from those within their Place of residence. Official bodies, such as the Church, Parish Council and certain voluntary associations are required to channel this paternalism. Rarely having personal need of such organisations, they feel obligations and duties to those less fortunate, perceiving this as being required of those in their position.

However, this control is also sought by members of the Long Term who now also perceive themselves as parents of the emerging Place. Those residents who patiently infiltrated the original, tightly bound society of farmer or worker, or who established their own organisations, in particular perceive a position of power and respect as a rightful reward for their long standing support of the village.

The village is still sufficiently small, however, that this conflict over local authority is played out at the

level of the individual, manifesting itself through competition for positions on the Parish Council or other tiers of local government.

Each group holds a specific concept of the village. While it may still be perceived as a Place of work by the Tenants, and a Place of family and friends by the established residents, for the Mobile Incomers, the village is but a structure within which to reside. As space becomes Place through deriving a 'meaning' imposed by its People, the Growth village can be viewed as a multi-faceted Place. Yet it is a settlement in a process of transformation, as the immigrants increase in proportion, Place, as an image carried by the majority of its People, is transformed, as the meaning imposed on Place gradually shifts from that of a working agricultural complex to a spatial shell within which to reside.

Tensions arising through conflicts of social and symbolic territoriality are compounded by the differential alteration of structure and function as the settlement develops. It is unusual for the spatial growth of housing to occur in complete sympathy with a shift in function from that of agriculture to residence. Typically there occurs a period of friction as large residential zones are imposed on a still viable agricultural community, that is structure changes prior to primary function. Although depopulation is rare within the city hinterland, here the corresponding shift of function prior to structural change arises as the

inhabitants of a farming settlement change from fundamentally agricultural workers to a fundamentally residential population who daily leave the village for employment, without the settlement inheriting the ability for rapid expansion. Tension arises as wealthier incomers requiring property, take over existing accommodation, raising house prices and forcing remaining agricultural workers to leave the village. In both the case settlements of Cheriton and Bradley a residential structure was placed upon a still viable agricultural community.

Regardless of the pace of metamorphosis the process of change is in itself divisive - function finds itself wrenched from Place and segregated. The village as a Place of work, no longer in sympathy with the village as a Place of residence, competes for existence. This is reflected in the shifting emphasis from work to residence. While a small number may still continue their own small dialogue with the village, a few still work the land within the settlement, still service Place, the majority have adopted a life pattern which spatially and temporarily segments People and Place. Not only do the Mobile Incomers commute out of the village for employment, but an increasing number of the Restricted Residents and Locals, once employed within the village are now forced to do likewise. Thus over two-thirds of the adult males inhabiting each Growth village regularly leave the settlement for employment, and a quarter of the adult females. Indeed the Mobile Incomer appear frequently oblivious to the concept of such close companionship between work and rest, their lives being already clearly segmented on arrival.

Both Growth settlements face similar futures.

Conservation areas have been placed on the central zones of the villages, and the respective planning authorities decided in the early 1980's that for the foreseeable future, there is to be no further residential development. For these two villages the planning process has halted the metamorphosis, each faces a period of crystallization, a chance for the many reference groups resident within the settlements to consolidate and become established.

14.3The Metropolitan village: a partially-centred Place

The continuation of largescale residential growth takes the form of large housing estates, typically intact units of development, which not only surround the settlement but encroach onto its centre. These modern housing estates are primarily occupied by young Mobile Incomers, the PRG, Spiralists and Origenes, with these groups together generally comprise over three-quarters of the village (Table 6.3). Their relationship with Place is thus the prime determinant of its character. The majority of these residents do not possess intact Triadic relationships with Place their contrasting backgrounds and access to employment and leisure outside the settlement result in varied Triads. However, there now exists within these villages a sub-group, sufficiently large to form a substantial reference group, sharing the same physical, social and symbolic relationship with Place, experiencing a continual dialogue between work, rest and residence, and meshed with Place through this work. This sub-group forms the occupational community of the female home-worker and it is the social world of this specific community which returns centredness, at least partially, to Place.

In his analysis of the male occupational community, Salaman describes various preconditions which lead to the formation of such communities (5). These determinants are present among those female Mobile Incomers who, typically through the presence of young children, are confined daily

to the village and employed in caring for these offspring and the family home as a full time occupation. These female home-workers are often regarded as marginal members of society. They are thus eager to create and share in a value system which gives respect to their occupation. This desire is encouraged and supported by their total involvement in the time consuming work of motherhood and the home, which encapsulates their whole lives. They thus find it difficult to establish friendships and contacts outside the group, who are similarly involved in their occupation, who operate within a similar time constraint, and who understand and communicate within the ever present sphere of work.

Analysis of the lived worlds of these female home-workers, reveals that they also exhibit the characteristics of the male occupational communities examined by Salaman. Thus the self image of the women emerges through, and is centred on, their occupational role, that of home-worker and mother. Similarly the home-workers share the view points and perspectives of other workers, regarding their opinions and support as an important justification and validation of their performance. Finally they carry their work interests into their non-work lives: thus mothers of young children belong to mother and child organisations, which rapidly expand within these communities, and even modern female societies, still expound traditional female tasks with lectures and demonstrations on household tasks, and sales of household items.

The presence of this occupational group is recognised by those who belong:

When we first arrived I was at work and I didn't know anyone. I used to dread the idea of being left here alone with kids. But its great. After I left the village literally turned out to welcome me ... you soon realize you're all the same. I'd say most of my friends, close friends are here now, you just see a lot of each other, share the same sorts of things and do seem to get close very quickly.

and those who are outside:

I thought Wheaton Aston would be nice, but its only a baby factory. If you're not producing you feel out of it ... all everyone ever talks about is babies and nappies and school and, and, if you do go to a coffee morning its full of babies. They all gang up in the holidays and go for swimming trips or meet in each others gardens ...

The Triadic relationship of this occupational community with Place is firmly centred. The female home-worker lives a continuous dialogue shifting between her work and her rest within the one Place, her Place of residence, and within the one time. For her, even more than for the agricultural worker, the barriers between work and rest are blurred, in particular for those caring for young children, the boundaries merge, distinction between the two states being often indistinguishable. Thus within her place of residence, her time of work crosses the boundaries of both her public and private social life, and her attachment to Place is complete. Similarly owing to the often limited access to private transport, full use is made of the settlements facilities such as school, shops and leisure provision. Their Milieu is strictly orientated towards the occupational group and social interaction is generally continued within the settlement. Indeed the friendship ties developed among these women are so highly developed

that in many cases kin duties and obligations are undertaken by friends, the dispersed family network of these women being replaced by an intact friendship nexus. This continual interaction with the one reference group encourages a united set of perspectives, and their symbolic relationship with Place is constant between the members.

This is not to maintain that the female home-worker does not take advantage of the activities and facilities of modern living, both leisure and shopping are undertaken outside the village, yet it is within the one space that these women spend most of their time, and within this one space act out their major life roles. For these village is a Place of residence, Place of rest and Place of work, there is no enforced separation in their lives, there is ease of access between work and rest within the same space.

Living within this same spacial environment, the Modern housing estate, yet outside the occupational community, exist residents with varying attachments to the settlement. Despite many of the Origen females being confined during the day to the village, they do not join the occupational community. Similarly economically active females employed outside the village, loose the attachment to their place of residence through the medium of work. The spouses of the female home-worker reveal a higher degree of attachment to Place, than the husbands of those whose wives are economically active. Despite travelling daily outside the settlement for employment, and thus spending much of their time away from Place, the former reveal a higher number of personal friendships within the village (frequently husbands of other home workers) and are more actively involved in village social life.

The dramatic growth within which the occupational community develops relegates all other groups to the periphery. Indeed the Tenant and agricultural Locals now often reside together outside the village itself, spatially and socially beyond the new settlement. They no longer have need to self isolate themselves into an encapsulated community, the residential growth of the village has completed the process for them.

Though Local Authority Housing may increase with the growth of the settlement, it is still generally confined to distinct zones at the edge of the village. However, the increase in public housing not only enables offspring from Council households to remain within the settlement, but also maintains a distinct reference group. The reaction of this group to, and self-isolation from, the rest of the community stays akin to that displayed in the Growth villages. However individual Council residents now have less personal contact with the Mobile Incomers, both due to the increase in population size, which reduces all forms of individual contact between groups, and due to the relative demise of the RLA as a controlling influence, which lessens the availability of female domestic employment in these houses.

Though the proportion of Locals still resident in Metropolitan villages is now too low to provide a distinct social world, those remaining are still identified as established members of the community. Several have now moved into new estates, in particular zones of cheap property, and several have married immigrants. The young Locals thus being diluted and absorbed into the immigrant community. Similar examples also arose among the offspring of Council and Tenant Households.

Metropolitan villages contain little housing which is attractive to the Rich Late Age, many of the old properties have been already demolished and modern housing constructed on their site. Similarly the large settlements do not appear to attract the proportion of Retired found in Growth villages, the group appearing to favour the smaller traditionally rural village. Though it can be argued that this is reflected in the lack of accommodation provided for the Retired in such villages, it is also the case that unavailability of large scale bungalow developments and the concentration on family housing, also reduces the allurements of these settlements for the Retired. There are thus insufficient of either group to form a definite social world, their reference worlds being either those of the past or spread elsewhere. Thus within the village neither possess much group influence.

The Long Term are now present in sufficient numbers for a distinct reference group to form. Yet they generally self-isolate themselves from the rest of the community. Having arrived at the commencement of the rapid expansion, they had either chosen to withdraw from active participation in society at this stage, or were integral in guiding the initial social development. This latter group either resent the reins of power being snatched from their hands, or are relieved to pass over responsibility, though frequently Long Term expressed dismay at the behaviour of the new immigrants. Regardless of the prior state, they now fall between two worlds, neither belonging to the new world of the young family, nor able to identify with the villagers of the past. In addition most members of this group were critical of the development of the village, having initially chosen to live in a small village, which they now typically perceive as having grown out of control.

There occurs within the Metropolitan village far less overt resentment between incomer and established resident, than in the Growth village. The question of housing territoriality is by now resolved with the immigrant moving into modern housing estates, and no longer taking property within the reach of the Tenant or Council resident. Most of the original housing has already passed into newcomer possession, thus there no longer occurs a transfer of accommodation from Tenant to incomer, but from incomer to to incomer and increasingly from incomer to Local. From the perspective of most of the established residents, the village has already been destroyed by growth, the new migrants arriving after the event are no longer blamed for its occurrence.

Similarly both social faculties and social activities are now largely dominated by the Mobile Incomers. The formal social sphere of the Metropolitan village thus appears as an extension to the situation pertaining in the Growth village. This is particularly illustrated with reference to female organisations. As the settlement continues to develop, the polarization between societies supported by the Restricted Residents and Locals, and those by the Mobile Incomers, is replaced by the complete domination of formal female social activities by the young Mobile Incomers. All three Metropolitan settlements support at least two female associations, a new society introduced earlier by the Mobile Incomers, and the traditional Women's Institute, now also under the controlling influence of the new (6). Significantly

though membership may alter in terms of age and background, the agenda for such activities rarely changes and while the more recent societies may break away from the official umbrella of the national WI, abandoning formal ceremony and national payments, the new societies still continue the format of speaker, activity and informal entertainment. The exception is the National Housewives' Register which attempts a more formal overtly educational programme. The sudden influx of young families results in a proliferation of baby-sitting circles and mother and child groups. The latter, for mothers with children under school age, are run as informal coffee mornings, lunches or tea groups, as in Wheaton Aston and Rowlands Castle, or as formal play groups, the case pertaining in Acton Trussell.

