

A geographical examination of the twentieth century theory  
and practice of selected village development in England

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CHAPTER EIGHTPATTERNS OF POPULATION CHANGE - I : GROWTH  
AND DEPOPULATION IN THE CASE STUDY AREAS.8.1 Introduction

The analysis of the pattern of population change in both South Nottinghamshire, and North Norfolk is a broad subject and one of particular importance to this study. Consequently the analysis is split in two sections. The first, in this chapter, examines the general demographic patterns and processes operating within the two case study areas. The second, in the following chapter, looks at specific elements in the structure of the rural populations of the two areas. In the first section we are looking at the case study areas as whole, whilst in the second we are concerned principally with the individual villages within the two areas, and in particular with those settlements chosen for the 'in depth' study of the questionnaire survey (see Chapter Six).

We have previously noted in Chapter Six, that the significant contrast between the study areas of South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk is in their different degrees of remoteness, as measured by proximity to major urban centres. South Nottinghamshire is in part bounded by the urban centres of Nottingham and its adjoining suburbs which together go to form Greater Nottingham. In addition, the case study area is adjoined by a number of other large urban centres: Derby, Loughborough, Grantham, Newark and Melton Mowbray. Furthermore, Leicester is less than twenty miles travelling distance

from many of the villages in the south-west of the area. In complete contrast, the closest large urban areas to the case study area of North Norfolk are Norwich and Kings Lynn. All of the settlements in this area are more than twenty miles travel from either of these centres, and in many of the more remote villages this distance is closer to forty miles. An effect of this difference in relative remoteness of the two study areas is the fact that the South Nottinghamshire area has continued to expand its rural population in this century (with the single exception of the 1911 to 1921 inter-censal period when there was a very small decrease), whilst the North Norfolk area has shown a continued decline in population in four of the last six inter-censal periods. Projections for North Norfolk indicate that this is a progressive trend<sup>1</sup>. In general terms, therefore, South Nottinghamshire is a growth area and North Norfolk a remoter rural area. The definition of these terms requires further explanation.

The terms 'growth' and 'remoter rural' areas have become commonly used in rural and related studies. By their nature, and often by their subsequent use, the terms imply a polarisation of population trends so that a given rural area is either a remoter rural area where in its constituent settlements are progressively declining in population, or it becomes a growth area in which the village populations are increasing. Whilst these descriptions may be true for those rural areas under the most intense development pressure and for those in the remotest highland regions, there are many areas which assume an intermediate status. Some rural studies, however, have tended to misuse this pressure/remote concept in a way that encourages a perception of polarising population trends.

Figure 3.2, taken from Thorburn <sup>2</sup>, and Figure 3.1 from an HMSO Planning Bulletin <sup>3</sup>, are examples of spatial interpretations of the growth/remote distinction. Masser and Stroud have written:

"The results of the surveys suggest that a distinction may be drawn between villages that are close enough to large urban areas, or motorways, to attract commuters, and villages virtually dependent on agriculture that are beyond the reach of daily commuters. .... This dominant feature, growth, distinguishes the metropolitan village from the village beyond commuting range which usually has the opposite problem - decline" <sup>4</sup>

This is an over-simplification of the rural population trends in England. In practice, the demographic fortunes of the different settlements in a given rural area tend to be mixed. Certainly, overall propensities towards population growth or decline exist but there may be considerable variation within these general trends both in time and space. This chapter seeks to examine in detail the nature of the contrasts both between and within the case studies of one remoter rural area, North Norfolk, and one pressure area, South Nottinghamshire.

## 8.2 The distribution of the rural population

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 have shown the rank-size relationship for settlements in the two case study areas. The relationship for both areas is distorted by the nature of the data source. The basic unit for the representation of census data is the enumeration district. In rural areas this unit mostly coincides with individual parish areas or, in the case of larger villages and small towns, with parts of the parish area. But in the case of the smallest settlements the rationalisation of data representation has led to many small

villages and hamlets being merged into joint enumeration districts, comprising two or more parishes. In consequence the civil parishes of Figures 5.3 and 5.4 are not necessarily the same as the separate villages and hamlets of the case study areas. In South Nottinghamshire there are four hamlets which have been amalgamated with the enumeration districts (civil parishes) of other settlements and are therefore excluded from Figures 5.3 and 5.4. In North Norfolk this figure is much larger, partly as a function of the more dispersed settlement pattern, with no less than twenty-two small villages and hamlets being excluded from separate consideration.

Table 8.1 illustrates the settlement size range for the two study areas. The data in this table is subject to the same statistical distortion as noted above, as is the spatial representation of this data in Figures 8.1 and 8.2. Even allowing for these distortions, these statistics indicate that the rank-size rule (see Chapter Five) is not strictly followed because there are more settlements with between 100 and 500 population than those with less than one hundred. In fact, little significance should be attached to this observation as it is due largely to the choice of the population categories and to their relatively arbitrary nature. To amplify this we can examine the distribution of settlements between three composite categories: small villages and hamlets, medium villages, and large villages (including the small towns of the areas). This is also a typology closer to the simple constructs of central place theory which review the settlement pattern as consisting of hamlets, villages, towns and larger urban centres.

Small villages and hamlets are most conveniently defined as those with less than 500 population. Medium villages have between 500 and 2,000 population and large villages over 2,000. These divisions are, in the author's experience of the case study areas, the most appropriate population thresholds for these settlement categories. Using this very simple settlement typology we find that in the North Norfolk area there are more small villages and hamlets (thirty-one from the table, fifty-three when this figure is adjusted to take account of those small villages and hamlets that are not separate enumeration districts in the 1971 census) than medium villages (seven), and more medium villages than large villages (two). In South Nottinghamshire the structure of the settlement pattern follows the same principle, with thirty-eight small villages and hamlets (forty-two when adjusted), fourteen medium villages, and six large villages. This analysis indicates that in both of the case study areas the distribution of settlement sizes follows a simple central place pattern of size ranking.

There are some important differences between the settlement size range of the two areas. Table 8.1 indicates that the population of settlements in North Norfolk tends to be smaller than those in South Nottinghamshire. In the former area there is a greater propensity towards smaller villages. Within North Norfolk the largest settlement is Fakenham with a population in 1971 of 4,467. In South Nottinghamshire there are six settlements with populations larger than this, ranging from East Leake with 4,720 to Radcliffe on Trent with 7,702. At the other end of the settlement size range the same principle is followed, although this may partly be the result of the stronger tendency towards settlement nucleation in the South Nottinghamshire area. This is a very simple distinction

between the two areas and is exactly what would be expected between a remoter rural area, and one where there has been, and is, great pressure for developing existing settlements.

We can further develop this difference by measuring the relative degrees of population concentration between the two areas. This feature is also of more direct relevance to this study. In South Nottinghamshire nearly two-thirds (61.3%) of the population of the area are concentrated into the six large villages (i.e. over 2,000 population) of the case study area. In North Norfolk the case study area encloses only two settlements of this size, which together account for 34.4% of the population of the area. This is a very important difference because, as we shall amplify in Chapters Ten and Eleven, the shopping, social and amenity facilities of these rural areas, and some employment opportunities, are increasingly focussed on large villages. This population distribution suggests that there are proportionately fewer people in North Norfolk that are able to enjoy adequate rural facilities, by virtue of living in large villages, than in South Nottinghamshire. It is worth stressing that this distinction is a function of the settlement patterns of the two areas and has no direct relationship to the relative degrees of remoteness of the two areas from major urban centres. Within these two areas the influence of population distribution can be seen to reinforce different levels of social provision brought about by their proximity to major urban areas.

Table 8.2 shows the changes in this aspect of population concentration in the two areas in the twentieth century. The concentration percentage is simply calculated as a comparative statistic

to that of 1901. This statistic is based on ranking of civil parishes (related to the 1971 pattern) according to population size. The summation of the populations of those civil parishes falling in the upper decile of this ranking is expressed as a proportion of the whole population of the relevant study area. Consequently:

$$C = \frac{\Sigma(P_1, P_2 \dots P_n) \times 100}{T}$$

Where  $P_1, P_2$ , etc are the populations of those civil parishes in the upper decile of the settlement ranking, and  $T$  is the total population of the study area (based on 1971 boundaries).

We can also express this another way by taking the concentration percentage of 1901, for both areas, to be a base index of 100. From this we can calculate the concentration percentage of subsequent censuses as related indexes. Both the concentration percentage and the Indexes are shown in Table 8.2.

These are elementary statistics but they are valuable for this purpose of historical comparison. An alternative method would be to base the statistics on the proportion of the whole population living in large villages as identified by a specified threshold population. The problem with this technique, and the reason it was not used here is that a threshold relevant to 1901 would have little relevance to the situation in 1971, and vice versa. This is particularly apparent in the growth area of South Nottinghamshire, although less of a limitation to North Norfolk where the distribution of settlements in the size range has not changed as dramatically. For example, in 1901 there were 3 civil parishes with more than 1,000 people in North Norfolk, in 1971 there were the same

number (the same three centres). In contrast in South Nottinghamshire there were five civil parishes above this threshold in 1901, but thirteen in 1971. Consequently, the approach outlined previously, and represented in Table 8.2, is considered to be the most suitable to use as a statistical indicator of population concentration.

Table 8.2 shows that whilst the concentration percentages for the two areas are very different, due largely to differences in the settlement patterns (and notably the more dispersed pattern in North Norfolk), the rate of change up to 1931 is very similar.

In the 1931 census the situation changes. In North Norfolk the index falls from 106.7 in 1921 to 103.6 in 1931, whilst in South Nottinghamshire it rises from 106.7 in 1921 to 112.7 in 1931. There is no obvious reason to explain this difference, but further examination of the North Norfolk population trends indicates that this may be largely related to the impact of national economic recession on two of the principal centres of population concentration in this study area. Certainly in Melton Constable a run down in the railway engineering yards in the late 'twenties led to a severe reduction in local employment and this quite probably may have been a key factor in the depopulation of the parish recorded in 1931. In the second centre, Wells, the cause of the same phenomenon is unclear, although we may suggest that the national economic recession over this period may have had considerable influence on the prosperity of this small, middle class, coastal resort, but this is, of course, only speculation.

After 1931 the concentration index continued to rise for the North Norfolk study area, although there does seem to be a slight

decrease between 1961 and 1971. This most recent trend creates something of a dilemma, since it is in this period that we would expect the impact of selected village development policies in North Norfolk to exert considerable influence. The difference between what we may have expected as a result of planning policies geared towards population concentration, and what the statistics in Table 8.2 show, can be explained by the impact of the movement of large concentrations of armed forces, and related personnel, to and from new army and air force bases in the study area. Further details of these movements are discussed later in this Chapter, but for the time being it is important only to note that some of the smaller bases were closed between 1951 and 1961, whilst the distribution of personnel in the remaining bases was rationalised between 1961 and 1971. These movements of military personnel have disguised any longer term trend towards concentration in the civilian population of this study area.

In fact, there is some evidence to indicate that the degree of population concentration in North Norfolk has continued to rise dramatically since 1961. The proportion of the total population constituted by the two largest civil parishes in the area, Fakenham and Wells, neither of which are affected directly by movement of military personnel, has increased from 21.7 per cent in 1951 to 26.8 per cent in 1961 and 34.4 per cent in 1971. This indicates that in the period of selected village development, there has indeed been an increase in the rate of population concentration in North Norfolk.

In South Nottinghamshire after a period of stabilisation of the trend towards concentration, the index continues to rise from 112.7 in 1951 to 129.0 in 1961, with a slightly larger increase to

147.0 in 1971. This intensification of the trend coincides with the introduction of selected village development policies with the *Nottinghamshire County Development Plan* of 1952, and the reinforcement of this policy in the study area with the *Plan for rural Nottinghamshire (Part IV): South Nottinghamshire* from 1966. Due to these policies, the pressure for development in the study area which experienced a more widespread surge in the 'sixties, was largely concentrated on the selected centres.

### 8.3 Population Change

Table 8.3 indicates the pattern of population change in the two case study areas. These patterns are expressed in simple graph form in Figure 8.3. The graph for South Nottinghamshire shows this area to be one of almost continuous population growth, whilst the graph for the North Norfolk area indicates a more irregular pattern of both growth and decline.

Figure 8.3 in fact conceals a more persistent trend towards the decline of population in North Norfolk. The first decennial change at the beginning of the century, 1901 to 1911, shows a slight increase of population in North Norfolk. Subsequently, the population shows a decline between 1911 and 1931. In the inter-censal period of 1931 to 1951 this trend towards depopulation is apparently reversed, with the area showing an increase of over 4,800 people.

This increase in population may be largely attributed to the movement of military and associated personnel to the area

during the Second World War. In this small area of Norfolk there were, at the end of the war, five major air bases<sup>5</sup> of Allied Bomber Command: Pudding Norton, Bunkers Hill, Little Snoring, West Raynham and Sculthorpe. Only the last two bases remain in use; West Raynham as an RAF base, and Sculthorpe as a non-operational base for the United States Air Force (with a small facility at Little Snoring).

There were, in addition, large army bases at Stiffkey (closed between 1951 and 1961) and for more limited periods at Melton Hall and Holkham Hall. At the time of the 1951 census many of these bases were still occupied. By 1961 only the RAF base at West Raynham and the USAF base at Sculthorpe remained, with a small facility at Little Snoring and married quarters at Pudding Norton.

Consequently, the apparent reversal of the trend towards depopulation in North Norfolk between 1931 and 1951 seems to be essentially a legacy of the strategic importance of the area during the Second World War. It is difficult to deduce what the underlying demographic trend was in this period. At the best the influences of war, not the least of which were the creation of the army and air bases and also the renewed value of food production in agriculture, may have caused a temporary revitalisation of the area which might in turn have caused a deceleration in the rate of depopulation of the non-service population. Whilst this is an important feature of the demographic fortunes of this study area, it is important that we should recognise it as a distortion of a longer term trend towards continual population decline.

After the war and following the closure and reduction of bases, there was a clear resumption of the trend towards depopulation in the census statistics. Furthermore, after 1951 the rates of population decline were much higher, culminating in a loss of 3,581 people between 1961 and 1971, fifteen per cent of the total 1961 population of the area. This confirms the military presence as a short term distortion of long term trends, so that the decline between 1951 and 1971 might be seen as a reversion to 'normal'. As such we should be careful about drawing conclusions from the apparent increase in the rate of depopulation after 1951.

The pattern of population change in South Nottinghamshire is very different to that of North Norfolk. The contrast is highlighted by considering change over this century. In 1901 the population of the two areas was roughly the same (North Norfolk 22,056 and South Nottinghamshire 21,789). By the 1971 census North Norfolk had experienced a net loss of nearly two and a half thousand people.

In the same seventy year period South Nottinghamshire almost trebled the size of its resident population, with a total enumerated population in 1971 of 57,308 people. South Nottinghamshire experienced only one period of net population decline. In the 1911 to 1921 inter-censal period the whole area showed a net loss of 164 people. As even this represents a total decline of only 0.7 per cent of the 1911 population, this cannot be seen as a significant trend towards depopulation. Nonetheless, this change is important as it interrupts an otherwise continuous pattern of growth in the area. The change probably represents a stabilisation of the population during and immediately following the First World War.

The subsequent growth of population in South Nottinghamshire is largely a product of two periods of development. The first, in the years preceding the Second World War, is reflected in the inter-censal growth of over 8,000 people between 1931 and 1951. Forty-one of the enumeration districts in the area increased their population in this period. The pattern of growth, however, was more highly localised than this might suggest. Movement of service personnel at the air bases of Newton, Syerstone (for Flintham), Langar, accounted for a net increase of nearly two and a half thousand people. Other major foci were Tollerton with an increase of 766 people, Radcliffe on Trent with 938 increase, East Leake with 955, and Ruddington with a total population gain of 1,466 people. The second major period of growth was in the 'sixties and early 'seventies. This is represented in an inter-censal increase between 1961 and 1971 of over eighteen thousand people. The location of this growth was again highly concentrated. During this period, in fact, twenty-three of the enumeration districts of the area registered net decreases in population (although this was a reduction from the thirty-one districts which lost population in the previous inter-censal period, 1951 to 1961). Major centres of growth were Radcliffe on Trent with an increase of 1,234, Ruddington (1,680), East Leake (1,864), Bingham (2,596), Keyworth (3,102) and Cotgrave (4,422). This degree of concentration is largely a product of the policy of the County Planning Department of focussing major residential development on these six selected villages<sup>6</sup>. Despite the fact that all were large communities in 1961, these decennial growth rates represent major expansion of each of the communities, with net increases of 19.1%, 32.6%, 68.7%, 105.7%, 117.0%, and 689.9% respectively. The exceptional increase at Cotgrave is accounted for by the development of a major mine by the National Coal Board

together with residential estates for the miners. There has also been substantial private development at Cotgrave<sup>7</sup>. The influence of very high growth rates on the communities of selected villages will be discussed in Chapter Twelve.

#### 8.4 Population Change: the villages

The previous section has shown the overall demographic fortunes of the two case study areas in this century. North Norfolk emerges as an area where there is a persistent trend towards population decline. South Nottinghamshire in contrast, experienced a steady growth of population with a brief period of stabilisation during the 1911 to 1921 inter-censal period, and with two peaks of growth, during the years that immediately preceded the Second World War, and during the 'sixties and early 'seventies. These general patterns of population change are made up of the individual experiences of the numerous settlements in the two areas. It remains to examine, briefly, how well the patterns in the areas as a whole, fit the situations in the individual communities.

There are sixty-two distinct settlements in South Nottinghamshire and a further sixty-two in North Norfolk. Clearly it is not practicable to examine the pattern of population change in the twentieth century in detail in all the settlements. We can examine the individual fortunes of settlements in a simple fashion by recording the number of inter-censal periods in which the individual civil parishes experienced a net loss of population. Table 8.4 summarises this information.

Table 8.4 shows that in North Norfolk the general pattern of population decline is fairly closely reflected in the individual civil parishes. Nonetheless, nearly a quarter of the civil parishes have experienced net population decline in only three or less of the six inter-censal periods. This indicates that in a substantial number of the settlements of the area the pattern of depopulation is not as persistent as that for the case study area as a whole. However, there seems to be a trend for the individual population patterns of separate settlements to move closer to the general pattern for the study area. This is shown clearly in Table 8.5. The decennial patterns for 1951 to 1961 and 1961 to 1971 show fewer enumeration districts recording net gains in population than in any of the previous twentieth century inter-censal periods. In the first complete decennial period following the Second World War there were only six enumeration districts indicating population increases: Fakenham (a net increase of 820 people), Little Walsingham (130) Fulmodeston (85), Tattersets (222), Pudding Norton (221), and Sculthorpe (198). The increases in the last three civil parishes were at least partly a result of the movement of service personnel and their families in the area. In the most recent inter-censal period there were again only six districts recording a net gain in population. These were Fakenham (714), Hempton (41), Helhoughton (18), Stibbard (6), Langham (4), and Tattersets (614). Once again the increase at Tattersets was largely accounted for by service personnel and their families associated with the RAF base at West Raynham.

Table 8.5 gives further evidence of the post-war deterioration of the population fortunes of individual settlements. We can distinguish between those civil parishes in which the population loss

is slight and others in which the net loss is more pronounced, by measuring the percentage change. In this case we are using the ten per cent figure as the appropriate threshold. This division is shown in Table 8.5. From this we can see that since 1951 there has been a decennial trend towards individual enumeration districts recording more extreme depopulation than was the situation before that date. This trend is more exaggerated in the 1951 to 1961 statistics than in those for the most recent inter-censal period. This may reflect a marginal improvement in the demographic fortunes of some settlements. To put this in perspective, however, even if this were the case it represents a trend towards a more moderate depopulation rate in the survey area and not towards population increases. This point is emphasised by Figures 8.4 and 8.5.

In South Nottinghamshire most of the enumeration districts follow the general pattern of growth for the survey area as a whole. This is illustrated in Figure 8.6. Of more note, however, are the twenty-one enumeration districts which record a net decrease in population over the period of 1901 to 1971. This would seem to be a very large number of depopulating civil parishes for an area in which the total population has increased by nearly three-fold over the same period. We have already seen that the South Nottinghamshire survey area has shown a steady increase in population over this century with the single exception of the small enumerated decline in the 1911 to 1921 inter-censal period (see Figure 8.3). Few of the individual civil parishes follow this pattern. Table 8.4 shows that forty-six of the fifty-eight districts have recorded net depopulation decline in more than one of the inter-censal periods. Furthermore, well over half of the districts (thirty-seven) have recorded net depopulation in three or more of the six inter-censal periods of the twentieth century.

The twenty-one districts which record a net decline in their population over the course of this century range in size from Widmerpool, with a population of 370 in 1971, to Wiverton Hall, with only twenty-three people. Of these civil parishes fourteen show persistent depopulation over this century. The remaining seven districts all record a reversal of the trend towards decline, in the last inter-censal period, 1961 to 1971. The recent population growth in these seven civil parishes follows an interesting pattern. We shall see later the strong association between recent population growth and the choice of selected development villages in South Nottinghamshire. Yet none of these seven villages were chosen for planned growth by the county planning authority. In each case the recent reversal of their population trends was brought about by 'piecemeal' private housing development within the villages. The provision of mains drainage, in Willoughby on the Wolds, for example, was the only contribution to the development of these villages that was made by the local authority. Otherwise both capital investment and residential development, were largely restricted in these settlements by their classification<sup>8</sup>, by the planning authorities, as 'Group One' villages:

"Villages being entirely within the Green Belt, where new development or re-development will be allowed only in very exceptional circumstances",

or as 'Group Five' villages:

"Settlements beyond the Green Belt likely to maintain their present population, to show only slight growth or growth to the limits of existing approvals".

In addition, two of the villages were classed as 'Special Amenity' villages, in which "very strict control of all new development" was to be enforced. In simple terms these villages were either restricted

development centres or conservation villages. Consequently, their growth in the 'sixties was achieved without the direct encouragement of the local authorities. The scale of the growth in many of these villages was outside the policy guidelines established in the planning classification (as quoted above). The growth of these villages was therefore largely due to the inability of the local planning authority, at the time, to regulate the surge of development in these settlements.

Most of the settlements in the enumeration districts which have shown persistent decline over this century, have experienced quite considerable depopulation. Eleven of these districts show losses of over twenty per cent of their 1901 population. Only one, however, has lost more than half of its base population. This is the small hamlet of Saxondale which has decline from ninety people in 1901 to forty-two in 1971 (64.4% loss). Population decline in the twenty-one civil parishes showing depopulation over the century does not give a correlation to population size. However, in the fourteen districts with persistent depopulation there is a significant negative correlation to size (Spearman's Coefficient = 0.49, which is significant at the 95% confidence level). In simple terms, there is a significant tendency in the fourteen districts for the highest rates of depopulation to be experienced by those with the smallest population.

The severity of population decline in the depopulating enumeration districts of North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire is remarkably similar. In the Norfolk case study the mean decline between 1901 and 1971 of those civil parishes recording a net decrease, is 35.0 per cent. In South Nottinghamshire it is only

a little smaller with a mean of 27.0 per cent. Studies by Jackson<sup>9</sup> in the North Cotswolds, and Dunn in Herefordshire<sup>10</sup> have indicated that settlements on the fringe of 'growth' rural areas may experience rates of depopulation as severe as those expected of the remoter rural areas. The results of the comparison between Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire bears out this observation.

The pattern of growth in the thirty-five enumeration districts of South Nottinghamshire which record a net increase in population over this century, exhibits a far greater range of population change than in the twenty-one depopulated districts. Only six of the 'growth' districts show a minor change over the course of the century (i.e. below ten per cent). A further thirteen districts record net changes of between ten and one hundred per cent. The major feature of demographic growth in the area are the sixteen civil parishes which have more than doubled their populations over the course of the twentieth century. Many of these sixteen districts are small or medium villages. The village of Aslockton has expanded from a population of 372 in 1901 to 1,011 in 1971. Part of this increase may be accounted for by the establishment of an 'institutional' population at a new detention centre built on the fringe of the village in the 'sixties. Most of the increase, however, is related to private residential development within the settlement. Another example is Bunny, a village of 205 people in 1901 which had expanded to 600 by 1971. The village has experienced substantial private residential development in both the inter-war and post war periods.