The third group of societies to flourish in Metropolitan villages are the general interest societies with all three case settlements supporting a range. These are generally organised by the young Mobile Incomers, although typically the Retired comprise a large proportion of the regular members. It appears rare for a Local or Restricted Resident to attend such organisations. Societies supported by the lower socio-economic groups, in particular by Council residents and Tenants, are thus rare. Indeed the Pigeon Club of Wheaton Aston, based on the villagers pub, was the sole organisation for working class males. Rowlands Castle and Acton Trussell have a Senior Citizens Association primarily organised by Long Term residents. This appears the sole organisation to have retained membership of Locals and both Restricted and Mobile Incomers.

The Metropolitan village does not only develop residentially, its facilities are now correspondingly able to enlarge and expand,. The separation of facility and housing which occurred within the Growth villages is resolved as both the residential development seeps within existing provision of shops, school and hall etc., and further facilities are constructed adjacent to the new housing. This growth is encouraged both by the numerical increase in residents, the actual number of village inhabitants is now sufficiently large to support several shops through casual use alone, and the entry, in a sizeable number, of the lower income groups. This occurs through the increasing inclusion of complexes of cheaper property, attractive to the low-income owner-occupier, within these villages. These residents usually possess only limited access to private transport and the women, confined to the village, are encouraged to use the village shops. A circular process ensures with increased use allowing further expansion and thus encouraging greater use by all groups. Similarly the large number of young families attracted to these villages provides adequate support for local schools and this is also aided by the introduction of lower income groups. Thus both Wheaton Aston and Rowlands Castle support thriving junior schools, and Wheaton Aston was recently (1981) considered sufficiently large to open a middle school. Leisure facilities are also well supported and thus typically increase in range, within these villages. For example the golf course at Rowlands Castle, and Sports and Social Club in Wheaton Aston, and both villages support

a coffee house and restaurant, as well as three and two public houses respectively.

This growth in consumer, educational and leisure facilities has important implications for the resultant social structure of the village as an improved rural infrastructure encourages the construction of Local Authority Housing. This, coupled with the provision of cheap private property, enables the remaining Local population and their offspring to remain within the village, and may even encourage the immigration of the urban working class who adopt middle class commuting patterns. Thus the status symbol of rural living is able to penetrate from the middle class to the urban working class for the first time. The crystallization perceived within the Growth village is reversed in the Metropolitan village. Though both numerically and proportionally new mobile middle class immigrants dominate, the spacial structure is sufficiently fluid to allow access to both low income middle class and urban working class immigrants. Though the entry of these groups is in its early stages, and of far greater prominence in the Midlands village of Wheaton Aston than in the other two, it is a phenomenon that is already distinctly recognisable.

The Metropolitan 11 village proved the exception to this general description. Neither Action Trussell nor similar nearby settlements possess the infrastructure of the other Metropolitan villages. Thus their Local Authority Housing provision appears negligible and they present examples of middle class enclaves.

Metropolitan settlements see the emergence of the 'community conscience' in the form of the "Preservation Society". The emergence of these societies can be traced to three main phenomenon, interlinked, yet distinct. For the majority of the male residents the bonds of labour connecting People to Place have been severed from the Place of residence. In order for the resident to increase his ties to his 'home' he replaces the lost manipulation of Place through labour, with a self-imposed concern about the aesthetic factors of the village. This both creates for him labour within Place and thus bonds to Place, and allows him manipulation of the settlement. While for the agricultural worker the alteration of his physical environment has implications for his livelihood, the alteration of the Metropolitan village typically touches only subjective standards, imposed by the Mobile Incomer himself.

These standards are a reflection of the image of the village held by the Mobile Incomer, and as such, frequently conflict with the agricultural landowner who, while typically no longer resides within the settlement, is still active within the parish. Thus as the reference group of the Mobile Incomer grows, so the tensions identified within the Growth village move from the level of the individual to create an official body in direct opposition to the agriculturally dominated Parish Council.

The desire of the individual to manipulate Place and the ability to create an identity grouping through conflict, are presented with a purpose following the threat to the settlement of new development. Such societies thus appear to develop in response to the first major developmental

threat to the settlement after the initial arrival of Mobile Incomers. Thus the Acton Trussell Amenity Society was formed by the first influx of newcomers in the early 1970's to create village life and guide the village through its period of development; Wheaton Aston's Lapley Society similarly emerged to conserve the village following rapid development during the early 1970's and the formation of the Rowlands Castle Association was decided when

Wellsworth Gardens, the Peak and Greatfieldway developed ten years ago. People moved in and hated the idea that more people would come after them. There was an application for 250 houses in Wells Lane which had an enquiry and the Rowlands Castle Association started and squashed it we examine all planning applications, make sure the roads are safe, set up the conservation area. At the moment we're fighting the Triangle development. We object to the dormitory village it's becoming. Any building land and they put up this dormitory suburb type housing, and those kind of people just don't participate.

The other two societies possess similar aims and objectives.

Such societies have a large financial membership, over half the households in all three settlements contained at least one member. The committees of these organisations primarily comprise young Mobile Incomers, from professional and business backgrounds, typically articulate and experienced in administration and organisation. Such bodies define the settlement according to their own perceptions and subsequently, using techniques of peer and social pressure developed in external employment roles and other positions outside the village, influence People and Place to conform to this image. Thus sophisticated literature is produced, contacts established directly with Planners and County Councils, and voluntary professional advice and expertise drawn upon. Yet frequently their images of village life but create, and then sustain, their own reality:

There's a great awareness of retaining village atmosphere. Take the Lapley Society for example - its flourishing. They wanted to replace the sign post in the middle of the village and the society made them keep the old one. There was a man along G----- who had a new front door and they made him redo it to keep in tradition with the village each month they send out a newsletter to let people know about events and what's in danger (7).

These preconceptions established by such bodies of unelected, self-promoted incomers, vie directly with those images produced and sustained by the official, local government body - the Parish Council, which typically remains the last stronghold of the old agricultural squirearchy. Here conflict and tension is overtly and verbally displayed by both parties. Local farmers, who have maximised profits through the sale of agricultural land for residential development, reveal open hostility to those incomers who are threatening the remaining base of their power and local influence through the creation of such societies. As in the Growth villages the plan for conservation may directly oppose the interests of the landowner wishing to sell land for further development, or to alter his own property in the interest of economic agriculture. The individual conflict previously resolved in competition for seats on the Parish Council is now distributed between those groups of People who perceive the farmer as protecting his own economic interests and those who are protecting a livelihood, and resent the interference of a transitory population for aesthetic reasons.

There's tension here between the Parish Council who're elected and the non-elected Amenity Society. Its (Amenity Society) a bit ad hoc; they do good work but tend to look after certain self-interests. The Parish Council is farming stock, they've run the village over many years and want to continue!

Such perceptions pertaining to Aston Trussell may be applied to the situation arising in all three metropolitan settlements, as is demonstrated in Figure 14.1.

Indeed the Mobile Incomers are infiltrating this last local stronghold of local agricultural power.

Nearly half the Parish Councillors in the three Metropolitan villages are now newcomers as vividly described by this Councillor from Acton Trussell:

We were hyjacked on the last elections. Until then we'd 'formally volunteered' but then there was this big fuss and we all had to be elected by the parishioners its about 50/50 now, new and farmers the PC is the lower rung of local government after all what the PC says is rule, not some blinking society full of parrots. We get on with the job quietly.

Symbolically Place is now firmly established a Place of residence. It is a structure which can be manipulated and changed, it contains People, who reside for a few years before moving on, it possesses services to support these People. Even the female home-worker who works within its boundaries, does not consciously regard it as a Place of work, it is where she and her family reside, it is where many of her friends are, yet it does not support the livelihood of the household, That is done elsewhere, typically at the Place of her spouse's employment. The symbolic sphere is once again an intact image, held by the majority of the residents, dominated by the perspectives of the Mobile Incomers.

Figure 14.1Perceptions of the Parish Council and Preservation SocietyRowlands Castle:

Parish Council Supporter . Take the Rowlands Castle Association, there's not a villager on that. They want to conserve things their way, - course they do - conserve the village, keep the property at a high price, and get a good profit when you sell!

Rowlands Castle Assoc. Member Everyone coughs up, keeps it [Rowlands Castle Assoc.] in being, taking on the village, going above the Parish Council's head. But then their very weak, no go about them. One of them works for the County Council, but he's a lone voice.

Acton Trussell:

Parish Councillor (Farmer) The Amenity Society is just a busy body organisation, concerned with trees and the colour of houses ... All they [Amenity Society] can do is make suggestions. People think they have power but they have nothing. They can shout all they like but they've no authority, in the end they have to come to us, for the final say ... there's no farmers on it, its just a nouveau group trying to run a village which can't.

Amenity Society Member The Parish Council are full of self-interested farmers, who are out for every penny they can get. All they're interested in is selling every bit of land they can for housing ...

Wheaton Aston:

Parish Councillor If you put in a planning application to the District Council its 'accepted' or 'rejected' by the Lapley Society. But its naught to do with them ... They say we don't want street lights but we do. We need pavements, there're race tracks of roads round here. There was such a fuss when they put a pavement along Long Street pulled the hedges down, but it was such a narrow road before, much better now its been widened. They say the character's gone, but it didn't have much before!

Lapley Society Committee Member We look at planning applications, and write to the County Council about services, or lack of them. Thats really the PC's job but they, --! We also attempt to back the PC, support them, but there's a faction which is very anti us ... the trouble with making our ideas felt is that each time a new person gets onto the PC they just bang their head against the wall, so in the end they give up. It'd be good if more new stood for election and we took over!

As the village grows so function and structure are once again united: structurally the Metropolitan village provides for a residential unit, functionally it operates as a residential unit, the last vestiges of the working agricultural community, swept away by the onslaught of rapid residential building both within the settlement and on its surrounds. The majority of the agricultural land within or adjacent to the village is now sold for development: the farms associated with the parish are now outside the settlement, those within being purchased by the wealthy, or demolished to allow the construction of several smaller homes for the not so wealthy. Indeed the introduction of alternative employment into the village is typically opposed by the majority of the inhabitants: the village exists as a place within which to reside, and its return to a functioning working unit is perceived as incongruous. Thus in Rowlands Castle there arose considerable opposition to the construction of industrial warehouses on the site of derelict brickworks set within secluded grounds in the centre of the settlement. Despite the concealed position for the project, and the acknowledgement by the residents that the warehouses would be hidden from view, it was the presence of light industry, albeit potentially agricultural light industry, which was contrary to the character of the village (8).