The largest enumeration districts of the 1901 census tend to be those which have experienced the largest growth, both numerically and proportionately, in the 1901 to 1971 period. There were eight

districts with enumerated populations of over 500 people in South Nottinghamshire in 1901. By 1971 six of these had more than doubled their populations. Five of these by having net increases of over two hundred per cent (Bingham - 215.0%, Radcliffe on Trent - 266.2%, East Leake - 438.8%, Keyworth - 629.3%, Cotgrave - 617.3%). In perspective, there were only four other districts in the study area whose 1901 to 1971 increases were on this scale (Shelford - 279.0%, Stanton on the Wolds - 294.9%, Normanton on the Wolds - 801.9%, and Tollerton - 978.2%). None of these last districts had large populations at the beginning of the century, their respective enumerated populations in 1901 being 386, 98, 209, and 156. Of these civil parishes the net increase at Shelford has been largely associated with the establishment of RAF Newton within the boundaries of that enumeration district. In all the remaining districts the increases have been a product of residential development.

There is a strong positive correlation between the population size of individual enumeration districts in 1901 and the magnitude of the proportional increase in population between 1901 and 1971. The Spearman's rank correlation coefficient gives a positive index of 0.70 for this association (this is significant at the ninety-nine per cent confidence interval). To this we can add the evidence that there was a significant negative correlation between 1901 population size and the magnitude of proportional decreases in those South Nottinghamshire districts with persistent depopulation between 1901 and 1971. This strongly suggests that there may be a broader relationship between population size and population change over this period. The rank correlation coefficient measures this relationship as a positive correlation of 0.42 (which is significant at the ninety-nine per cent level). The demographic fortunes of civil

parishes in South Nottinghamshire are strongly related to the population size of individual enumeration districts.

In North Norfolk the same correlation coefficient is +0.14, which is not significant and suggests that there is no association between settlement size and population change in the study area. We have already seen that the demography of the North Norfolk study area has been profoundly influenced by movement of military and associated personnel both in and out of the area. Whilst this has a wide impact in the area, the influence of service personnel has been particularly focussed on the enumeration districts of West Raynham, Sculthorpe, Tattersets, and Pudding Norton. In 1901 the population of these districts was fairly small. Consequently the concentration of large numbers of service personnel in these districts has had a distorting effect on the relationship between civil parish size and population change. Eliminating these four enumeration districts from the correlation analysis gives an adjusted rank correlation coefficient of +0.44 (significant at the ninety-nine per cent confidence interval). This indicates a significant association between civil parish size and population change over the course of the twentieth century in both of the study areas.

This analysis reflects the findings of other research related to rural population change. Johnston<sup>11</sup> found that population change in Nidderdale was related to the settlement pattern and to suburbanisation, with a positive correlation of 0.65 between population change and village size. In addition Edwards<sup>12</sup> reached similar conclusions on the influence of settlement size.

There is some evidence that the association between civil parish size and population change is altering. For the 1961 to 1971 inter-censal period the correlation coefficient for South Nottinghamshire was +0.75, whilst the adjusted (excluding the four 'RAF' civil parishes) coefficient for North Norfolk was +0.16. In South Nottinghamshire the association seems to be intensified, and this is interpreted as a reflection of the impact of selected village development policies, which has focussed considerable population increases on the large, 'key' villages. In North Norfolk there has been a reversed trend so that in the most recent inter-censal period there was not a significant relationship between civil parish size and population change. This may be a result of essentially short term changes in the demographic pattern of the area. Alternatively, this reversal may indicate that in this period of extensive and pronounced population decline in the area, factors other than settlement size are becoming more important in determining population changes. One important factor may be second home ownership in the villages.

This has been a long and involved analysis of population change in the individual villages of the two study areas. The use of enumeration district census data has limited the application of the analysis but it is unlikely that the alternative technique of using the electoral register to assess population change, as illustrated by Dickinson<sup>13</sup>, would have been as convenient or effective for this study. The census analysis has focussed on the demographic pattern in the case study areas and on changes in that pattern. We have not discussed the underlying causes of such changes, these having been discussed at length in the wide literature on rural depopulation and, more recently, on metropolitan growth in rural areas.

A select bibliography which includes some of this literature is presented at the end of this thesis. One point that emerges from the foregoing analysis needs to be highlighted within the context of the earlier discussion of 'growth' and 'remoter' rural areas. It is clear that North Norfolk is an area of persistent population decline. Yet despite this propensity a wide variety of the census enumeration districts in the study area have, at some time in the course of this century, experienced net population increases. Furthermore, seven of the forty census districts have shown a net population increase from 1901 to 1971.

Given mobility of population we need not expect all of the settlements in an area to show similar trends all the time. In North Norfolk there is, indeed, some diversity in the demographic fortunes of settlements, although the general trend is definitely towards steady depopulation. The same diversity can be seen in the growth area of South Nottinghamshire. Few of the enumeration districts in this study area have not experienced population decline at some time in the twentieth century. No less than twenty-one enumeration districts, covering about one in three of the settlements in the area, have shown net depopulation in this period. Further evidence for this diversity in demographic fortunes in the individual settlements is provided in the surge of rural development experienced in South Nottinghamshire, in the sixties and early seventies. Between 1961 and 1971 the population of the study area increased by over eighteen thousand people, a factor of nearly fifty per cent (46.4%). Yet during this period twenty-four of the enumeration districts in the area recorded a net decrease in population.

This diversity is an integral element of the rural demography of the study areas. It is in part a reflection of the individuality of settlements and the variations in physical, social and economic circumstances in the study areas. In part it is a product of the factors that generate population changes, for these may exert a broad influence throughout rural areas (the decline in primary employment for example), or may be highly localised (such as the establishment of RAF bases, or those of the other armed services). It is as well to bear this diversity in mind when using the terms 'growth' or 'remoter' rural areas.

#### 8.5 Population change: the spatial pattern, 1951 to 1971

Demographic changes in the two case study areas in the last inter-censal period exhibit some interesting spatial patterns.

Figures 8.6 and 8.7 show the pattern of population growth and decline in the civil parishes of South Nottinghamshire. Both of these diagrams show that there is a broad geographical division between those civil parishes which have gained population and those which have declined, which corresponds to the Fosse Way, the line of the old Roman road being clearly shown in the parish boundaries in the centre of the study area. There is no suggestion that this boundary has any real significance to the demographic trends of the area, but it does serve as a convenient division between the eastern and western parts of the study area. To the east of the Fosse Way there are twenty-four civil parishes of which only eight have shown population increases over the period 1961 to 1971. Of these eight, Bingham is a major growth village and three others (Aslockton, Kinoulton and Whatton) are classified as minor

growth villages. The general pattern for the civil parishes east of the Fosse Way seems to be population decline. This may partly be a result of the greater distances between these parishes and the main centres of employment (notably Greater Nottingham). More directly one of the obvious reasons why few of the villages in this area have increased their population is because very little or no residential development has occurred in most of them, the exceptions which prove the rule being the eight civil parishes which have recorded net population gains, because all but one of these has experienced significant development over the last inter-censal period. This low degree of residential development is partly a product of limited demand, but is also a result of the established planning policy of severely restricting development in small settlements, most of the villages in the area being small in size as compared to the generally larger settlements in the west.

To the west of the Fosse Way the pattern is rather different. In this half of the study area there are thirty-four civil parishes of which only eight have recorded population declines over the inter-censal period. Decline in these settlements also seems to be directly related to planning policies for village development in South Nottinghamshire. In three of the civil parishes the residual population is very small indeed (Kneeton 65, Thorpe 42 and Saxondale 42). In these parishes, whilst the planning policy does not seek actively to 'phase out' these settlements, there is a very strict restriction on all new residential development. In one of the other two civil parishes, Stanford on Soar, further development is effectively ruled out by the planning committee, through the physical limitations of the washlands of the River Soar.

Of the four other civil parishes west of the Fosse Way which have recently lost population, one, Kingston, is particularly notable. This is a conservation village as defined by the local planning authority, but development is also severely restricted by the fact that much of the undeveloped land both within and peripheral to the village is owned by a local estate. As in many other estate-held areas this has clearly tended to restrict flexibility in marketing potential residential land.

It would, therefore, seem that the spatial pattern of demographic change between 1961 and 1971 is strongly related to development restrictions in local planning policies. This in turn, however, is partly a product of the geographical pattern of settlement sizes in South Nottinghamshire, which indicates a far higher proportion of small villages and hamlets in the east of the area than in the west.

Figures 8.6 and 8.7 also show the relative intensity of population growth and decline in the South Nottinghamshire case study area. In Figure 8.6 the only clear observation is that civil parishes with growth villages experience very high rates of population growth. This is not a perfect association because the civil parish for Cropwell Bishop, designated as a major growth village, actually recorded a slight decline over the period. This was due partly to the late designation of the settlement (it was re-classified as a major growth village in 1966), but more specifically to technical and administrative delays relating to the construction of a very large speculative estate in the centre of the village. The estate was not completed until after the 1971 census. With the single exception of the village of Radcliffe on Trent, all the other growth villages

record inter-censal growth rates in excess of twenty per cent. Furthermore, of only nine enumeration districts with growth rates of over forty per cent, six are selected villages and of the other three, two are minor growth villages. This indicates that in the study area the highest rates of population growth are strongly related to development control policies operating in the area.

Another notable observation from Figure 8.6 is that none of the civil parishes immediately adjacent to Greater Nottingham has a recorded population increase of over forty per cent. This is a product of the Green Belt policy enforced in this part of the study area. The pattern of development in the area as a whole, as illustrated by population changes, shows that development pressure has tended to leap-frog over the Green Belt. More recently there have been direct demands for developing parts of the Green Belt, notably at Ruddington, but it is unlikely that this represents a major change in the pattern of development in the area.

The intensity of depopulation as shown in Figure 8.7 does not indicate any remarkable patterns. The most intense depopulation is in the civil parishes to the north-east of the area and also in the two small hamlets of Tithby and Wiverton Hall. The village of Colston Bassett is an unusual addition to this group but its demographic fortunes have been influenced by a restricted development attitude on the part of the estate which owns much of the land in the village.

We have seen from Chapter Three that one of the major elements of the concept of selected village development, is that the concentration of development and facilities in a few 'key' settlements will indirectly diminish depopulation in smaller surrounding villages

and hamlets. Figure 8.7 shows little evidence that selected villages in South Nottinghamshire have moderated local depopulation in this fashion. Indeed, four of the seven civil parishes which record population losses of over twenty per cent between 1961 and 1971, are almost immediately adjacent to selected villages.

There is no clear spatial pattern in population growth or decline in the North Norfolk case study area. Both Figures 8.4 and 8.5 show just how extensive the process of depopulation has become. Only six of the civil parishes in the area recorded increases in their resident population between 1961 and 1971. Of these both Helhoughton and Tattersets were the product of the movement of service personnel to RAF bases and married quarters. The location and movement of forces personnel and their families is still an element of critical importance to demographic change in North Norfolk but it remains a process over which the local planning authorities can have little or no direct influence.

Population increases at both Fakenham and Hempton are related to the selection of the former settlement as the major growth centre for this area. We have noted before that Fakenham has been the focus of a great amount of public and private investment as testified by the new industrial estate and a number of new estates of both private and local authority housing. Hempton, the adjacent civil parish, is virtually contiguous with Fakenham and has consequently shared in that settlement's growth (see Appendix 5: Map 2).

The last two settlements which have experienced population increases are in some ways the most interesting. Langham and

Stibbard have, indeed, barely increased their populations, recording inter-censal growth rates of 1.4 and 2.0 per cent respectively. In both settlements this has been the result of a small amount of new housing, which has been permitted by the local planning authority as limited infill development. There has also been a substantial amount of modernisation of village property and this has had a small but important effect on the local population. In some cases the modernisation may take place without the property having changed hands, and in other cases the process may follow as the occupants change from an elderly village couple to a non-local couple. In neither of these situations will the change alter the village population. In other cases unoccupied housing or former single person dwellings are occupied by young families; very often the size of the family itself is a motivation for the modernisation. In these cases the local population is obviously increased. In Langham and Stibbard small scale development of new housing and modernisation of existing property have both been important in increasing the villages' total population. The same process, on a similar scale, has been happening in some of the other villages in the study area, so it seems odd that some of these have not also increased their populations. There is no clear answer to this apparent dilemma. However, both Langham and Stibbard are living examples of how a more flexible policy of development control can assist a community in reversing a process of depopulation.

There are no striking patterns in those civil parishes experiencing growth or decline. Only Fakenham (19.0%) and Tattersets (164.6%) have recorded net increases between 1961 and 1971 of over ten per cent. One notable feature of those districts which are depopulating is that selection as a growth village does not itself

convey an immunity from the process. Both Wells and Briston/Melton Constable are selected villages but both have lost population over the period, although at a much lower rate than for most other settlements (5.9% and 5.3% respectively).

The situation of both of these settlements gives a good indication of the depth of the problem of population decline. There has been considerable housing development in both Briston/Melton Constable and Wells, a direct result of the planning status of the centres, but in both, the trend towards depopulations has not been stemmed. This may partly be because a quite large proportion of the new housing remains unoccupied. In Briston/Melton Constable the depopulation rate has been reduced from 11.9 per cent in the 1951 to 1961 period, to 5.3 per cent in the last inter-censal record. In Wells, however, the degree of depopulation has marginally intensified from 3.9 per cent between 1951 and 1961 to 5.9 per cent in the subsequent ten years. In Wells it is difficult to assess the significance of changes in the local tourist industry, and in the status of the centre as a small coastal resort. The situation in these two selected centres is substantially different from that in Fakenham, the other selected village. The same development control policies have been applied to all three centres by the local planning authority. The difference, however, remains and this must be assumed to be a result of the concentration of investment and capital principally in one of these centres, Fakenham.

There is one notable feature of the spatial pattern of intensity of depopulation in North Norfolk. This is the distinct ring of civil parishes around Fakenham which record the highest rates of depopulation. This may be due partly to chance or it may be

associated with Fakenham's status as the principal growth centre of the area and as a centre of substantial population growth. If this is not a product of coincidence then Fakenham seems to be having a reverse effect on the surrounding villages than is anticipated in the concept of selected village development. We shall see in the subsequent chapter that there is some evidence for considering that Fakenham has expanded at the expense of 'satellite' settlements, notably by drawing in local residents to the large local authority housing sector in Fakenham. It is worthwhile comparing this observation to the situation in South Nottinghamshire where four of the seven civil parishes experiencing the highest rates of depopulation are located adjacent, or nearly adjacent to selected villages. More studies are needed to see if this is only a local process or whether it is part of a more general observation on the development of selected villages. We should note, however, that this is not the case for all the selected villages in the study areas. In North Norfolk the selected centre which combines the villages of Briston and Melton Constable is surrounded by a number of civil parishes which have experienced fairly low rates of depopulation. Once again, however, it is difficult to assess whether this is chance or the result of selected village status or perhaps of some other factor.

#### 8.6 The concentration of population increases

Earlier in this chapter we discussed the spatial concentration of population in the two study areas. There we were concerned only with the concentration of the total resident population, the results being summarised in Table 8.2. A fundamental aspect in the demography

of the two areas has been the location of population increases. As long ago as 1950 G. Duncan Mitchell<sup>14</sup> predicted that increasing concentration of the rural population would become a widespread phenomenon in England. He also warned of the social dangers to rural communities of too rapid concentration. The degree of concentration assumes a particular significance to this study because the concept of selected village development, as it has been developed by many planning authorities, seeks to bring about a reorganisation of the rural settlement pattern by concentrating growth on a few selected centres. It is important, therefore, to examine to what extent the total inter-censal increase in population in the civil parishes of the case study areas has been focussed in a few parishes.

Duncan Mitchell's statement should not be misunderstood as implying that concentration of population increases is essentially a recent feature of rural population movements. Certainly before 1950 there were factors other than development control and selected village development which brought about a degree of concentration. The development of housing estates was an important factor, and was a function then, as now, of building economies and, to a more limited extent, of advances in construction technology. Many of these rural estates, being built on the urban fringes, have subsequently become incorporated in the urban margins. Others remain in their rural environment. Tollerton in South Nottinghamshire is a good example of a large 'extra urban' estate. The influence of fashion, the popularity of individual settlements at a given point in time, would also have been important as an agency of population concentration. The block release of development land, as whole fields were marketed, would have had a similar effect. In addition, one

cannot ignore the influence of movements of armed forces personnel whose impact on population statistics then, as now, was very localised. Nonetheless, there were also factors working against population concentration in rural areas. One of the common legacies of this in the contemporary village-scapes of both North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire is found in the provision of inter-war local authority housing. The demand for public housing was probably more dispersed in this period, and without effective planning regulations (and the local government financial yardstick to local authority housing development) council housing become relatively dispersed. In North Norfolk it is a recurrent feature of village morphology that a small inter-war council housing estate is located on the fringe of most villages. This morphological feature can also be seen in South Nottinghamshire, although it is not as widespread. Clearly this process would have worked against increased population concentration.

There is a need for a quantitative comparison of the extent of concentration of population increases over the course of the twentieth century. This can be most simply done by representing the increase in population in a few specific centres as a rate of percentage of the total increase. However, this technique creates a number of methodological problems. First, how should one choose those civil parishes in which there is a high degree of population concentration? In this situation an absolute threshold, for example of an increase of 1,000 people in a given inter-censal period, would be quite meaningless in taking account of variations over a seventy year period. There are other possibilities such as a variable threshold, but the one that has been considered most satisfactory was using a simple percentage definition. In fact, it was

decided to use two categories of settlement: major growth settlements in which the inter-censal increase was over five per cent of the total increase in the area, and minor growth villages with a threshold of two per cent. These percentages were chosen on the basis of examining contemporary growth villages.

The second methodological problem was the basis of the total population increase for the areas. The simple choice for this was the net increase of the inter-censal period, but this was unworkable in North Norfolk where the trend has been for net depopulation. Consequently, it was necessary to take the gross population increase, i.e. the sum of the increases in population in those enumeration districts recording absolute increases. This gave us a very simple basis for comparing the degree of concentration of population increases in the six inter-censal periods of this century. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 8.6.

In North Norfolk the degree of concentration has been consistently high throughout this century, reaching a peak of 100 per cent in 1911 to 1921 and again in 1951 to 1961. The number of major growth centres has varied little between the inter-censal periods with the notable exception of the last, 1961 to 1971, in which there were only two such centres identified by this analysis.

Over the course of the century there has also been a wide distribution of major and minor growth centres in North Norfolk. In all some twenty-six of the forty civil parishes in the study area have at one time or another been identified as growth centres, but

only ten of these have been so classified in more than one inter-censal period. It is these ten centres which are considered to be the principal growth centres of North Norfolk in the twentieth century. The pattern of growth centres in North Norfolk is strongly related to the movement of armed forces personnel to the area, with six of the ten principal growth centres being so created. Of the other four principal centres only Fakenham and Hempton, which as the appropriate map (Number Two) in Appendix Five shows are almost contiguous settlements, record persistently high rates of population increase.

Although the rates of concentration shown in Table 8.6 seem to have varied little during the twentieth century, there has been a notable change in the pattern of population concentration in the last two inter-censal periods. Broadly, fewer centres are accounting for much higher proportions of the gross increase in population. In 1951 to 1961 there were six major growth centres and these together accounted for all of the gross population increase in the study area. This process seems to have been accelerated in the following inter-censal period, 1961 to 1971, since only two centres, Fakenham and Tattersets, together accounted for 95.1 per cent of the gross increase. The overall rate of concentration is remaining roughly the same, but the trend seems to be for this to be maintained by fewer growth centres. Consequently, in locational terms population growth in North Norfolk is becoming more concentrated.

This process is partly the result of more extensive depopulation outside the growth centres but it is difficult to determine whether this is the cause or an effect of the trend towards fewer growth centres. The rural settlement planning policy has had an important

effect in the case of Fakenham. This policy has encouraged both capital investment and physical development at this small market town, and has resulted in growth at that centre which has been quite out of scale with the demographic patterns and processes in the area as a whole. This one-centre has accounted for over half of the gross population increase in the study area (51.1%).

The other major component of population concentration between 1961 and 1971 was the 'armed forces' civil parish of Tattersets. We have already seen that in the past the movement of service and related personnel and their families to North Norfolk has been an important aspect of population concentration. This reached a peak between 1931 and 1951 when, through the impact of the Second World War, population increases in all of the growth centres were either largely or totally the result of armed forces movements. Since the Second World War there has been a concentration and rationalisation of service bases and married quarters in North Norfolk, as in many other parts of the country. Consequently, in 1951 to 1961 only three of the six growth centres were affected substantially by net in-migration of service personnel and their families, and in the following inter-censal period this number fell to two. It is notable that the high rate of concentration at Tattersets between 1961 and 1971 (44.0% of the gross increase of the study area) is a direct result of the rationalisation of RAF facilities in Norfolk.

The pattern of concentration of population increases in the civil parishes of South Nottinghamshire is only slightly less than in North Norfolk. The peaks of concentration, as measured by this analysis were in 1911 to 1921 and 1951 to 1961, as in North Norfolk, with 90.8 and 92.6 per cent respectively. Whilst there

has been a progressive increase in the concentration rate since 1921 to 1931 up to 1951 to 1961, with the rate stabilising in the most recent inter-censal period, we can see that the concentration of population growth in South Nottinghamshire was as much a feature of the 'pre-planned' period as it has been of the last two inter-censal periods when development control has sought to concentrate population increases on the selected villages. As we have already seen, this is also a feature of population growth in the civil parishes of North Norfolk.

As with North Norfolk the number of growth centres has varied little over the course of the century. However, the distribution of these centres in South Nottinghamshire has been less wide than was the case in the other study area. In South Nottinghamshire twenty-six of the fifty-eight parishes have been identified as centres of growth in one or more inter-censal periods. The pattern in North Norfolk was for the growth centres identified in one inter-censal period to be largely different from those in the following period. Whilst this is partly true in South Nottinghamshire there is also evidence to suggest that there is more continuity between growth centres and particularly the major growth centres. In North Norfolk only five centres were identified as growth centres in three inter-censal periods and none in more than three. In contrast the analysis for South Nottinghamshire shows that eight civil parishes are growth centres in three or more inter-censal periods and four are so identified in five periods, with two (Ruddington and Radcliffe on Trent) in all six inter-censal periods.

Most of the major growth centres identified in the 1961 to 1971 period have a long history of population concentration. Only Cotgrave does not act as a growth centre in three or more inter-censal periods. More remarkably, four of the most recent major growth centres (East Leake, Ruddington, Bingham and Radcliffe) are also the major growth centres in the 1901 to 1911 period. This continuity of major growth centres is certainly related to the selection of growth villages by the local planning authorities in the planned period, the two most recent inter-censal periods. But, as with the influence of more extensive depopulation in North Norfolk, it is difficult to determine whether this is the cause, or an effect of the continuity.

The tradition of growth would not have been a direct influence on the selection of the more recent growth villages. However, there may have been an indirect effect. In Chapter Six we found that the critical factors in the selection process were: the provision of educational facilities, the provision of public utilities, land availability, and freedom from physical constraints to development. Obviously the last three of these factors were important to the developer in the pre-planned period. To some extent they were implemented by building regulations but more significantly by common sense building economics. Then, as now, it was preferable to develop in large residential units, i.e. estates, and it was clearly more sensible to develop on a site which was accessible by, or near to, existing public utilities (thereby reducing cost overheads). This at least partly accounts for why certain centres are repeatedly identified as growth centres in this analysis. Once basic facilities were established at a location then it tended to induce a development spiral, which could continue as long as land free from constraints to development was available at that centre. Consequently, the

introduction of 'designated' growth villages in the planned period has only tended to re-inforce the earlier spatial pattern of concentrating population growth.

This continuity of the major growth centres explains an important feature of the distribution of population in South Nottinghamshire. Figure 82 shows the concentration of population in six principal centres: East Leake, Ruddington, Keyworth, Cotgrave, Radcliffe, and Bingham. With the single exception of the mining centre of Cotgrave, these concentrations are the effect of this continuity of major growth centres. It also explains why there are so many very large centres in the area, whose social, economic and physical characters are those of large villages, whilst their population sizes are approaching the urban scale. It is important to add that experience in other 'pressure' areas indicates that continuity of growth status on the scale that it has been experienced in South Nottinghamshire may not be a common feature of other rural areas in England.