The residential function is supported by new rural infrastructure and services: no longer are the routes between farm and land, farm and village centre, given priority, now access out of the village and through the

village provide the main thoroughfares. Along these routes grow consumer facilities, often in the form of small shopping parades, emerging to support this residential function. The buildings which support the services of the settlement spacially merge once again with the residential property.

All three Metropolitan villages face a future of consolidation. Despite considerable growth within Wheaton Aston since 1971, the County Structure Plan, still allows for further development until 1991. As there are now few potential infill sites within the settlement itself, future growth would be located on the periphery, forcing the settlement to expand still further. However the District Planning department have decided that due to the very rapid, and somewhat unco-ordinated growth experienced by this village, that following completion of outstanding permission for eighteen houses, growth will be halted for the foreseeable future.

Similarly, although the County Structure Plan also allows for further development within Acton Trussell, the District Planning department have decided that there are few opportunities for further infilling or redevelopment within the settlement itself, without an alteration in the character of the existing village. Thus while individual infilling sites will still be considered for development, further growth beyond the settlement boundary will not be permitted. The lone site of large development will be a 2 acre field in the centre of the village, which is at present owned by the Council. This will be developed with

a mixture of local authority old persons bungalows, and private property. Throughout the remainder of the Plan period (until 1991) the village of Acton Trussell is likely to remain in demand as a place to live, both from local people and from potential immigrants from the conurbation and other urban areas. The proposed site is thus to be developed in accordance with the type of housing demand expected from these immigrants.

Within Rowlands Castle an area known as the Triangle has recently been developed with the increase of 200 houses. This has completed all future recommendations for growth within the settlement and a period of consolidation is also recommended for this village.

1. See Luckman 1970.
2. Although the 1976 Rent (Agricultural) Act provides for the eviction on retirement if the property is required for alternative staff, in both villages there was a surplus of housing and this clause has not yet been implemented, in either village.
3. Over half the households have at least one member involved in a village society, the highest of any settlement.
4. Such conflict may occur at the personal level. For example in one instance competition arose for the position of senior churchwarden between a recently arrived admiral and the local woodman who had served various positions within the church hierarchy over many years; similarly there was conflict when the wife of a local television producer attempted to gain control of a thriving drama group from the Local whose family had started the group several years previously.
5. Salaman 1977.
6. Thus both the Rowlands Castle WI and the Rowland Castle Wives are dominated by Mobile Incomers, as is the recently former branch of the National Housewives Registrar, this being particularly attractive to young educated women; Acton Trussell's WI is organised and attended by Mobile Incomers, though the Mother's Union contains the remnants of Locals and Tenants as well as the a prime membership of Long Term females; Similarly both the Wheaton Aston Young Wives and the Women's Institute are now run by the new, the latter being taken over in a dramatic coup!

A gang of us went in from the close and disrupted it! Oh, they didn't like it, very staid - we were frowned upon! So we took it over! One of my friends became secretary. We don't follow the rules, ignore Jerusalem ... we do plays and things, have folk evenings, you know singing and things, village type fun ... I went to the Young Wives a bit, thats mainly new people as well, but much more serious, not for me at all!
7. This particular desire for preservation concerned a Long Term resident living within an area recently designated a Conservation zone following pressure from the Lapley Society. Sometime previously he had rebuilt his porch in line with the mock tudor facades adopted by some of his neighbours. Subsequently, deciding to convert it back to its original state, he was stopped and ordered to 'restore' is to mock tudor.

8. This is in contrast to the Mobile Incomers resident in Cheriton who arrived after the establishment of a timber works within the settlement. This is perceived as providing an asserted component of the village.

CHAPTER 15The Interaction of People as Place in a rural zone under pressure15.1The urbanising rural hinterland

The post-war years have seen a steady flow of migration into the rural hinterlands of conurbations, emanating both from the surrounding rural areas and from the urban complexes themselves. By 1981 over one-fifth of Britain's population was resident in rural areas, the majority within zones close to urban centres (1). The adventitious population, however, differs markedly from the indigenous people, in their use of environment, their social relationships and their attitudes towards their surroundings. The rural hinterlands thus face contrasting demands from the agricultural economy and its population, and from the new residential complexes and accompanying support systems. The interaction of these demographic, social and economic factors are not only dependent upon the contemporary pressures and the resultant policy guidelines, but also upon the historical and geographical context from which they emerge. In many zones the introduction of green belts has merely forced pressures once faced within the suburbs further out into the countryside beyond.

The analysis of South Hampshire and South Staffordshire, two regions experiencing such pressure, has indicated that there exists within these urbanising hinterlands a spectrum of settlements forming three broad groupings: the small

agricultural settlement, the expanding metropolitan village and the village in transition between the two. A classification of the settlements can be made on the basis of size and housing provision.

The study has further suggested that rather than assessing independent settlements in isolation, this rural area should be perceived as an intact zone, the 'rural hinterland', possessing a 'hinterland population'. The hinterland population is a collection of people, possessing various socio-economic characteristics, who are attracted to, or remain within, the rural hinterland for a variety of reasons, typically aligned to factors of housing, employment or social motives. Nine groupings emerged from this population. Each group is identifiable with reference to socio-economic characteristics and ways of life, with individual members being attracted to, or remaining within, the hinterland for broadly similar motives. As a consequence of the decision process behind these inducements particular housing or settlement types are selected, resulting in combinations of population which are aligned to village category.

While each of these groups experience its own particular relationship with the rural settlement, the combination of groups, and their interaction with each other and their place of residence, encourages the emergence of distinct forms of community. The framework of the Triadic relationship and Place centredness, enabled delineation of the shifting forms of this community. The process occurring within the

rural hinterland appears as a transition from the dominance of the agricultural worker to that of the young Mobile Incomer; a move from status through interaction to class based on national criteria; from multi role play within a single reference group, to single role play before multi-groups; and a shift in power from one landowner to the emergence of the community conscience.

Concurrent with this process is a trend towards the polarization of the settlements along lines dictated by socio-economic class. The agricultural Estate settlement retains lower socio-economic groups by virtue of its housing and employment provision. The Growth village, with its broad range of property, possesses a more even class mix. The settlements, however, do not typically possess the facilities to support large zones of Local Authority Housing, and the Tied and Privately Rented Property remaining within the village is increasingly being sold for owner occupancy, attracting high socio-economic groups. Similarly the designation of Conservation Areas onto many of the village centres following provisions within the 1971 Town and County Planning Act, enhances their scenic qualities further raising property prices. These villages are thus biased towards the higher socio-economic groups. Metropolitan settlements, however, with their typically wide range of facilities are able to support large complexes of Local Authority Housing, as well as large estates of cheap owner-occupied property. These settlements are thus attracting immigrants from the lower socio-economic classes.

While the late 1960's and 1970's saw a period of rapid residential growth and expansion within rural hinterlands, controlled to varying degrees by formal planning policy, this rate of growth appears to have nationally declined (2) and both South Staffordshire and South Hampshire face a period of consolidation. The existing settlement types appear to be crystallising; in particular policy guidelines protect the Growth village, channelling residual development into Metropolitan villages. The Estate villages, which form only a small proportion of the settlements, (cluster analysis suggested 16% in both counties in 1981), appear most likely to continue to alter, with a decline in agricultural workers and a corresponding increase in higher socio-economic classes.

The study has indicated that while contrasting historical and geographic factors influencing the physical and social development of South Staffordshire and South Hampshire have produced differences in the regional infrastructure, the typologies and processes identified are consistent within the rural hinterlands of both counties.

15.2The Interaction of People as Place

There appear two fundamentally unanswered questions concerning the concept of rurality: the existence of a truly rural population and whether the term rural can provide a causal explanation of behaviour. It is now possible to attempt to clarify both using the concepts of the Triadic relationship and Place centredness earlier introduced.

15.2.1. The existence of a truly rural population.

It has been demonstrated that both People and Places are centred, non-centred or partially centred. A centred person is an individual who confines his or her physical, social and symbolic relationships within the one Place; a centred Place is a Place in which all residents confine their physical, social and symbolic relationships to that Place. Thus from both the aspect of People and that of Place, centredness requires a coincidence of Environment, Milieu and Ambience. This centredness will occur within various physical settings, which describe the type of centred person, the type of centred Place. Using these concepts it can be determined that a truly rural person is a centred person, residing in a centred Place, within a rural setting. While the majority of rural places, and or the populations, are no longer centred, it is suggested that a truly rural population, as defined by its centredness, exists within peripheral rural zones, and may be scattered within less homogenous countryside nearer to urban complexes.

Two factors need here to be briefly discussed. It is suggested that many assessments have united the concept of class and rurality, that is 'rural' people have typically been aligned to those of the lower socio-economic classes, while 'non-rural immigrants' have been associated with higher socio-economic classes, generally gathered together under the one label 'middle-class'. It has already been demonstrated that the majority of residents within all types of rural settlement are immigrants - and a distinction established between the higher socio-economic class Mobile Incomers, and the Restricted Incomers, typically of a lower socio-economic class. Similarly it has been determined that both types of Incomer relocate from both urban and rural backgrounds. It is argued that lack of clarity has occurred owing to the close connection of "centredness" and factors pertaining to class. That is the lower socio-economic groups have a predisposition towards centredness in that the employment and educational aspirations of the household and of their kin, are generally satisfied locally. The aspirations of the middle class, however, reach out to other locations; if not those of the immediate household, than those of a member of their extended family. They are thus less likely to be employed within the settlement, or to have a complete kin network within the vicinity, and are thus less likely to be centred.

It is also important to emphasize the role of labour in binding the individual to his or her Place of residence. Within modern rural communities, however, a major disruption to centredness is the segmentation of work and residence,

both through the demise of agricultural employment and access to urban work through the increasing acceptance of daily commuting for all sections of the population. Therefore, despite possessing centred kin and friendship structures, with the demise of local labour, previously centred residents are forced to work beyond their Place of residence.

Those who work within the settlement are actively involved in the manipulation of their Place of residence through labour within its confines. They thus claim greater attachment to Place than those forced to seek employment elsewhere. Centredness through labour offers an explanation as to why those of only a short period of residence, yet who are employed within the settlement, will claim prior attachment to the village, over those of longer residence, but whose experience is of a dislocation of work, rest and residence (3).

15.2.2 The explanatory significance of the rural-urban concept

In respect of the explanatory value of the concepts of rural and urban, two separate questions require to be addressed: whether there exists a difference between urban and rural populations, in terms of their experience and behaviour, and if so, whether these differences are directly linked to the contrasting environments. Indeed much of the literature has indicated that there are certain differences in behaviour pertaining to rural and urban zones (4), the central issue still to be resolved, however, is whether there is a causal link between behaviour, and urban or rural environment.

With regard to the concepts 'rural' and 'urban' the analysis will follow the lead of Fischer, who after an extensive review of the literature, confirms the assumption of Wirth, that an urban zone may be defined in terms of size, density and diversity, with high measurements on all three factors (5).

A variety of research has suggested that while contrasting environments of urban and rural populations result in different spacial use of their surroundings, these contrasting environments do not necessarily support contrasting social relationships. These appear more closely related to socio-economic variables such as class and age. Much of the debate appears to have been clouded, however, through the inclusion of populations of varying degrees of rurality, varying degrees of urbanization, within the one schemat. Alternatively the approach of Place centredness suggests

that the major influence on an individuals lived world is his or her degree of centredness. This study has already indicated, for example, the apparent close correlation between social class and centredness within the rural hinterland of British conurbations. It is thus argued that the comparison must be restricted to only those who are truly urban, and truly rural, that is centred people within centred Places, and suggests that an examination of the problem within the framework of the Triadic relationship and symbolic interactionism, may add a new dimension to the debate.

While other studies have assessed physical use and social behaviour, symbolic interactionism proposes that an individuals lived world is influenced by a third component, the symbolic relationship. This is a relationship intimately influenced by the environment, prior association with this or other environments, and by interaction with others in relation to that environment. It is this relationship, the empathic, interpretative relationship which will alter between urban and rural settings (7).

However this is little more than asserting that each individual will possess a unique relationship with each Place. It is important to establish if the lived world, the reciprocal relationship as experienced within a rural environment, is determined by the rurality of that environment and would differ markedly from such a relationship within an urban centred place, purely owing to the loss of rurality (8).

Whether a social rural urban continuum exists, the presence of a continuum of size and of density that runs from very urban to very rural places, has been generally established (9). Truly centred rural people typically will reside in small settlements of low density within the centres of a very rural area; truly centred urban people typically will reside in large settlements of high density, that is in the centre of large cities. A truly centred rural person is surrounded by a small number of reference groups with whom he plays many roles. In the playing out of many roles with one group the individual learns to interpret their gestures, their communication patterns. The individuals interpretation of the environment is constant with the group image. While a truly centred urban person, may be surrounded by a number of similar small reference groups, immediately beyond, continually encroaching onto the periphery of his social world, are many potential reference groups with whom interaction must consciously or unconsciously occur. The individual is not isolated from the existence of other local worlds like his rural counterpart.

While other research has indicated that the presence of large numbers may not necessarily result in increased interaction (10) this contact may not be of a type easily identifiable to the observer, indeed it may not be verbal. As Mead has indicated even non-verbal interaction in the form of simple gestures causes an individual to continually reassess his perceptions (11) and thus his behaviour.

There does appear a causal link between behaviour and concepts of size and density, high measurement on either variable leading to a mass of potential reference groups. There thus appears a causal link between rural and urban environments and behaviour. The centred urban person is continually aware of the presence of social worlds other than his own, or potential reference groups, and of the possible encroachment of these within his own sphere of interaction. Through a process of verbal and non-verbal communication with those within and beyond his reference group, he is forced to continually reassess and redefine his surroundings.

The centred rural person, however, typically possesses but one reference group with whom many types of interaction occur, and does not have the continual awareness of reference groups other than his own. Similarly even causal interaction is typically confined to within his own social world.

The internalization process of symbolic interactionism and its influence over behaviour, was earlier examined, and the importance of reference groups stressed. It is thus argued that due to the direct relationship between urban or rural settings, and the number of potential reference groups and frequency of interaction with these groups, a causal link may be established between the form of behaviour exhibited by centred people and the urban/rural character of their Place of residence.

A combination of symbolic interactionism with its emphasis on the interpretative facility of humankind, and the concepts of the Triadic relationship leading to Place centredness, emerging from this study of rural hinterlands, thus introduces a method of assessing rural-urban differences and of discerning a causal link between particular types of behaviour and the centred individuals form of environment.

15.3In summary

This study has attempted to address two specific sets of questions and assumptions. The first concerning the physical existence and nature of the settlements and their populations, emerging within the rural hinterland of conurbations. The second is a more subjective analysis of the relationship between people and their place of residence, an examination of the essence of rurality and a determination of a causal link between human-kind and their environments. Yet each set is not separate, knowledge of the one leading to greater understanding of the other. Each required, however, a distinctive approach able to contend with the specific concepts arising from the analysis. The study has attempted to demonstrate that a subjective humanistic approach can lie with a positivist, structured approach, within the confines of one study. In this analysis bare positivist techniques provided an appropriate analytical framework, within which to seek out, describe and attempt to understand the subjective nuances of the relationships within. It is argued that it is this combination of approaches which will enable the geographer to understand, and perhaps attempt to explain, the relationships of human kind with their environment.

1. Cloke 1983 p.17.
2. Champion 1981
3. This concept can add a dimension to Strathern's analysis of "core" members. She suggests that while asserting proprietorship to land and employment, by virtue of their residence in tied and rented property in fact exercise no tithe to the village land, and explains it by the notion of "core membership". The current study revolves this argument suggesting that all those who labour within the settlement claim some form of proprietorship - by the virtue of this employment. That is the bonds of labour to the settlement induce seniority over those who possess but ties of residence.
4. Within the British context for example both Pahl and Newby acknowledge some variation, though Newby does query the continued existence of these within a mass society, Chapter 1 note 151 produces evidence from the USA also in support of this.
5. Fischer 1972.
6. This corresponds to suggestions that close kinship networks typically associated with rural populations are to be discovered in the centre of large urban complexes. For example Gans 1962, Whyte 1955, Suttles 1968.
7. It is now possible to produce an alternative explanation to Forsyth's analysis of the "urban refugees" Forsyth 1980. While they may attempt to attain a state of "rurality" through the adoption of Orkney ways of behaviour and attempt to obtain a position within their networks, not only are their kinship patterns non-centred but their symbolic relationship, based on prior association, will never coincide with that of the islanders; the "urban refugees" will never perceive the islands in the same manner as those who have experienced no other world.
8. A distinction must here be emphasized between the concept of the symbolic relationship and the considerable literature concerning the potential psychological differences between urban and rural peoples. We are not concerned with notions of nervous stimulation or social psychological overcrowding, see for example Simmel 1957, but with the interpretation of an individuals lived world.
9. Fischer 1972 p.224.
10. Ibid p.193.
11. Mead 1910.

REFERENCES

- AMBROSE, P. 1974. *The Quiet Revolution*. London. Chatto and Windus.
- ANDERSON, C. 1958. "Trends in rural society", in Merton, R.K., Broom, L. and Cottrell, L.S. (eds.) *Sociology Today*. New York: Basic Books.
- ANDREWS, F. and WITHEY, S. 1974. "Developing measures of perceived life quality". *Social Indicators Research*, 1, p.1-26.
- ARENSBERG, C. 1937. *The Irish Countryman*. New York. Macmillan.
- ARENSBERG, C. and KIMBALLS, S. 1947. *Family and Community in Ireland*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
- ARENSBERG, C. and KIMBALLS, S. 1968. "Community study: retrospect and prospect". *American Journal of Sociology*, 73(6), p.691-705.
- ASH, M. 1976. "Time for change in rural settlement policy". *Town and Country Planning*, 44, p.528-31.
- ATKINSON, T. 1982. "The stability and validity of quality of life measures". *Journal of Social Indicators Research*, 10, p.113-32.
- BACHRACH, P. and BARATZ, M. 1970. *Poverty and Power*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- BACKER, W. 1953. *The English Village*. London. Oxford University Press.
- BARNETT, R. and MULLER, R. 1974. *Global Reach - The Power of Multinational Corporations*. New York. Simon and Schuster.
- BEALER, R. 1975. "Theory and rural sociology". *Rural Sociology* 40(4), p.455-77.
- BEATTIE, J. 1964. *Other Cultures*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BECKER, H. and GEER, B. 1957. "Participant observation and interviewing". *Human Organisation*, 16.
- BELL, C. 1968. *Middle Class Families*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BELL, C. and NEWBY, H. 1971. *Community Studies*. London. Allen and Unwin.
- BELL, C. and NEWBY, H. 1973. "The sources of variation in agricultural workers' images of society". *Sociological Review*, 21(2), p.229-53.

- BELL, C. and NEWBY, H. 1974. "Capitalist farmers in the British class structure", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 14. (1/2), p.86-107.
- BELL, W. 1958. "Social choice, lifestyle and suburban residence", Dobriner, W. (ed). *The Suburban Community*. New York, Putnam.
- BENNETT, R. and CHORLEY, R. 1977. *Environmental Systems: Philosophy, Analysis, Control*. London, Methuen.
- BENVENUTI, B., GALJART, B. and NEWBY, H. 1975. "The current status of rural sociology", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 14. (1/2), p.3-21.
- BERGER, P. and LUCKMAN, T. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York, Doubleday.
- BERRY, B. 1976. (ed.) *Urbanization and Counter-urbanization*. Beverly Hills. Sage.
- BEST, R. 1981. *Land Use and Living Space*. London, Methuen and Co.
- BEST, R. and ROGERS, A. 1973. *The Urban Countryside*. London, Faber.
- BIELCKUS, C., ROGERS, A. and WIBBERLEY, G. 1973. "Second homes in England and Wales", Ashford Wye College. *Studies in Rural Land Use* No. 11.
- BILLINGE, M. 1977. "Phenomenology and historical geography", *J. Hist. Geog.* 3, p.55-67.
- BILLINGE, M. 1983. "The Mandarin dialect: an essay on style in contemporary geography writing", *T.I.B.G.*, N.S.8, p.400-420.
- BIRD, H. 1975. "Residential mobility and preference patterns in the public sector of the housing market", *T.I.B.G.*, N.S.1, p.20-33.
- BLUMER, H. 1962. "Society as symbolic interaction" p.179-92 in Arnold Rose (ed), *Human Behaviour and Social Processes*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.
- BLUMER, H. 1966. "Sociological implications of the thought of George Herbert Mead", *American Journal of Sociology*, 71. p.535-44.
- BLUMER, H. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall.

- BONHAM-CARTER, V. 1952. The English Village. Penguin Books.
- BONNAR, D. 1979. "Migration in the south-east of England: an analysis of the interrelationships of housing, socio-economic status and housing demand", Regional Studies, 13, p.345-59.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practise. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- BOWELY, M. 1945. Housing and the State 1919-44. London. Allen and Unwin.
- BRACEY, H. 1952. Social Provision in Rural Wiltshire. London. Methuen.
- BRACEY, H. 1959. English Rural Life. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BRACEY, H. 1970. People in the Countryside. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BRAY, W. 1777. Tour Through Some of the Midland Counties into Derbyshire and Yorkshire.
- BRODY, H. 1973. Inishkillane. London. Allen Lane.
- BRODY, H. 1975. The People's Land. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.
- BROWN, L. and MOORE, E. 1970. "The intra-urban migration process: a perspective", Geog. Ann. 52B, p.1-13.
- BRYN, S. 1966. The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant-observation. Prentice Hall.
- BRYNE, D., WILLIAMSON, B. and FLETCHER, B. 1975. The Poverty of Education. Martin Robinson.
- BUCHANAN, S. 1982. "Power and planning in rural areas" in Moseley, M. Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Centre for East Anglian Studies, Norwich.
- BULLER, H. and LOWE, P. 1982. "Politics and class in rural preservation", in Moseley, M. Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Centre for East Anglian Studies, Norwich.
- BUTLER, J. and FUGUITT, G. 1970. "Small population change and distance from larger towns", Rural Sociology, 35 (4), p.395-409.
- BUTTEL, F. and FLINN, W. 1975. "Sources and consequences of agrarian values in American society", Rural Sociology, 40 (2), p.134-151.