The analysis of the concentration of population increases in the civil parishes of North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire indicates that the planning policy of selected village development has not introduced a new element of population concentration in the demography of the two areas. In both study areas the concentration of growth seems to be a long standing phenomenon. What planning policies have changed is the scale of concentration. In North Norfolk the overall rate of concentration remains the same, but this is being maintained by fewer growth centres. In South Nottinghamshire the number of growth centres has remained fairly

constant and the rate of concentration, as measured in the analysis, has risen only slightly in the planned period. However, these growth centres are maintaining this rate despite a dramatic increase in the population of the area (see Table 8.6). Consequently, whilst the rate of concentration has not changed greatly in either of the study areas, the actual scale of population concentration has increased markedly. In South Nottinghamshire this is largely the result of the selected village development concept, whilst in North Norfolk this planning policy together with the effects of rationalising RAF bases and facilities, are crucial factors.

### 8.7 Population and residential development

In many areas of demographic study there is an important difference between the interests of the geographer and those of the professional planner. The geographer's interest focus on the spatial aspects of demographic studies, specifically within a more academic context. In contrast, the planner's interest is in development, and his perspective must be essentially practical. Furthermore, in such studies the geographer is concerned principally with population, whilst the planner must be more interested in buildings. These interests, particularly in the area of residential development, are rarely clear cut and are generally overlapping, but there is an important difference to be recognised. This is of considerable importance when considering rural growth. Without any additional specification this will be interpreted as population growth to the social scientists, whilst to the planner it will imply development, usually residential development. The conflict is, therefore, between people, and homes, and it is very important when considering rural growth to see there is a real distinction between these aspects; an

increase in the number of houses in a given settlement does not necessarily mean an increase in the resident population.

In a hypothetical rural population system where there is no change in the number of dwellings in the system, where all dwellings remain occupied, and where there is free movement of occupants between houses, it is still possible for the total population of that system to decline. The most obvious factor in this would be changes in the size of households brought about by more dwellings being occupied by couples without children or by single persons. This is a characteristic feature of rural settlements in which the age character of the community becomes increasingly elderly. There are other factors which could cause the total population of this system to decline. If some of the houses were bought as second homes then it is likely that their occupants, through week day absence, would not be included in the census figures for the total population of that system.

It is clear that in the two study areas, many small villages are affected by elements of this model. There is a trend towards the resident population becoming increasingly aged, and whilst second home ownership is not extensive in either of the study areas, it does occur (see, for example, Plate 8.1), particularly in North Norfolk<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, it is possible, and in many villages this is evident, for a settlement to experience depopulation without showing any marked features of physical decay brought about by long unoccupied property. This features obviously has important consequences for the planning of these settlements. To put this in perspective, the research in North Norfolk focussed on individual studies of five rural settlements. Only one of these, Fakenham,



Plate 8.1    Second home ownership in Stiffkey, Norfolk

Whilst second home ownership is extensive in some Norfolk villages, this was not the case in the study villages, although a few examples, such as the cottage shown above, were identified. This plate indicates the modernisation of second homes which was a characteristic feature of the second homes that we did locate.

Plate 8.2    Estate cottages at Sharrington, Norfolk

These are semi-detached, partially modernised properties. Of the four homes shown in this photograph, two were unoccupied at the time of the questionnaire survey in this village.



recorded a net increase in population in the last census (1971), and all of the others were experiencing varying degrees of depopulation. Yet in only one of these depopulating settlements was there any substantial evidence of unoccupied property. This was the village of Sharrington. Here about one in three of the dwellings in the settlement were unoccupied. These properties were all owned by a local estate which reserved the houses for estate workers and their families and otherwise pursued a restrictive letting policy. Consequently, much of the property was not occupied (illustrated in Plate 8.2). This was the only case of real physical decay on this scale. In the other depopulating settlements unoccupied property in the village core was uncommon, although such dwellings were more widespread outside the physical core of the settlements.

One notable feature that emerged from field studies in both study areas, but particularly in North Norfolk, was the propensity for many settlements to record trends of depopulation despite the fact that new housing had been built (see, for example, Plate 8.3), and subsequently occupied, in these centres. The coincidence of the apparently contradictory features of depopulation and residential development in the same settlement can be explained largely by the same processes as examined above: an increasingly elderly resident population resulting in smaller household sizes, and a limited degree of secondhome ownership (in North Norfolk). We have already seen how a small village affected by either or both of these processes is likely to be characterised by population decline. In this situation a limited amount of new residential development might reduce the degree of depopulation but it need not reverse that trend. In practice, the amount of new housing that would reverse the demographic trend could be very small but this is less true in North



Plate 8.3    Recent residential infill in the village of  
Blakeney, Norfolk

These bungalows were built between inter-war bungalow development along the coast road, and form part of quite extensive private housing infilling in this village in the mid and late 'sixties. Nonetheless, although this housing is virtually all occupied, the civil parish lost population between 1961 and 1971 (a net loss of 31 people).

Plate 8.4    Development in Normanton on Soar, Nottinghamshire

These private houses built in the late 'sixties on an orchard and former pastureland on the north bank of the River Soar, are part of more substantial development, mostly by infilling, in this 'non-selected' village during this period.



Norfolk where many of the new houses in such settlements are occupied by retired or 'retiring' couples (as evidenced by the individual village studies).

There are over a hundred restricted development villages and hamlets in the two case study areas, but in only fifteen of these was there no or very little 'recent'<sup>16</sup> development. These were mostly very small villages or hamlets, the notable exception being the village of Holkham in North Norfolk which was an estate village whose owners enforced a strict policy of limited development on the settlement. As would be expected, very limited development was more common in North Norfolk (nine settlements) than in South Nottinghamshire (six settlements). The pattern of development in the other villages was rather different between the two study areas. In Norfolk only six settlements other than the growth centres, had more than ten recent housing units. In contrast, over half of the 'restricted development' villages and hamlets in South Nottinghamshire had over ten new units (see, for example, Plate 8.4). The small amount of development in most settlements is largely a function of the type of development. Most developments are on infill sites within the settlements' existing structure. Estates are an element of new development found only in three of these settlements in North Norfolk and in twelve in South Nottinghamshire.

It is obvious from the field studies that although North Norfolk is experiencing widespread depopulation of its villages, this has not meant that new housing provision has been scarce in the area. Furthermore, this seems to be a continuing phenomenon (see, for example, Plate 8.5). The same seems to be true also of the depopulating settlements in parts of the South Nottinghamshire study area. The

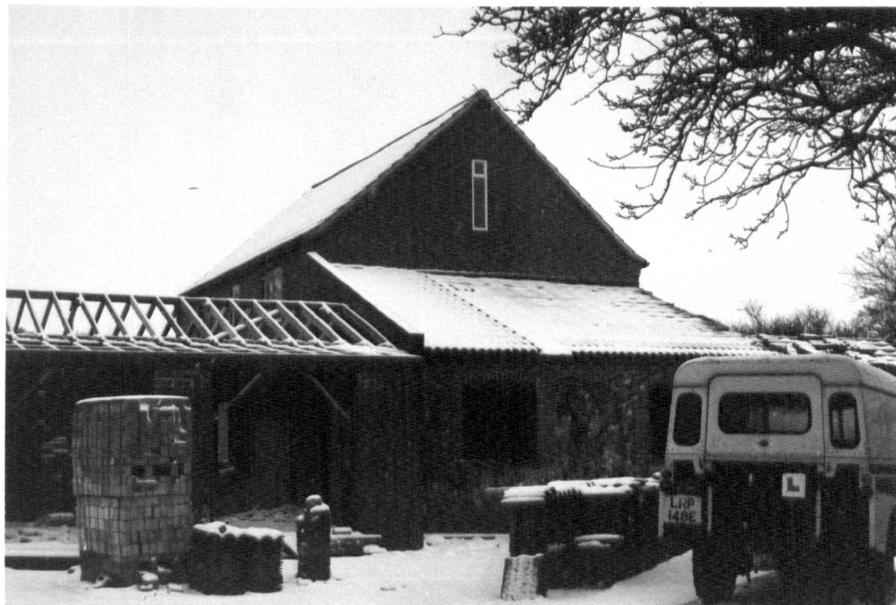


Plate 8.5    New development in Brinton, Norfolk

This small village provides an interesting example of development in this remoter rural area. Although the civil parish of which this settlement forms a part, lost population between 1961 and 1971, there were three new houses constructed and occupied during this period (representing ten percent of the housing stock). This photograph indicates that this process carries on, and that small depopulating non-selected villages are not excepted from development pressure.

Plate 8.6    Georgian cottages in Brinton, Norfolk

This row of cottages in the centre of the village provide a good example of under-utilisation of housing resources in many smaller villages in North Norfolk. At the time of the household survey the three homes shown in the photograph were occupied by one retired couple, and by two retired single person households.



other aspect of this phenomenon is that depopulation in a given civil parish does not necessarily mean immediate physical decay. The example of North Norfolk indicates that depopulation leads to a widespread under-utilisation of housing facilities (an example of this is shown in Plate 8.6) and not to extensive unoccupied property. This is certainly the case now, but one must express concern for the future of these settlements whose residents' age structure (see the following Chapter) is such that in the immediate future many of the houses will become vacant and may subsequently remain unoccupied and thus decay (see Plate 8.7).

The process of development in 'restricted development' villages in North Norfolk gives rise to a planning dilemma. If the policy of selected village development were interpreted strictly, then there would be a theoretical case for refusing planning permission to all non-agricultural residential development in such settlements. Since most of these settlements are losing population now, it is clear that such an interpretation would lead to an intensification of population decline. There is also the fact that such a strict interpretation would not necessarily benefit the selected villages since much of the infilling development in the small villages is 'location tied' housing. Many of the new bungalows and houses are bought by retired or 'retiring' couples, often from outside the county, who wish to live "in a quiet house by the coast" or "in a small village/community" (these motives were mentioned spontaneously time and time again in the interview survey in North Norfolk). It is likely that many of these households would not be prepared to move to a bungalow on an estate in Fakenham or Wells. It would seem from this study that a degree of development in the small villages classified as 'restricted development' is a desirable feature. This



Plate 8.7    A cottage in Stiffkey, Norfolk

Evidence for the future decay of village properties in North Norfolk is illustrated by this cottage in Stiffkey. At the time of the household survey in September, 1975, this house was occupied. It has subsequently become vacant and has apparently been awaiting a new occupier for over two years. This photograph, taken in February, 1979, shows the subsequent decay of the house, which further reduces its marketability and the likelihood of attracting a new occupier. In this way vacant, unmodernised (or partly modernised) property may be permanently lost to the housing stock of the villages.

observation applied as much to South Nottinghamshire as it does to North Norfolk. Indeed, this would need to be an integral element of any development control policy that sought to limit depopulation. This does not imply a policy of free development in rural areas, merely a flexible interpretation of the policy of selected village development.

### 8.8 Summary

The two study areas, South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk are respectively examples of growth and remote rural areas, the growth area being characterised by population increase and the remote area by depopulation. This study shows, however, that there is a considerable degree of overlap between the population trends of the two areas.

The distribution of settlements in both study areas broadly follows a central place structure in respect of settlement sizes. However, there are more large settlements in South Nottinghamshire than in North Norfolk and these centres have greater resident populations (according to the 1971 census) than the comparable centres in North Norfolk. As a result, the degree of concentration of the rural population in these large settlements is much higher in South Nottinghamshire. This has an important bearing on the level of social provision in the study areas, because the larger centres tend to have better facilities than smaller settlements. Consequently, in these two study areas the distribution of population tends to reinforce the rather different levels of social provision, in the areas, that has been brought about by differential access to urban areas.

With the single exception of the 1911 to 1921 inter-censal period South Nottinghamshire has experienced progressive population growth. This contrasts with the situation in the North Norfolk case study area which has experienced a persistent trend in population decline, ameliorated only by the influx of members of the armed forces to the area during the Second World War. In 1901 the total populations of the two areas were very similar, at about 22,000 population. The contrast between the two areas is borne out by the fact that by 1971 the Nottinghamshire study area had increased its total population by over 35,000 people, whilst North Norfolk had recorded a net decline of over 2,000 people.

In North Norfolk the great majority of civil parishes have declined in population over the century, although in some of these settlements the trend has not been as persistent as in the area as a whole. Since the Second World War depopulation has become more extensive in this area, with fewer civil parishes recording inter-censal increases. However, in 1961 to 1971 there was a trend for the rates of depopulation to be slightly more moderate in many of the civil parishes of the area.