- BURIE, J. 1967. "Prolegomena to a theoretical model of inter-community variation", Soc. Ruralis, 7. p.347-62.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1971. Society and Milieu in the French Geographic Tradition. Chicago. Rand McNally.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1974. "Values in geography", Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography. Resource Paper No. 24.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1976. "Grasping the dynamism of the life-world", Ann. Assoc. Amer. Geog. 66, p.277-92.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1978. "Charism and context: the challenge of la geographie humaine", in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.) Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1979. "Social space in interdisciplinary perspective", Geographical Review, 59, p.417-26.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1980. "Social space and the planning of residential areas", in Buttiner, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.). The Human Experience of Space and Place. London. Croom Helm.
- BUTTIMER, A. 1980a. "Home, reach and the sense of place" in Buttiner, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.). The Human Experience of Space and Place. London. Croom Helm.
- BUTTIMER, A. and SEAMON, D. 1980. The Human Experience of Space and Place. London. Croom Helm.
- CAIRD, J. 1951. "The Isle of Harris", Scottish Geographical Magazine, 67, p.85-100.
- CAMPBELL, J. 1964. Honour, Family and Patronage. Oxford. Clarendon Press.
- CHAMPION, A. 1981. "Population trends in rural Britain", Population Trends, 26, p.20-3.
- CHAPMAN, G. 1977. Human and Environmental Systems: A Geographer's Appraisal. London. Academic Press.
- CHARON, J. 1979. Symbolic Interactionism. Prentice Hall.
- CHERRY, G. 1976. Rural Planning Problems. London. Leonard Hill.
- CLARK, G. 1982. Housing and Planning in the Countryside. London. Wiley.
- CLARK, W. and ONAKA, J. 1983. "Life cycle and housing adjustment as explanations of residential mobility", Urban Studies, 20, p.47-57.
- CLASTER, D. and SCHWARTZ, M. 1972. "Strategies of participation in participant-observation", Sociological Methods and Research, 1, p.65-96.
- CLOKE, P. 1977. "An index of rurality for England and Wales." Regional Studies, 11, p.31-46.

- CLOKE, P. 1979. Key Settlements in Rural Areas, London. Methuen.
- CLOKE, P. 1983. An Introduction to Rural Settlement Planning. London. Methuen.
- CLOKE, P. 1983. "Counter-urbanization - a rural perspective". Geography, v.70, p.13-23.
- CLOKE, P. 1978. "Changing patterns of urbanization in rural areas of England and Wales 1961-71". Regional Studies, 12, p.603-17.
- CLOUT, H. 1972. Rural Geography. Oxford. Pergamon.
- CLOUT, H. 1974. "The growth of second home ownership", in Johnson, J. (ed.). The Geography of Suburban Growth. London. Wiley.
- COBBETT, W. 1957. Rural Rides. Vol. 1. London. Longmans.
- COLEMAN, R. 1982. "Second homes in North Norfolk", in Moseley, M. Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Centre for East Anglian Studies, Norwich.
- COLES, R. 1982. "Retirement in rural North Norfolk", in Moseley, M. Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Centre for East Anglian Studies, Norwich.
- CONNELL, J. 1972. "Amenity societies: the preservation of central Surrey". T.C.P. 40, p.265-8.
- CONNELL, J. 1974. "The metropolitan village: spatial and social processes in discontinuous suburbs", in Johnson, J. (ed.). The Geography of Suburban Growth. London. Wiley.
- CONNELL, J. 1978. The End of Tradition. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- COOPER, C. 1979. The Executive Gypsy. London. Macmillan Press.
- COOPER, G. 1979. "The village school". Town and Country Planning, Sept. p.190-1.
- COPP, J. 1972. "Rural sociology and rural development". Rural Sociology, 37(4), p.515-33.
- COPPOCK, J. 1977. Second Homes: Curse or Blessings. Pergamon Press.
- COULL, J. 1962. "The Island of Tiree". Scottish Geographical Magazine, 78, p.17-32.
- COULL, J. 1963. "Melness, a crofting community on the north coast of Scotland". Scottish Studies 7, p.180-98.
- COULL, J. 1964. "A Shetland crofting parish". Scottish Geographical Magazine 80, p.135-49.
- COUPE, R. and MORGAN, B. 1981. "Towards a fuller understanding of residential mobility: a case study of Northampton, England". Environment and Planning A. 13, p.201-15.
- CRAWLEY, M. 1979. "Rural industrialization and social change in Western Ireland". Soc. Ruralis. V19, p.43-59.

- CRICHTON, R. 1964. Commuter Village. Newton Abbott: David and Charles.
- CULLINGWORTH, J. 1969. Housing and Labour Mobility. OECD. Paris.
- CULLINGWORTH, J. 1979. Town and Country Planning in Britain. London. Allen and Unwin.
- CUMMINS, P. 1978. "Socio-economic adjustments to rural depopulation". Regional Studies 12, p.79-94.
- DARLEY, G. 1978. Villages of Vision. London. Granada.
- DANDOFF, L., ESPERANCE, J. and NEWBY, H. 1976. Landscape with Figures: Home and Community in English Society. Mitchell, J. and Oakley, A. The Rights and Wrongs of Women. Penguin.
- DAVIES, E. and REES, A. 1960. Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- DAVIES, W. and LEWIS, G. 1974. "The social patterning of a city: the case of Leicester 1966". TVESG.6S, p.194-207.
- DEAN, K., BROWN, B. PERRY, R. and SHAW, D. 1984. "The conceptualization of counter-urbanization". Area 16, p.9-14.
- DEWEY, R. 1960. "The rural-urban continuum: real but relatively unimportant". American Journal of Sociology 66(1), p.60-66.
- DOREY, T. 1979. Rural Ministries. Oxford Institute for Church and Society.
- DRUDY, P. 1978. "Repopulation in a prosperous agricultural sub-region". Regional Studies 12, p.149-60.
- DRUDY, P. 1978a. "Population exodus and community aspirations" in Mosely, M. 1978. Social issues in rural Norfolk. Centre for East Anglian Studies. Norwich.
- DUNCAN, O. 1954. "Rural sociology coming of age". Rural Sociology, 19(1), p.1-12.
- DUNCAN, O. 1961. "Community size and the rural urban continuum". Gibbs, J. Urban Research Methods. New Jersey. van Nostrand.
- DUNCAN, J. 1978. "The social construction of unreality: an interactionist approach to the tourists' cognition of the environment". Ley, D. and Samuels, M. Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- DURAND-DROUHIN 1981. Rural Community Studies in Europe. Oxford. Pergamon Press.

- ELIAS, N. and SCOTSON, J. 1965. The Established and the Outsider. London. Cass.
- EMMETT, I. 1964. A North Wales Village. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- ENTRIKIN, J. 1980. Robert Park's human ecology and human geography. AAAG. 70, p.43-8.
- EVERITT, B. 1974. Cluster Analysis. SSRC. London. Heinemann.
- FERDANDEZ, R. and DILLMAN, D. 1979. "The influence of community attachment on geographic mobility". Rural Sociology 44(2), p.345-60.
- FINK, R. 1955. "Techniques of observation and their social and cultural limitations". Mankind. 5, p.60-8.
- FISCHER, C. 1972. "Urbanism as a way of life: a review and an agenda". Sociological Methods and Research, 1, p.187-242.
- FLEMING, P. 1979. Villagers and Strangers. Cambridge, Mass. Schenkman.
- FOGARTY, M. 1948. Town and Country Planning. Hutchinson's University Library.
- FRANKENBERG, R. 1957. Village on the Border. London. Cohen and West.
- FRANKENBERG, R. 1966. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth. Penguin.
- FREDRICKS, J. and LUDTKE, H. 1975. Participant Observation: Theory and Practice. Saxon House.
- FREUND, J. 1968. The Sociology of Max Weber. Harmondsworth. Penguin.
- FORSYTHE, D. 1980. "Urban incomers and rural change". Soc. Rural. 20, 287-307.
- FOY, N. 1974. The IMB World. London. Eyre Methuen.
- FUGUITT, G. 1963. "The city and the countryside". Rural Sociology, 28, p.246-61.
- GALJART, B. 1971. "Rural development and sociological concepts: a critique". Rural Sociology, 36(1), p.31-40.
- GALJART, B. 1973. "The future of rural sociology". Sociologia Ruralis, 13(3/4), p.254-63.
- GANS, H. 1962. The Urban Villagers. Glencoe, III: Free Press.
- GANS, H. 1970. "Urbanism and suburbanism as ways of life" in Pahl, R.E. (ed.). Readings in Urban Sociology. Oxford. Pergamon Press.
- GANS, H. 1967. The Levittowners. New York. Pantheon.

- GASSON, R. 1966. "The influence of urbanization on farm ownership and practice". Ashford. Wye College Studies in Rural Land Use. Report No. 7.
- GEDDES, A. 1955. The Role of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press.
- GEIPEL, R. 1978. "The landscape indicator school in German geography" in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.) Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- GIBSON, E. 1978. "Understanding the subjective meaning of places" in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.) Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- GILG, A. 1976. "Rural employment" in Cherry, G. Rural Planning Problems. London. Leonard Hill.
- GILG, A. 1978. Countryside Planning. London. Methuen.
- GLASS, R. 1966. "Conflicts in cities", in CIBA Foundation Symposium, Conflict in Society. London. Churchill Press.
- GOLD, J. 1980. An Introduction to Behavioural Geography. Oxford University Press.
- GORDON, R. 1981. Classification. London. Chapman Hall.
- GORMAN, R. 1977. The Dual Vision: Alfred Schutz and the Myth of a Phenomenological Social Science. London. Routledge, and Kegan Paul.
- GOULDNER, A. 1957. "Theoretical requirements of the applied social sciences", American Sociology Review, p.92-102.
- GRAY, F. 1976. "Selection and allocation in council housing", T.I.B.G. N.S.1, p34-6.
- GREEN, P. 1964. "Drymen: village growth and community problems", Soc. Ruralis, 4, p52-62.
- GREEN, P., FRANK, R. and ROBINSON, P. 1967. "Cluster analysis in test market selection", Management Science 13, B387-400.
- GREEN, R. 1966. "The remote countryside - a plan for contraction", Planning Outlook, 1, p.17-37.
- GREEN, R. 1971. Country Planning. Manchester. Manchester University Press.
- GREGORY, D. 1977. "Green belt policy and the conurbation" in Joyce, F. (ed.) Metropolitan Development and Change. Farnborough. Saxon House.
- GREGORY, D. 1978. Ideology, Science and Human Geography. London. Hutchinson.
- GRIFFITHS, E. 1972. Key variables in Social Research.

- GURWITSCH, 1967. "On the intentionality of consciousness" in Kockelmans, J. (ed.) Phenomenology, p.118-37. New York. Doubleday.
- GUSFIELD, J. 1967. "Tradition and modernity: misplaced polarities in the study of social change", American Journal of Sociology, 72, p.351-62.
- HALL, C. 1975. "Planning villages for survival". Seminar Report. Town and Country Planning Summer School, September 1975.
- HALL, P., THOMAS, R., GRACEY, H. and DREWETT, R. 1973. The Containment of Urban England. London. Allen and Unwin.
- HAMMOND, H. 1974. "Continuity and conscious models in County Clare and Ashworthy - a reappraisal" in Bell, C. and Newby, H. (eds.) The Sociology of Community.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1955. Hampshire County Development Plan.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1959. Hampshire County Development Plan: First Review.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1966. South Hampshire Study.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1966a. Village Life in Hampshire.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1968. East Hampshire: Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1976. East Tisted Conservation Area.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1976a. Winchester Area Plan.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1977. South Hampshire Structure Plan: Approved Written Statement.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1977a. Background Paper No. 2. Employment Projections 1976-91. Mid-Hampshire Structure Plan.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1978. Background Paper No. 3. Housing for Local Need. Mid-Hampshire Structure Plan.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1978a. Hampshire's Heritage and a Policy for its Future.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1980. Mid-Hampshire Structure Plan: Approved Written Statement.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1982. South Hampshire Structure Plan - Into the 1990's.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1983. Background Paper No. 10. The Need for Growth. South Hampshire Structure Plan - Into the 1990's.
- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1983a. Background Paper No. 1. South Hampshire in the 1970's (revised). South Hampshire Structure Plan - Into the 1990's.

- HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1983b. Principal Conclusions of the 1981 House Condition Survey.
- HANCOCK, I. 1976. "Planning and community clusters". Town and Country Planning, 44, p.264-8.
- HANCOCK, I. 1976a. "Planning in rural settlements". Town and Country Planning, 44, p.520-3.
- HANNAN, D. 1970. Rural Exodus. London. Geoffrey Chapman.
- HARMAN, R. 1978. "Retailing in rural areas: a case study in Norfolk". Geogorum, 9, p.107-26.
- HARRIS, C. 1874. Heritage. A Social System in Miniature. London. Arnold.
- HAUSER, P. 1965. "Observations on the urban-folk and urban-rural dichotomies as forms of Western ethnocentrism", in Hauser, P. and Schnore, L. The Study of Urbanisation. New York. Wiley.
- HAVINDEN, M. 1966. Estate Villages, a study of the Berkshire Village of Ardington and Lockinge. London. Lund Humphries.
- HAYNES, R., BENTHAM, G., SPECER, M. and SPRATLEY, J. 1978. "Community attitudes towards the accessibility of hospitals in West Norfolk" in Moseley, M. (ed.) Social Issues in Rural Norfolk. Centre for East Anglian Studies, Norwich.
- HELLER, T. 1979. "Rural health and health services", in Shaw, M. (ed.) Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts.
- HERBERT, D. 1973. "The residential mobility process: some empirical observation". Area, 5, p.44-8.
- HIGGS, J. 1966. People in the Countryside: Studies in Rural and Social Development. London. National Council of Social Service.
- HILL, C. 1978. "Leisure behaviour in six mid-Norfolk villages" in Moseley, M. (ed.) Social Issues in Rural Norfolk. Centre for East Anglian Studies. Norwich.
- HILL, C. 1982. "Newcomers and leisure in Norfolk villages" in Moseley, M. (ed.) Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Centre for East Anglian Studies. Norwich.
- HILLERY, G. 1955. "Definitions of community: areas of agreement". Rural Sociology, 20(2), p.93-118.
- HINTON, W. 1973. Fanshen. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.
- HITT, W. 1969. "Two models of man". American Psychologist XXIV 7, p.651-8.

- H.M.S.O. 1964. The South East Study 1961-1981. Ministry of Housing and Local Government.
- H.M.S.O. 1970. Strategic Plan for the South East. South East Joint Planning Team.
- H.M.S.O. 1976. Strategy for the South East: Review, Report and Recommendations. South East Joint Planning Team.
- HOBBS, J. 1972. "Marketing transport services in rural areas". Journal of Transport Economics and Policy, 6, p.10-21.
- HOBBSAWM, E. and RUDE, G. 1969. Captain Swing. London. Lawrence and Wishart.
- HOBSON, P. 1949. "The Parish of Barra". Scottish Geographical Magazine, 65, p.71-80.
- HOFFER, C. 1961. "The development of rural sociology". Rural Sociology, 26(1), p.1-14.
- HOFSTEE, E. 1960. "Rural social organisation". Soc. Ruralis, 1, p.105-17.
- HOFSTEE, E. 1963. "Rural sociology in Europe". Rural Sociology, 28(3), p.329-41.
- HOUSE, J. 1952. Bellingham and Wark: a Comparative Study. York. North Tyne Survey Committee.
- HOUSE, J. 1956. Northumbrian Tweed Side: The Rural Problem. Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumberland Community Council.
- HOWITT, W. 1838. The rural life of England.
- HUSSEY, C. 1948. "Rotherfield Park". Country Life. April/May 1948.
- JAATINEN, S. 1957. "The human geography of the Outer Hebrides". Acta Geographica, 16.
- JACKSON, P. 1980. Principles and Problems of Participant Observation. University College London. Department of Geography.
- JACKSON, V. 1968. Population in the Countryside. London. Frank Cass.
- JAHODA, M. 1951. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York. Dryden Press.
- JANES, R. 1961. "A note on phases of the community role of the participant observer". American Sociological Review, 26. p.446-50.
- JANSEN, C. 1968. Social Aspects of Internal Migration. Bath. Bath University Press.
- JENNINGS, P. 1968. The Living Village. London. Hodder and Stroughton.

- JENKINS, D. 1960. "Aberporth", in Davies, E. and Rees, A. (eds.) Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- JENKINS, D. 1971. The Agricultural Community in South-West Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- JOHNSON, J. 1974. Suburban Growth. London. Wiley.
- JOHNSON, J., SALT, J., and WOOD. P. 1974. Housing and the Migration of Labour in England and Wales. Farnborough. Saxon House.
- JOHNSON, P. 1985. The financial life cycle - paper presented to CEPR Seminar January 1985. The Economics of Ageing.
- JOLLIFFE, I., JONES, B., KNAPP, M., MORGAN, B. 1982a. "Classifications of the elderly population". Ageing and Society, 2(3), p.331-5.
- JOLLIFFE, I., JONES, B. MORGAN, B. 1982b. "Utilising clusters: a case study involving the elderly". Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A. 145, p.224-36.
- JONES, G. 1973. Rural Life. London. Longman.
- JONES, E. 1960. "Tregaron", in Davies, E. and Rees, A. (eds.) Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- JONES HUGHES, T. 1960. "Aberdaron", in Davies, E. and Rees, A. (eds.) Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- JUNKER, B. 1960. Fieldwork: An Introduction to the Social Sciences. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.
- KAUFMAN, H. 1963. "A perspective for rural sociology". Rural Sociology, 28(1), p.1-17.
- KERR, M. 1964. "The school board as an agency of legitimation". Sociology of Education, 38, p.34-59.
- KERR, M. 1968. The People of Ship Street. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- KLUCKHORN, F. 1940. "The participant-observer technique in small communities". American Journal of Sociology, 46, p.331-43.
- KOCKELMANS, J. 1966. Phenomenology and Physical Science. Pittsburg. Duquesne University Press.
- KOMAROUSKY, M. 1962. Blue Collar Marriage. New York. Rinehart.
- LANDSBERGER, H. 1974. Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change. London. Macmillan.

- LADINSKI, J. 1966. "Sources of geographic mobility among professional workers". *Demography*, 3, p.47-57.
- LANSING, J. and MUELLER, E. 1967. *The Geographical Mobility of Labour*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan.
- LARKIN, A. 1979. "Rural housing and housing needs", in Shaw, M. (ed.) *Rural Deprivation and Planning*. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts.
- LAW, C. and WARNES, A. 1976. "The changing geography of the elderly in England and Wales". *T.I.B.G.*, N.S.1, p.453-71.
- LAW, C. and WARNES, A. 1980. "The characteristics of retired migrants", in Herbert, D. and Johnstone, P. *Geography and the Urban Environment*, 3, p.175-222. Chichester. Wiley.
- LAW, C. and WARNES, A. 1981. "Planning and retirement migration", *T.C.P.*, 50, p.44-6.
- LAW, C. and WARNES, A. 1982. "The destination decision in retirement migration", in Warnes, A. *Geographical Perspectives on the Elderly*. Chichester. Wiley.
- LEACH, E. 1976. *Culture and Communication*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- LEMON, A. 1973. "Retirement and its effect on small towns". *T.P.R.*, 44, p.254-62.
- LESLIE, G. and RICHARDSON, A. 1961. "Life cycle, career pattern, and the decision to move". *Amer. Soc. Review*, 26, p.894-902.
- LEVERTON, P. 1982. "Working relationships in local government: the viewpoint of Parish Councils in Norfolk", in Moseley, M. (ed.) *Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia*. Norwich: Centre for East Anglian Studies.
- LEWIS, G. 1970. "Suburbanization in rural Wales: a case study" in Carter, H. and Davies, W. *Studies in the Geography of Wales*. London.
- LEWIS, G. 1970a. "A Welsh rural community in transition". *Soc. Rural.*, 10, p.142-61.
- LEWIS, G. 1979. *Rural Communities*. Newton Abbott. David and Charles.
- LEWIS, G. 1982. *Human Migration*. London. Croom Helm.
- LEWIS, G. and MAUND, D. 1976. "The urbanization of the countryside: a framework for analysis". *Geog. Ann.* 58, p.17-27.
- LEWIS, G. and MAUND, D. 1979. "Intra community segregation - a case study in mid-Hertfordshire". *Soc. Rural*, 19, p.135-7.
- LEWIS, I. 1976. *Social Anthropology in Perspective*. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.
- LEWIS, O. 1951. *Life in a Mexican Village*. Urbana. University of Illinois Press.

- LEWIN, K. 1958. "Group decision and social change", in Macceby, E. et al (eds.). Readings in Social Psychology. New York.
- LEY, D. and SAMUELS, M. 1978. Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- LITTLEJOHN, J. 1963. Westrigg. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- LLOYD WARNER, W. 1949. The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven. Yale University Press.
- LOUDEN, J. 1853. An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Form.
- LOWE, G. and PECK, C. 1974. "Location and lifestyle". Rural Sociology, 39, p.392-420.
- LUCEY, D. and KALDOR, D. 1969. Rural Industrialization. London. Chapman.
- LUCKMANN, B. 1970. "The small life-worlds of modern man", in Luckmann, T. (ed.). Phenomenology and Sociology. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.
- LUPRE, E. 1967. "The rural-urban variable reconsidered: the cross-cultural perspective". Sociologica Ruralis, 7, p.1-20.
- LYND, R. and LYND, H. 1929. Middletown: a Study in Contemporary American Culture. New York. Harcourt Bruce.
- McFARLANE, G. 1981. "Shetlanders and incomers: change, conflict and emphasis in social perspectives", in Holy, L. and Stuchtck, M. (eds.). The Structure of Folk Models ASA Monograph, 20. London. Academic Press.
- MACINTYRE, A. 1967. Secularization and Moral Change. Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- McLAUGHLAN, B. 1976. "Rural settlement planning: a new approach". Town and Country Planning, 44, p.156-60.
- MADGWICK, P. 1973. The Politics of Rural Wales. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- MALBRAITH, L. 1982. "A conceptualization and research strategy for the study of ecological aspects of the quality of life". Journal of Social Indicators Research, 10, p.133-57.
- MALINOWSKI, B. 1922. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MARTIN, D. 1968. A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain. London. S.C.M.
- MARTIN, E. 1965. The Shearers and the Shorn. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MARTIN, W. 1957. "Ecological change in satellite rural areas". American Sociological Review, 22, p.173-83.
- MASSER, F. and STROUD, D. 1965. "The metropolitan village", T.P.R., 36, p.111-24.