In South Nottinghamshire the demographic fortunes of the constituent civil parishes have been more varied, and fewer than a quarter have mirrored the trend of the area by recording continuous or near continuous population increase. In fact, over a third of the civil parishes in South Nottinghamshire have recorded net depopulation over the course of the twentieth century. The rate of population loss in these depopulating parishes is very similar to that in the declining North Norfolk parishes between 1901 and 1971. There is a positive correlation between settlement size and

population trends in South Nottinghamshire, and a similar association can be seen in North Norfolk if allowance is made for the effects of armed forces movements in the area.

The spatial pattern of population change in South Nottinghamshire shows an east-west distinction, with the eastern part of the county, the more remote from Greater Nottingham, recording more depopulation. The highest rates of population growth in South Nottinghamshire are focussed on the selected villages, and therefore seem to be largely influenced by development control policy. This is not so true in North Norfolk where two of the selected centres have lost population between 1961 and 1971, despite considerable residential development at these centres. In some of the selected villages in these two study areas population growth seems to have had an adverse effect on the demography of surrounding villages, which have experienced comparatively high rates of depopulation. This is exactly the opposite effect of that which the concept of selected village development was meant to achieve,

In both of the study areas there has been a highly localised pattern of population increase throughout the six inter-censal periods of this century, with very few centres accounting for a very high proportion of the gross population increase in the areas. The adoption of selected village development policies in the two areas has not introduced a new element of concentration of population growth but has perpetuated a pre-existing process. The location of the principal centres of population growth has varied quite considerably between inter-censal periods in North Norfolk. This is less true in South Nottinghamshire where there is more evidence for continuity of centres, particularly of the major growth centres

which can be seen to have changed little over the last seventy years.

In both of the study areas we can distinguish between residential growth and population growth, and in a number of the smaller settlements we can see that depopulation has been recorded despite a small number of houses having been built in the settlement. This distinction is brought about not by extensive unoccupied property, but principally by changes in the the age structure (bringing about more single and two person households), and to a limited extent also by second home ownership (in North Norfolk only). Consequently, a flexible interpretation of selected village development policies is necessary, so as to allow a limited amount of new housing in 'restricted development' villages, if the rate of depopulation in these settlements is not to be intensified.

In conclusion, selected village development policies can be seen to have had a profound influence on the distribution of population in the two study areas. The planning policies applied to the study areas have generally been very successful in achieving their objective<sup>17</sup> of concentrating residential development on a few selected centres (although paradoxically they have often been less than successful at limiting development in the 'restricted development' settlements). Although population concentration is not a new phenomenon in the study areas, selected village developemnt can be seen to have had a unique contribution to demographic processes, specifically in the scale of population concentration into the selected centres.

FOOTNOTES

1. P.J. Drury and D.B. Wallace, 'Towards a development programme for remote rural areas : A case study of North Norfolk' *Regional Studies*, 5, (1971), pp. 281 - 288.
2. A. Thorburn, *Planning villages*, (1971).
3. HMSO, *Planning bulletin (no 8): Settlement in the Countryside*. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, (1967).
4. F.I. Masser and D.C. Stroud, 'The metropolitan village'. *Town Planning Review*, 36, (1965), pp. 111 - 124.
5. Much of East Anglia and Lincolnshire was particularly important for the location of air bases in the Second World War. The area was favoured physically by gentle topography which offered numerous grass sites for aircraft runways. Grass runways had the advantage early in the war, of being able to be rapidly developed, although later in the 'hostilities' many of these airfields were partly 'metalled'. Additionally the area had the simple strategic advantage of being close to the major bombing targets in Germany. Once again this was of more critical importance early in the war when the existing aircraft had more limited operation ranges.
6. Nottinghamshire County Council with Basford and Bingham Rural Districts Councils, *Plan for rural Nottinghamshire part 4: South Nottinghamshire* (1967).

7. For more information on this major National Coal Board project, the only mine in the case study area, see:

L.M.E. Mason, *Industrial development and the structure of rural communities : A case study of rural industrialisation in a parish in Nottinghamshire, with special reference to the social problems involved.* M.Sc. Thesis. Nottingham University, 1966.

8. Nottinghamshire County Council with Rasford and Bingham Rural Districts, *op cit* (footnote 6), pp. 44 - 45.

9. V.J.Jackson, *Population in the countryside: Growth and stagnation in the Cotswolds* (1968).

10. M.C. Dunn, *Patterns of population movement in Hertfordshire: Implications for rural planning.* Paper presented to the Institute of British Geographers Conference at Birmingham University. 1973.

11. R.J. Johnston, 'Components of rural population change'. *Town Planning Review*, 36, (1965), pp. 279 - 293.

12. J.A. Edwards, *The settlement factor in the rural problems of North East England.* Ph.D. Thesis. University of Newcastle on Tyne (1965).

13. G.C. Dickinson, 'The nature of rural population movements : An analysis of seven Yorkshire parishes based on electoral returns from 1931 to 1954.' *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research* 10, (1958), pp. 95 - 110.

14. G. Duncan Mitchell, 'Depopulation and rural social structure'. *Sociological Review*, 62, (1950), pp. 69 - 85.

15. Conversation with specific villagers such as the vicars and parish councillors, and also conversation during the household interviews, indicated that second home ownership was not extensive in either of the study areas. In South Nottinghamshire only one positive second home was identified. In North Norfolk there were more second homes, but in none of the individual study settlements were there more than four second homes positively identified. This method of assessment is subjective and is certainly subject to bias; however, it does give us a broad insight into the scale of this phenomenon in the study areas.

16. In the field surveys the definition of 'recent housing' was units built in the villages or in the surrounding parish during or after 1960. Assessment was made by field observation and is consequently subject to a degree of error.

17. This is, of course, not the only objective of selected village development policies. Another principal motivation behind the philosophy of selected village development, such as it is, is that the selected villages should act as centres of social and economic provision intermediate between smaller villages and the towns, so as to enhance the distribution of facilities in rural areas. We have already commented in Chapter Seven that a general lack of consideration over the locational strategy of selected village development policies, acts as a constraint on the achievement of this objective. The subsequent discussion in Chapter Ten to Twelve will suggest that in some respects selected village development is less successful in fulfilling socio-economic objectives, particularly in the pressure areas.

Table 8.1 The settlement size range within the case study areas<sup>1</sup>

SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE				NORTH NORFOLK			
Population categories	Number of settlements in these categories	No. of settlements as a % of all settlements in study area	Cumulative percentage	Population categories	Number of settlements in these categories	No. of settlements as a % of all settlements in study area	Cumulative percentage
0 - 99	14	24.2	24.2	0 - 99	2	5.0	5.0
100 - 499	24	41.4	65.6	100 - 499	29	72.5	77.5
500 - 999	7	12.1	77.7	500 - 999	6	15.0	92.5
1000 - 1999	7	12.1	89.8	1000 - 1999	1	2.5	95.0
2000 - 2999	0	0	89.8	2000 - 2999	1	2.5	97.5
3000 - 3999	0	0	89.8	3000 - 3999	0	0	97.5
4000 - 4999	1	1.7	91.5	4000 - 4999	1	2.5	100.0
5000 - 5999	3	5.2	96.7	5000 - 5999	0	0	-
6000 - 6999	1	1.7	98.4	6000 - 6999	0	0	-
7000 +	1	1.7	100.0	7000 +	0	0	-
TOTAL	58	100.0		TOTAL	40	100.0	

1. The data relates to civil parish units and not to individual settlements. This is an important difference, particularly in Norfolk where several of the smallest settlements are amalgamated to form individual civil parishes.

Data Source : Census, 1971.

Table 8.2 Concentration of population in the largest settlements of the case study areas

NORTH NORFOLK						SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE					
Census	A	B	$\left(\frac{B}{A}\right) \times 100$ %	Index <sup>2</sup>	Census	A	B	$\left(\frac{B}{A}\right) \times 100$ %	Index <sup>2</sup>		
	Total population of study area	population in upper decile of settlement range 1				Total population of study area	population in upper decile of settlement range 1				
1971	19,800	8,936	45.1	125.6	1971	57,308	35,150	61.3	147.0		
1961	23,381	10,683	45.7	126.9	1961	39,115	21,085	53.8	129.0		
1951	25,485	9,958	39.1	108.6	1951	33,122	15,567	47.0	112.7		
1931	20,624	7,698	37.3	103.6	1931	24,995	11,738	47.0	112.7		
1921	21,239	8,149	38.4	106.7	1921	23,286	10,365	44.5	106.7		
1911	22,201	8,453	38.1	105.8	1911	23,450	10,221	43.6	104.6		
1901	22,056	7,935	36.0	100	1901	21,789	9,090	41.7	100		

1. See section 8.2 in the preceding chapter.

2. For an explanation of the statistical basis of this index see the appropriate discussion in section 8.2 of the preceding chapter.

Table 8.3 Population changes in the case study areas, 1901-1971

NORTH NORFOLK			
Census	Total population of the study area	Inter-censal change	% change <sup>1</sup>
1971	19,800	-3,581	-15.6
1961	23,381	-2,104	-8.3
1951	25,485	+4,861	+23.6
1931	20,624	-615	-2.9
1921	21,239	-962	-4.3
1911	22,201	+145	+0.7
1901	22,056	-	-

SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE			
Census	Total population of the study area	Inter-censal change	% change <sup>1</sup>
1971	57,308	+18,193	+46.5
1961	39,115	+6,003	+18.1
1951	33,112	+8,117	+32.5
1931	24,995	+1,709	+7.3
1921	23,386	-164	-0.7
1911	23,450	+1,661	+7.6
1901	21,789	-	-

1. Decennial change expressed as a percentage of the total population of the area at the beginning of the relevant inter-censal period.

Source : Censuses, 1901 to 1971.

Table 8.4 Inter-censal population decline in the civil parishes, 1901-1971

Number of inter-censal periods in which civil parishes decline in population	NORTH NORFOLK		SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	
	Number of civil parishes	% of all civil parishes	Number of civil parishes	% of all civil parishes
6	4	11.1	0	0
5	12	33.3	1	1.7
4	11	30.5	17	29.5
3	7	19.5	19	32.6
2	2	5.6	9	15.6
1	0	0	8	13.7
0	0	0	4	6.9
Total	36 <sup>1</sup>	100.0	58	100.0

1. This omits the four civil parishes in the North Norfolk study area which were not added to the North Walsingham Rural District until the boundary revision of 1951.

The civil parishes are defined as the individual enumeration districts as given in the 1971 census. Where one settlement consists of two or more enumeration districts, as happens with some of the larger villages, data are compounded so as to give a statistic for the settlement as a whole. The same convention applies elsewhere (unless otherwise stated) to our use of civil parishes.

Source : Censuses, 1901 to 1971.