- MATTISHALL and LYNG GROUP, 1973. Report of village study carried out in 1972. Mimeo, Norwich Industrial Mission.
- MEAD, G.H. 1910. "What social objects must psychology presuppose?". *Journal of Philosophy*, 7, p.174-80.
- MEAD, G.H. 1934. *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago. Chicago University Press.
- MESSENGER, J. 1969. *Inis Beag: Isle of Ireland*. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- MICHELSON, W. 1977. *Environmental Choice, Human Behaviour and Residential Satisfaction*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- MILLER, S. 1952. "The participant observer and 'over-rapport'". *American Sociological Review*, p.97-9.
- MILLS, T. 1967. *The Sociology of Small Groups*. New Jersey. Prentice Hall.
- MINTZ, S. 1974. "Rural proletarian consciousness". *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1(3), p.291-325.
- MITCHELL, G. 1950a. "Social disintegration in a rural community". *Human Relations*, 30, p.279-306.
- MITCHELL, G. 1950b. "Depopulation and rural social structure". *Sociological Review*, 42, p.69-85.
- MOGEY, S. 1947. *Rural Life in Northern Ireland*. London. Oxford University Press.
- MORGAN, B. 1973. "Why families move: a re-examination". *Professional Geographer*, 25, p.124-9.
- MORGAN, B. 1976. "The basis of family status segregation: a case study of Exeter". *T.I.B.G., N.S.1.* p.83-107.
- MOSELEY, M. and SPENCER, M. 1978. "Access to shops: the situation in rural Norfolk". In Moseley, M. (ed.) *Social Issues in Rural Norfolk*. Norfolk Centre for East Anglian Studies.
- MOSELEY, M. 1979. "Rural mobility and accessibility", in Shaw, M. (ed.). *Rural Deprivation and Planning*. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts.
- MOSELEY, M. 1982. *Power, Planning, and People in Rural East Anglia*. Norwich. Centre for East Anglian Studies.
- MOSER, C. and SCOTT. 1960. *British Towns*. London. Oliver and Boyd.
- MUNTERS, Q. 1972. "Sociologia Ruralis on the Balance". *Soc. Ruralis*, 12(2).
- MUNTERS, Q. 1982. "Ferdinand Tonnies and contemporary rural sociology". *Soc. Ruralis*, 22, p.305-10.

- MURIE, A., NINER, P. and WATSON, C. 1976. Housing Policy and Housing System. London. Allen and Unwin.
- MURPHY, P. 1979. "Migration of the elderly: a review". T.P.R., 50, p.84-93.
- MUSGRAVE, F. 1963. The Migratory Elite. London. Heineman.
- MYRDAL, J. 1975. Report from a Chinese Village. London. Picador.
- NALSON, J. 1968. Mobility of Farm Families. Manchester. Manchester University Press,
- NELSON, H. and YOKELY, R. 1970. "Civil rights attitudes of rural and urban Presbyterians". Rural Sociology, 35, p.161-74.
- NELSON, H., YOKELY, R. and MADRON, T. 1971. "Rural urban differences in religiosity". Rural Sociology, 36, p.389-96.
- NELSON, H. and FROST, E. 1971. "Residence, anomie and receptivity to education among Presbyterians". Rural Sociology, 36, p.521-32.
- NOLAN and GALLIHER. 1973. Rural Sociology, 38, 4. p.491-99.
- NEWBY, H. 1972. "Agricultural workers in the class structure". Sociological Review, 20, p.413-38.
- NEWBY, H. 1975. "The deferential dialectic". Comparative Studies in Society and History, 17, p.139-64.
- NEWBY, H. 1977. The Deferential Worker. London. Allen Lane.
- NEWBY, H. 1978. "The rural sociology of advanced capitalist societies", in Newby, H. (ed.) International Perspectives in Rural Sociology. London. Wiley.
- NEWBY, H. 1979. Green and Pleasant Land? Social Change in Rural England. London. Hutchinson.
- NEWBY, H., BELL, C. ROSE, D., and SANDERS, P. 1978. Property Paternalism and Power. London. Hutchinson.
- NEWBY, H. 1980. "Urbanization and the rural class structure: reflections and a case study", in Buttel, F. and Newby, H.(eds.) The Rural Sociology of the Advanced Societies.
- NEWBY, H. 1980a. "Trend Report: rural sociology". Current Sociology. V.28, N.I. p.1-141.
- OLSON, P. 1965. "Rural American community studies". Human Organisation, 10. p.342-50.
- O'MALLEY, J. 1977. The Politics of Community Action. Nottingham. Spokesman.
- OOMEN, T. 1967. "The rural-urban continuum re-examined in the Indian context". Soc. Review, p.30-48.

- OWEN, T. 1960. "Chapel and Community in Glan-lllyn, Merioneth", in Davies, E. and Rees, A. Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- OWENS, S. 1978. "Changing accessibility in two North Norfolk villages, Trunch and Southrepps, from the 1950s to the 1970s", in Moseley, M. (ed.). Social Issues in Rural Norfolk. Norwich. Centre for East Anglian Studies.
- PACIONE, M. 1980. "Differential quality of life in a metropolitan village". Trans. Inst. Brit. Geog. 5, p.185-206.
- PACKMAN, J. 1979. "Rural employment problems and planning", in Shaw, M. (ed.). Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts.
- PACKMAN, J. and WALLACE, D. 1982. "Rural services in Norfolk and Suffolk: the management of change", in Moseley, M. (ed.) Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Norwich. Centre for East Anglian Studies.
- PAHL, J. and PAHL, R. 1971. Managers and Their Wives. London. Allen Lane The Penguin Press.
- PAHL, R. 1965. Urbs in Rure. London. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- PAHL, R. 1965a. "Class and community in English commuter villages". Sociological Review, 6. p.5-23.
- PAHL, R. 1966. "The rural-urban continuum". Soc. Rural, 6(3-4), p.299-327.
- PAHL, R. 1970. Readings in Urban Sociology. Oxford. Pergamon Press.
- PARK, R. 1952. Human Communities. New York. Free Press.
- PARKIN, F. 1971. Class, Inequality and Political Order. MacGibbon and Kee.
- PARSONS, T. and SHILS, E. Towards a General Theory of Action. New York.
- PETTIT, P. 1969. On the Idea of Phenomenology. Dublin. Scepter.
- PICKERING, W. 1967. "The 1951 religious census - a useless experiment". B.J.S., 18(4).
- PICKVANCE, C. 1974. "Life cycle, housing tenure and residential mobility: a path analytic approach". Urban Studies, 11, p.171-88.
- PLOWMAN, D., MINCHINTON, W. and STACEY, M. 1962. "Local social status in England and Wales". Sociological Review, 10, p.161-202.
- POPLIN, D. 1972. Communities. New York. Macmillan.
- POPP, H. 1976. "The residential location decision process: some theoretical and empirical considerations". T.V.E.S.G., 67, p.300-5.

- POPPELSTONE, G. 1967, "Conflict and mediating roles in expanding settlements". *Sociological Review*, 15, p.339-55.
- PORTEOUS, J. 1968. "The island parish of Jura". *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 84, p.56-65.
- PRYOR, R. 1968. "Defining the rural-urban fringe". *Social Forces*, 47, p.205-15.
- QUIGLEY, J. and WINBERG, D. 1977. "Intra-urban residential mobility: a review and synthesis", *International Regional Science Review*, 2, p.41-66.
- RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. 1922. *The Andaman Islanders*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- RADFORD, E. 1970. *The New Villages: Urban Pressure on Rural Areas in Worcestershire*. London. Frank Cass.
- REDFIELD, R. 1930. *Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village*. Chicago. Chicago University Press.
- REDFIELD, R. 1947. "The Folk Society". *American Journal of Sociology*, 52(3) p.293-308.
- REES, A. 1950. *Life in a Welsh Countryside*. Cardiff. University of Wales Press.
- RELPH, E. 1970. "An enquiry into the relations between phenomenology and geography". *Canadian Geographer*, XIV, p.193-201.
- RELPH, E. 1976. *Place and Placeness*. London. Pion.
- RELPH, E. 1981. *Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography*. Guildford. Billing and Sons.
- REX, J. and MOORE, R. 1967. *Race, Community and Conflict. A Study of Sparkbrook*. Oxford University Press.
- ROBERT, S. and RANDOLPH, W. 1983. "Beyond decentralization: the evolution of population distribution in England and Wales, 1961-81". *Geoforum*, 14, p.75-102.
- ROBIN, J. 1980. *Elmdon: Continuity and Change in a North-West Essex Village 1861-1964*. Cambridge University Press.
- ROGERS, A. 19 "Rural housing" in Cherry, G. *Rural Planning Problems*. London. Leonard Hill.
- ROSE, D., SAUNDERS, P., NEWBY, H. and BELL, C. 1976. "Ideologies of property: a case study". *Sociological Review*, 24, 4, p.699-731.

- ROSE, D., SAUNDERS, P., NEWBY, H. and BELL, C. 1979. "The economic and political basis of rural deprivation", in Shaw, M. Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts.
- ROSEMAN, C. 1971. "Migration as a spatial and temporal process". A.A.A.G., 61, p.589-98.
- ROSSER, C. and HARRIS, C. 1965. The Family and Social Change. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- ROSSI, P. 1980. Why Families Move. London. Sage.
- ROWLES, G. 1978. "Reflections on experiential fieldwork", in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.). Humanistic Geography. Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- ROWLES, G. 1980. "Toward a geography of growing old", in Buttner, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.). The Human Experience of Space and Place. London. Croom Helm.
- RUGMAN, A. and GREEN, M. 1979. "Demographic and social change", in Joyce, F. Metropolitan Development and Change. The West Midlands: a Policy Review. Farnborough. Saxon House.
- SALAMAN, G. 1971. "Some sociological determinants of occupational communities". Sociological Review, 19, 1, p.53-77.
- SALAMAN, G. 1971a "Two occupational communities - examples of a remarkable convergence of work and non-work". Sociological Review, 19, 3.
- SAMUELS, M. 1978. "Existentialism and human geography", in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.). Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems. London. Croom Helm.
- SAMUELS, M. 1981. "An existentialist geography", in Harvey, M. and Holly, B. Themes in Geographic Thought. London. Croom Helm.
- SANT, M. 1977. "Social disparities and regional policy in Britain", in Kuklinski, A. Social Issues in Regional Policy in Britain. The Hague. Mouton.
- SAUNDERS, P., NEWBY, H., BELL, C., ROSE, O. 1978. "Rural community and rural community power", in Newby, H. International Perspectives in Rural Sociology. Chichester. Wiley.
- SAUER, C. 1925. "The morphology of landscape", in Leighby, J. Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Sauer. University of California Press.
- SCHATZMAN, A. and STRAUSS, L. 1955. "Problems in participant observation". American Journal of Sociology, 60, p.348-9.
- SCHMITT, B. 1969. Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America. New York. Oxford University Press.
- SCHNOBE, L. 1966. "The rural-urban variable". Rural Sociology, 31(1).
- SCHUTZ, A. 1967. The Phenomenology of the Social World. Evanston. Northwestern University Press.

SCHWARTZ, M. and SCHWARTZ, C. 1955. "Problems in participant observation". American Journal of Sociology, 60, p.350-3.

SEAMON, D. 1979. A Geography of the Life World. London. Croom Helm.

SEAMON, D. 1980. "Afterword: community, place and environment", in Buttner, A. and Seamon, D. The Human Experience of Space and Place.

SEAMON, D. 1984. "Philosophical direction in behavioural geography with an emphasis on the phenomenological contribution", in Saarinen, T., Seamon, D. and Sell, J. Environmental Perception and Behaviour. University of Chicago. Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 209.

SEEBOHM, F. 1883. The English Village Community. London. Longmans.

SHAW, M. 1979. Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts Ltd.

SHAW, M. 1979a. "Rural deprivation and social planning: an overview", in Shaw, M. 1979, Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts Ltd.

SHERIFF, M. 1966. Group Conflict and Cooperation: Their Social Psychology. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

SHIBUTANI, T. 1955. "Reference groups as perspectives". American Journal of Sociology, 60, p.562-9.

SHOARD, M. 1980. The Theft of the Countryside. London. Temple Smith.

SHORT, J. 1978. "Residential mobility". Progress in Geography, 2, p.419-47.

SIEBER, S. 1978. "The integration of fieldwork and survey methods". American Journal of Sociology, 78, p.1335-9.

SIMMEL, G. 1903. "The metropolis and mental life", in Wolff, K. The Sociology of George Simmel. Glencoe. Ill. Free Press.

SJOBERG, G. 1964. "The rural urban dimension in pre-industrial, transitional and industrial societies". Fans, R. Handbook of Modern Sociology. Chicago. R. Mcally.

SMYTH, W. 1975. "Continuity and change in territorial organisation of Irish rural communities". The Maynooth Review, 1(1), p.51-78.

SOROKIN, P., ZIMMERMAN, C. and GALPIN, C. 1929. Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology. New York. Henry Holt.

SPEARE, A. 1970. "Home ownership, life cycle stage, and residential mobility". Demography, 7, p.449-58.

- STACEY, M. 1960. Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury. Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- STACEY, M. 1969. "The myth of community studies". British Journal of Sociology, 20(2), p.134-47.
- STACEY, M. 1975. Power, Persistence and Change. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1951. Staffordshire County Development Plan.
- STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1958. Staffordshire County Development Plan: First Review.
- STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1967. Central Staffordshire. A Statement on Rural Development.
- STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1969. Bradley Conservation Area 3.
- STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1978. Staffordshire Structure Plan: Approved Written Statement.
- STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL. 1981. Staffordshire Structure Plan. Approved Written Statement.
- STAMP, L. 1966. The Land of Britain - Its Use and Misuse. London. Longman. (1st edition 1948).
- STEIN, M. 1964. The Eclipse of Community. New York. Harper Row.
- STOCKFORD, D. 1978. "Social services provision in rural Norfolk", in Moseley, M. 1978. Social Issues in Rural Norfolk. Norwich. Centre for East Anglian Studies.
- STONE, G. and FABERMANN, W. 1970. Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction. Waltham Mass. Xerox College Publishing.
- STORRIE, M. 1961. "Islay: a Hebridean exception". Geographical Review, 51, p.87-108.
- STRACHEN, A. 1974. "The planning framework for modern urban growth", in Johnson, J. Suburban Growth. London. Wiley.
- STRATHERN, A. 1981. Kinship at the Core; an Anthropology of Elmdon in the Nineteen Sixties. Cambridge University Press.
- SUTTLES, G. 1972. The Social Construction of Communities. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.
- SWANSON, L., LULOFF, A. and WARLAND, R. 1979. "Factors influencing willingness to move: an examination of non-metropolitan residents". Rural Sociology, 44(4), p.719-35.

- TAJFEL, H., FLAMENT, C., BILLIG, M. and BUNDY, R. 1971.
"Social categorization and intergroup behaviour".
European Journal of Social Psychology, 1, p.149-78.
- TAYLOR, R. 1969. "Migration and motivation. A study of
determinants and types". Jackson, A. Cambridge.
Cambridge University Press.
- THOMAS, F. 1939. The Changing Village. London. Nelson and Sons Ltd.
- THOMAS, C. and WINYARD, S. 1979. "Rural incomes", in Shaw, M.
Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo. Abstracts Ltd.
- THORNS, D. 1968. "The changing system of rural stratification".
Sociological Review, 8, p.161-78.
- TÖNNIES, F. 1957. Community and Society. New York. Harper and
Row. (original 1887).
- TROY, P. 1973. "Residents and their preferences: properties,
prices and residential property". Regional Studies, 7,
p.183-92.
- TUAN, Y. 1977. Space and Place. London. Arnold.
- VENTRIS, N. 1979. "Recreational and cultural provision in
rural areas", in Shaw, J. Rural Deprivation and Planning.
Norwich. Geo. Abstracts Ltd.
- VIDICH, A. 1955. "Participant observation and the collection
and interpretation of data". American Journal of Sociology,
p.354-60.
- VIDICH, A. and SHAPIRO, G. 1955. "A comparison of participant
observation and survey data". American Sociological Review,
20, p.28-33.
- VIDICH, A. and BENSMAN, J. 1958. Small Town in Mass Society.
Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press.
- VINCE, S. 1952. "Reflections on the structure and distribution
of rural populations in England and Wales 1921-31".
T.I.B.G., 18, p.53-76.
- VINING, D. and KONTULY, T. 1978. "Population dispersal from
major metropolitan regions - an international comparison".
International Regional Science Review, 3, p.49-73.
- WALMSLEY, N. 1982. "Non-participation in planning", in Moseley, M.
Power, Planning and People in Rural East Anglia. Norwich.
Centre for East Anglian Studies.

- WALTON, J. 1966. "Substance and artefact; the current status of research on community power structure". American Journal of Sociology, p.430-8.
- WARD, J. 1963. "Hierarchical grouping to optimize an objective function". Journal of American Statistical Association, 58, p.236-44.
- WARNES, A. 1981. "Migration after retirement". University of London, King's College Department of Geography, Occasional Paper No. 12.
- WARNES, A. 1983. "Migration in late working age and early retirement". Socio-Economic Planning Science, 17.
- WASSON, C. 1939. "Does increasing urbanization of the rural areas require a re-examination of our basic postulates?". Rural Sociology, p.88-9.
- WATKINS, R. 1979. "Educational disadvantage in rural areas", in Shaw, J. Rural Deprivation and Planning. Norwich. Geo, Abstracts Ltd.
- WATSON, W. 1964. "Social mobility and social class in industrial communities", in Cludeman, M. Closed Systems and Open Minds.
- WENGER, C. 1982. "Ageing in rural communities: family contacts and community interaction". Ageing and Society, 2, p.211-30.
- WEST MIDLANDS REVIEW BOARD. 1965. West Midlands Region.
- WEST MIDLANDS PLANNING AUTHORITIES CONFERENCE. 1971. A Developing Strategy for the West Midlands Region.
- WEST MIDLANDS PLANNING AUTHORITIES CONFERENCE. 1979. West Midlands Regional Strategy. Report of the Joint Monitoring Steering Group.
- WHYTE, W. 1957. The Organisation Man. London. Jonathon Cape.
- WIBBERLEY, G. 1960. "Changes in the structure and functions of the rural community". Soc. Ruralis, 7, p.118-27.
- WIBBERLEY, G. 1978. "Mobility and the countryside", in Cresswell, R. Rural Transport and County Planning. Leonard Hill.
- WILLENSKY, A. 1964. "Mass society and mass culture". American Sociological Review, 29, p.173-97.
- WILLIAMS, H. 1976. "Three types of rural Welsh community". Soc. Ruralis, 16, p.279-90.

- WILLIAMS, R. 1973. *The Country and the City*. London, Chatto and Windus.
- WILLIAMS, W. 1956. *The Sociology of an English Village*. Gosforth. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WILLIAMS, W. 1964. *A West Country Village: Ashworthy*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WILLITS, F., BEALER, R. and CRIDER, D. 1973. "Levelling of attitudes in mass society". *Rural Sociology*, 38, p.36-45.
- WILSON, B. 1980. "Social space and symbolic interaction", in Buttner, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. London. Croom Helm.
- WIRTH, L. 1938. "Urbanism as a way of life". *American Journal of Sociology*, 44, p.1-24.
- WISCHART, D. 1978. *CLUSTAN 2C Reference Manual*. University of St. Andrews Computing Centre.
- WISEMAN, R. and ROSEMAN, C. 1978. "A typology of elderly migration based on the decision making process". *Economic Geography*, 55, p.324-37.
- WOLF, E. 1973. *Peasant wars in the Twentieth Century*. London. Faber.
- WOLPERT, J. 1965. "Behavioural aspects of the decision to migrate". *P.P.R.S.A.* 15, p.159-72.
- WOLPERT, J. 1966. "Migration as an adjustment to environmental stress". *Journal of Social Issues* 22, p.92-102.
- WOOD, D. 1978. "Introducing the cartography of reality", in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.) *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*. London. Croom Helm.
- WOODRUFF, B. 1976. *Rural Settlement Policies and Plans*. Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- WOOLF, M. 1967. *The Housing Survey in England and Wales 1964*. London. H.M.S.O.
- WRIGHT MILLS, C. 1942. "Yankee City I", in Horowitz, I. *People, Politics and Power*. London. Oxford University Press 196
- YGLESIAS, J. 1972. *In the Fist of Revolution*. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.

Spiralist group thus contains some of the most and least committed people to village social life. As these two descriptions by female Spiralists living in the same village demonstrates:

I spend fifty per cent of my time here I suppose. I'm bone idle really! I go out, I go and see friends. We're moving around a lot so it's difficult to get really involved in something.

When we first arrived I joined the Best Kept Village Committee but I didn't really like it...I'm on the village social committee, we organise fund raising events and the village fete and Christmas fair, co-ordinate village societies I suppose, and the Parish Council, and the Phoenix...that's the new woman's group. I actually helped set it up, now I also belong to the NHR.

Membership of which category is partly determined by whether the woman has employment outside the home. Those who hold full time employment outside the house tend to confine themselves to formal entertaining at weekends, and tend not to become drawn into village activities. Men are more likely to become village participants, if their wives hold full village membership, than if they are married to non-involved women. Those women without external employment meet friends informally during daytime activities, including village societies, and if a woman is involved her husband is often drawn into the circle of participation.

However by virtue of a generally broad education and melange of experiences, Spiralists regardless of their degree of involvement, pursue a wide variety of activities. This