Table 8.5 Rates of inter censal population change in the civil parishes of the study areas, 1901-1971

Inter-censal period	NORTH NORFOLK <sup>1</sup>						SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE					
	GAIN			LOSS			GAIN			LOSS		
	Over 10% incr.	From 0-10% incr.	No change	From 0-10% decr.	Over 10% decr.	Total no. of civil parishes	Over 10% incr.	From 0-10% decr.	No change	From 0-10% decr.	Over 10% decr.	Total no. of civil parishes
1901-1911	5	9	1	17	4	36	14	15	3	18	8	58
1911-1921	2	6	0	14	14	36	10	15	0	16	17	58
1921-1931	4	8	0	19	5	36	22	11	0	16	9	58
1931-1951	9	6	0	9	12	36	26	15	1	4	12	58
1951-1961	4	2	0	7	23	36	15	13	0	16	14	58
1961-1971	2	4	0	11	19	36	25	9	0	8	16	58
1901-1971	5	3	0	2	26	36	29	6	2	3	18	58

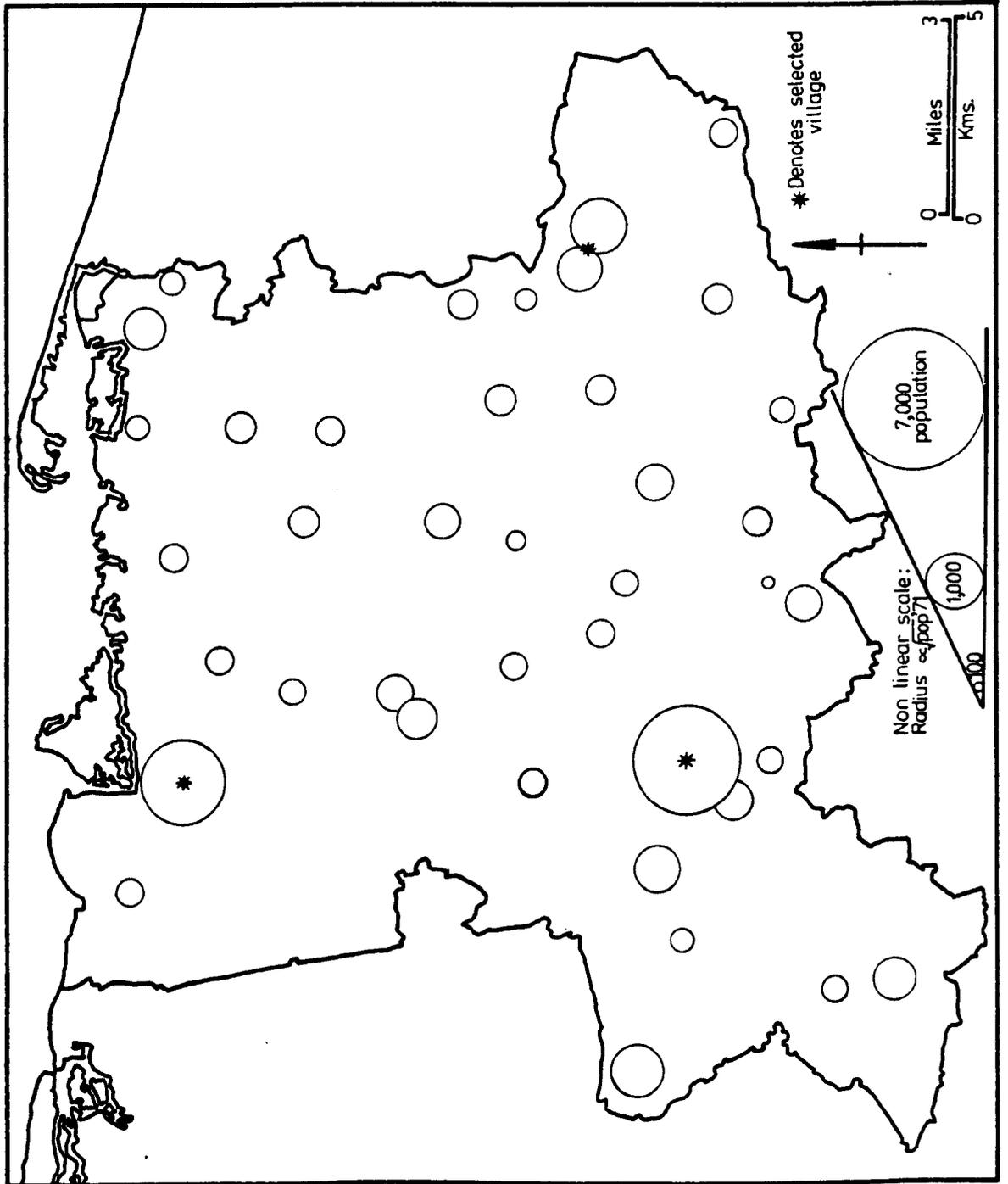
1. For the purposes of simple comparison the civil parishes of Briston, Hindolveston, Thurning, and Wood Norton which were added to the North Walsingham study area in 1951, under local government boundary revision, are excluded from this table.

Table 8.6 The concentration of rural population increases in the study areas in 'growth' centres

SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE									
Inter-censal period	IG Gross increase in population of area	No. of civil parishes with pop. increase	MAJOR GROWTH CENTRES (over 5% of IG)		MINOR GROWTH CENTRES (from 2% to 5% of IG)	Proportion of IG constituted by both major and minor growth centres			
			Number	Proportion of total IG		Number	Proportion of total IG		
1901-1911	1,879	29	5	73.5	3	10.1	83.6		
1911-1921	763	35	8	74.0	6	16.8	90.8		
1921-1931	2,143	33	6	70.0	4	11.8	81.8		
1931-1961	8,627	41	6	73.0	4	12.6	85.6		
1951-1961	7,314	28	6	81.5	3	11.1	92.6		
1961-1971	19,363	34	6	76.9	5	14.5	91.4		
NORTH NORFOLK									
1901-1911	730	14	4	85.1	4	10.4	95.5		
1911-1921	250	8	5	91.2	3	8.8	100.0		
1921-1931	346	12	6	86.7	2	4.3	91.1		
1931-1951	6,318	15	5	90.1	2	4.3	94.4		
1951-1961	168	6	6	100.0	0	0	100.0		
1961-1971	1,395	6	2	95.1	2	4.2	99.3		

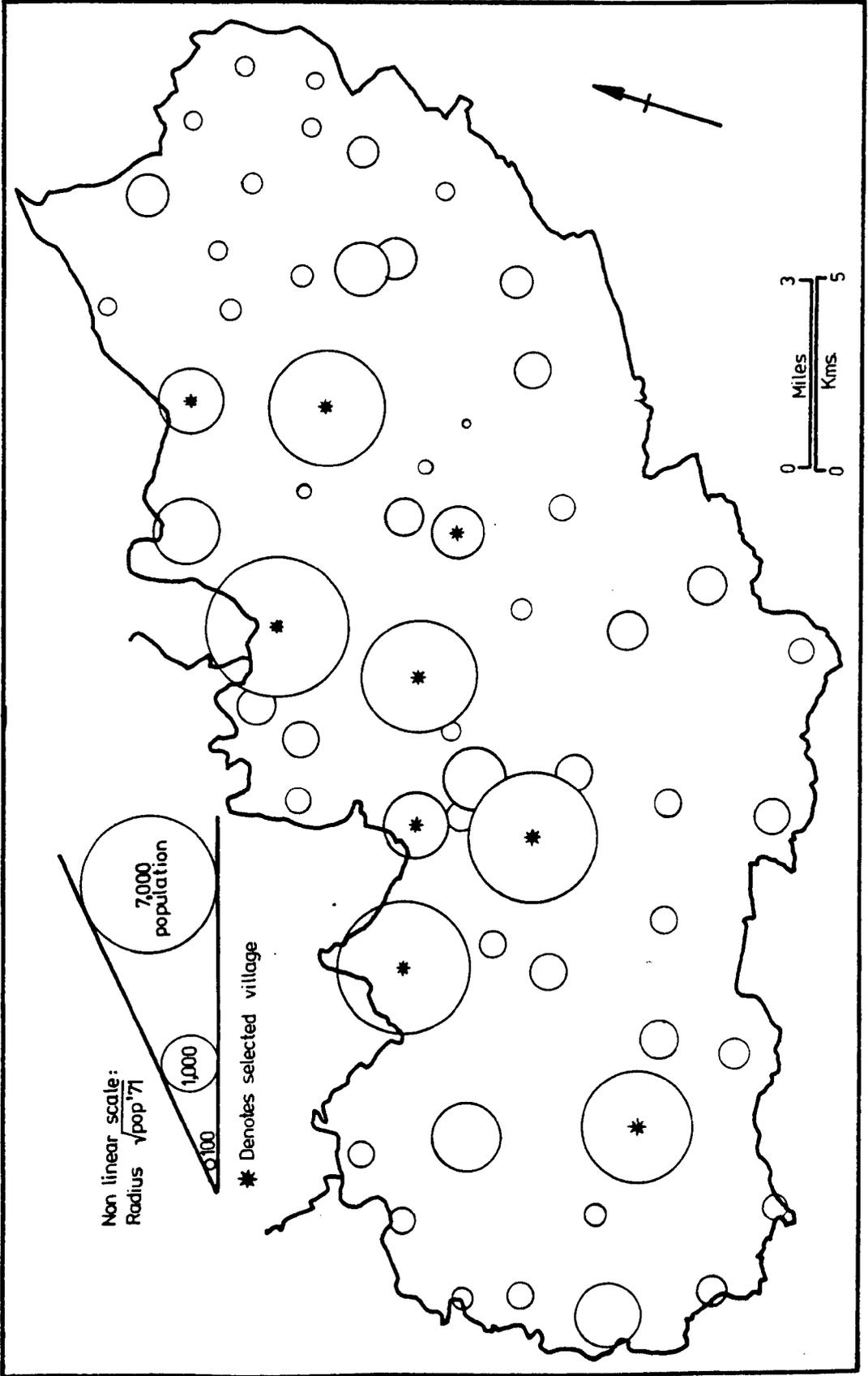
Source : Censuses, 1901 to 1971

Figure 8.1 Civil parish  
size distribution in the North  
Norfolk study area, 1971



Source: Census, 1971

Figure 8.2 Civil parish  
size distribution in the  
South Nottinghamshire  
study area, 1971



Source: Census, 1971

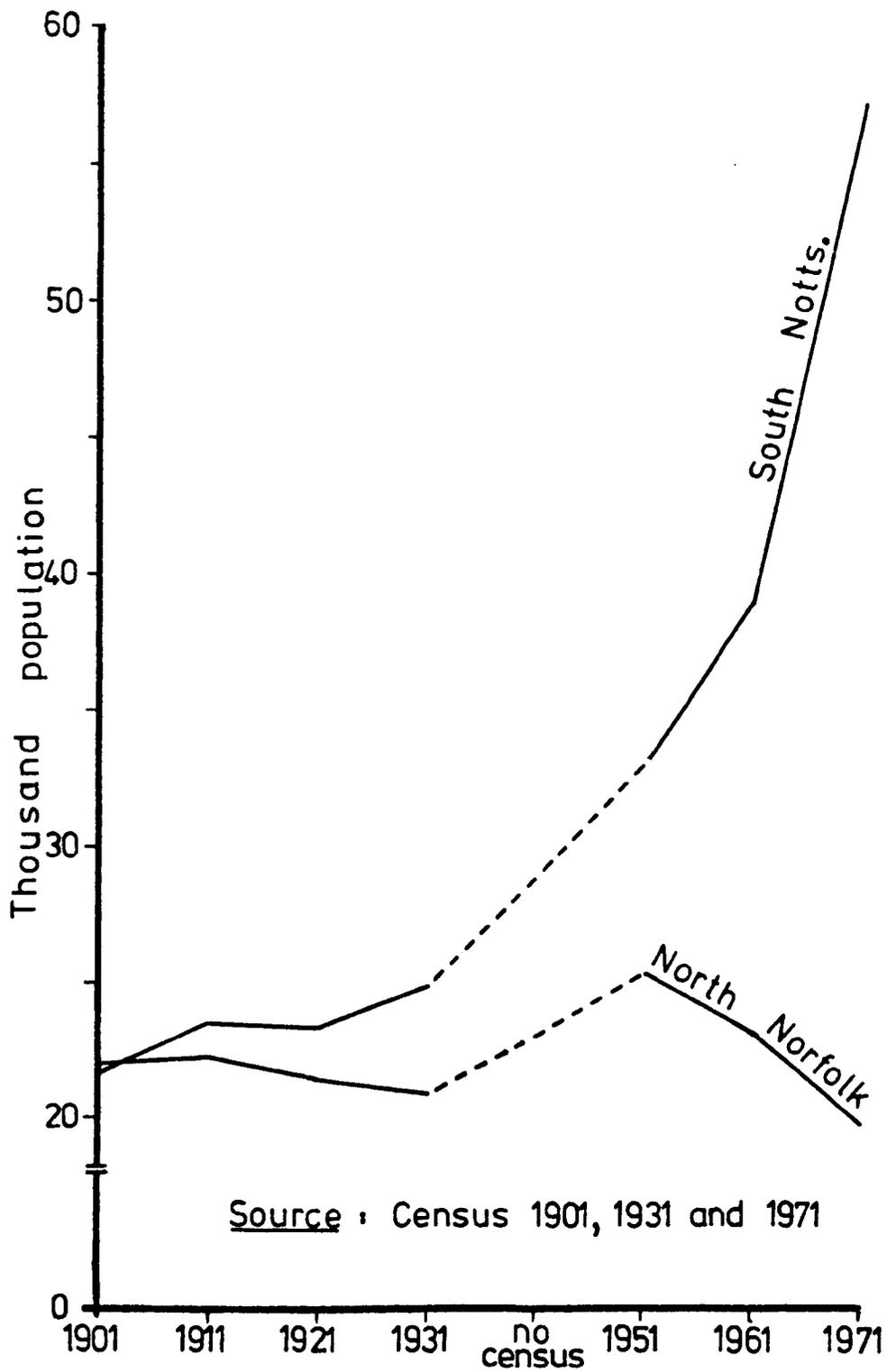


Figure 8.3 : Change in the total population of the case study areas, 1901 to 1971.

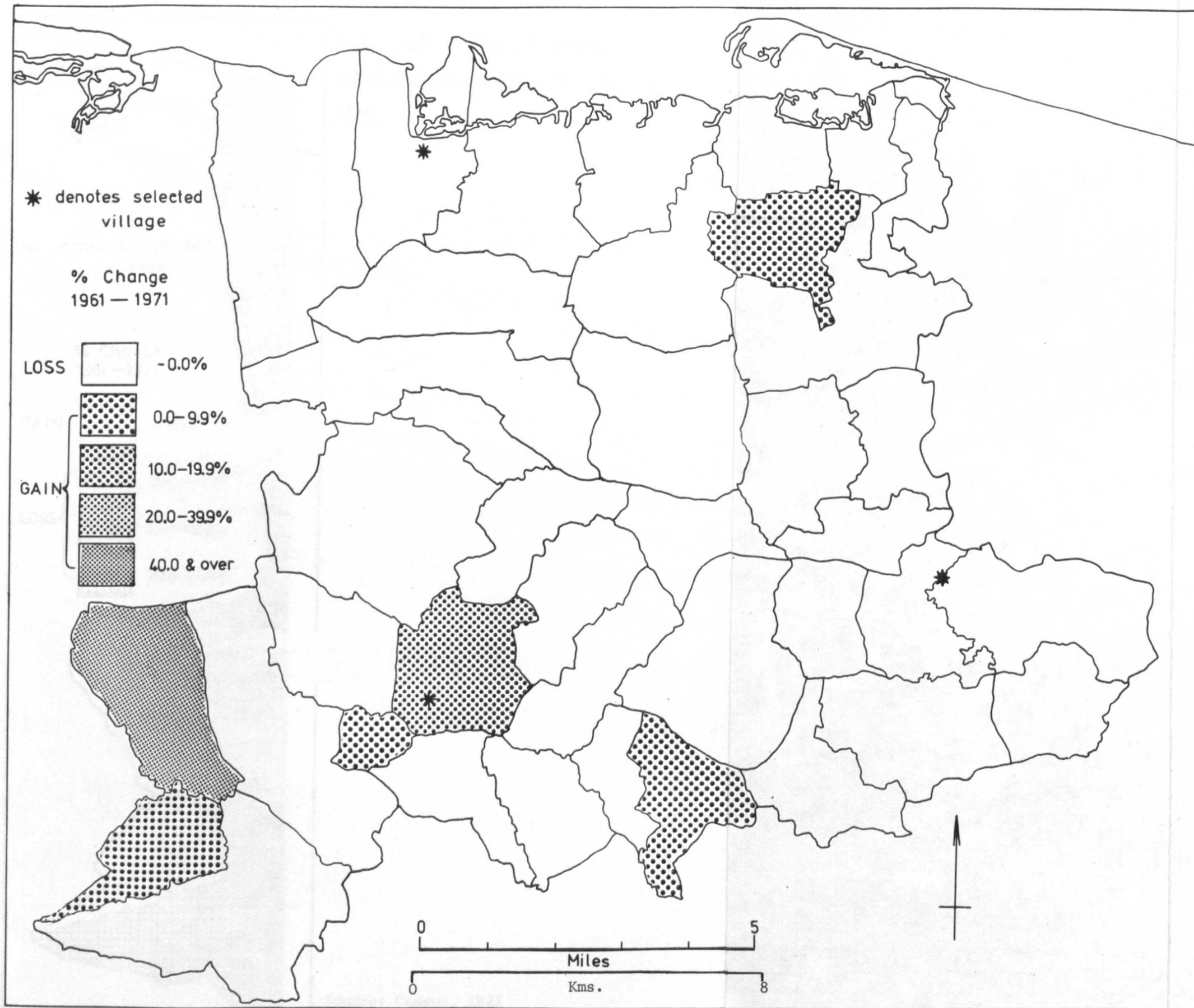


Figure 8.4 Population growth in the civil parishes of North Norfolk, 1961-1971

Source: Census, 1971

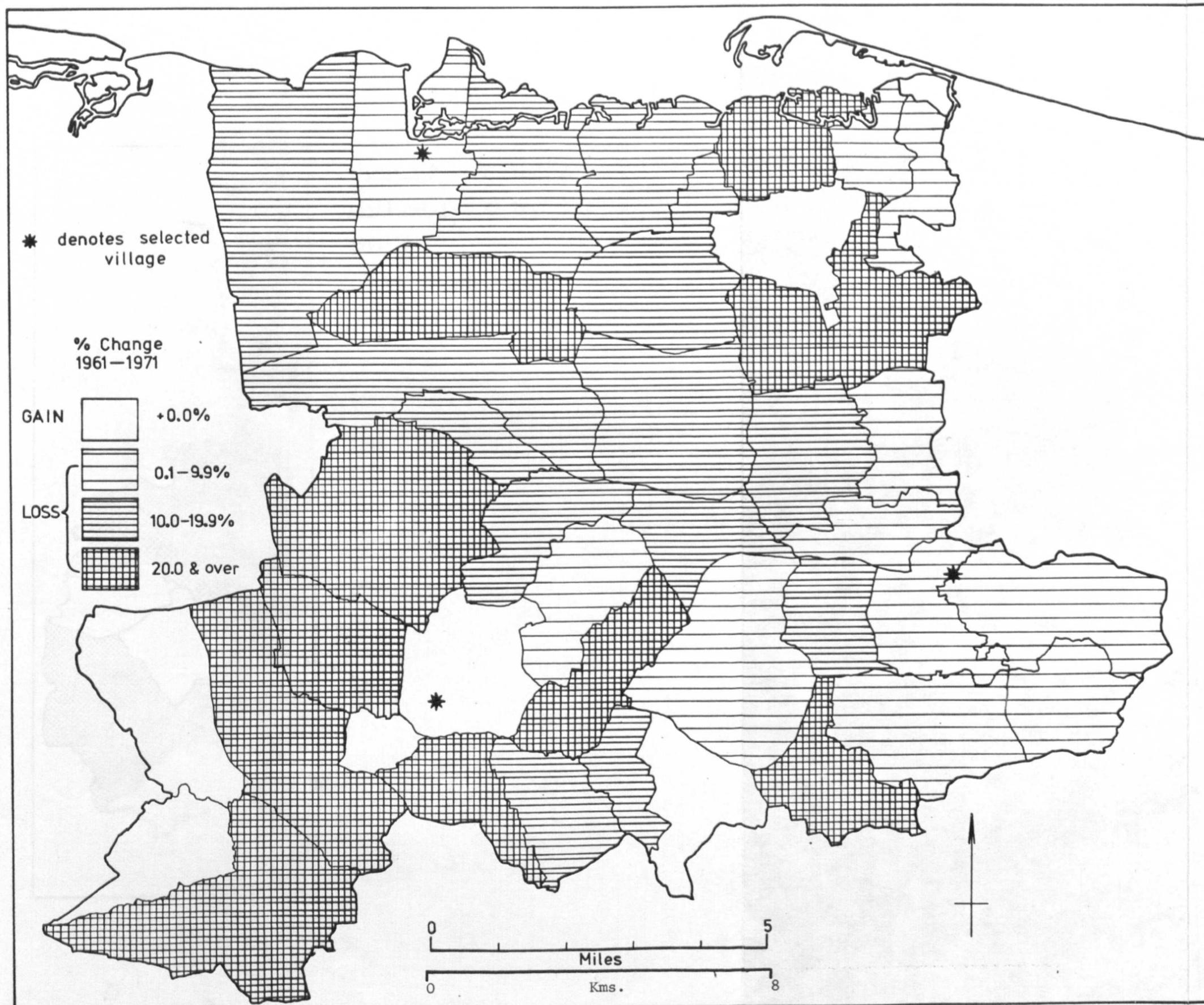


Figure 8.5 Population decline in the civil parishes of North Norfolk, 1961-1971

Source: Census, 1971

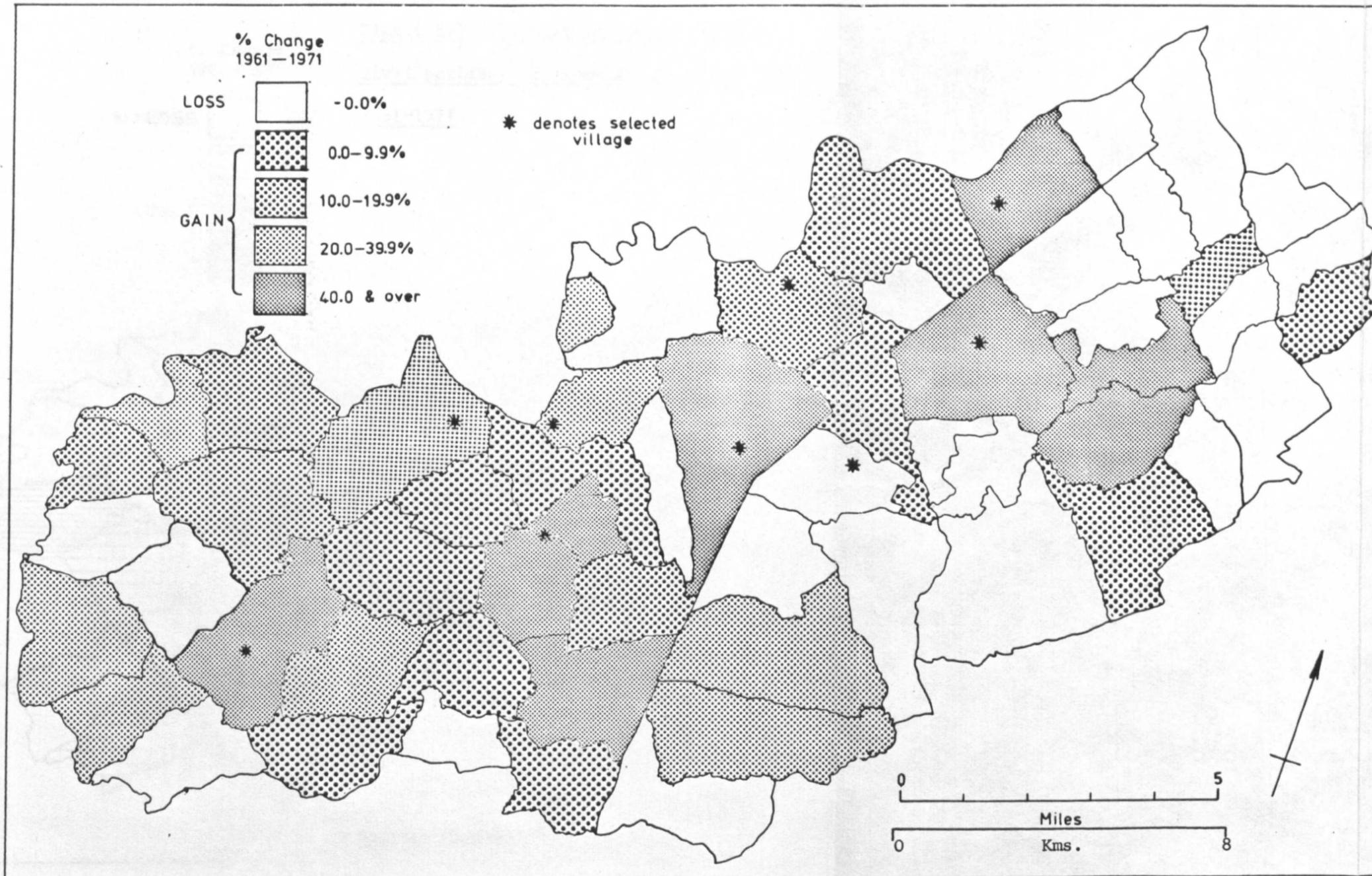


Figure 8.6 Population growth in the civil parishes of South Nottinghamshire, 1961-1971

Source: Census, 1971

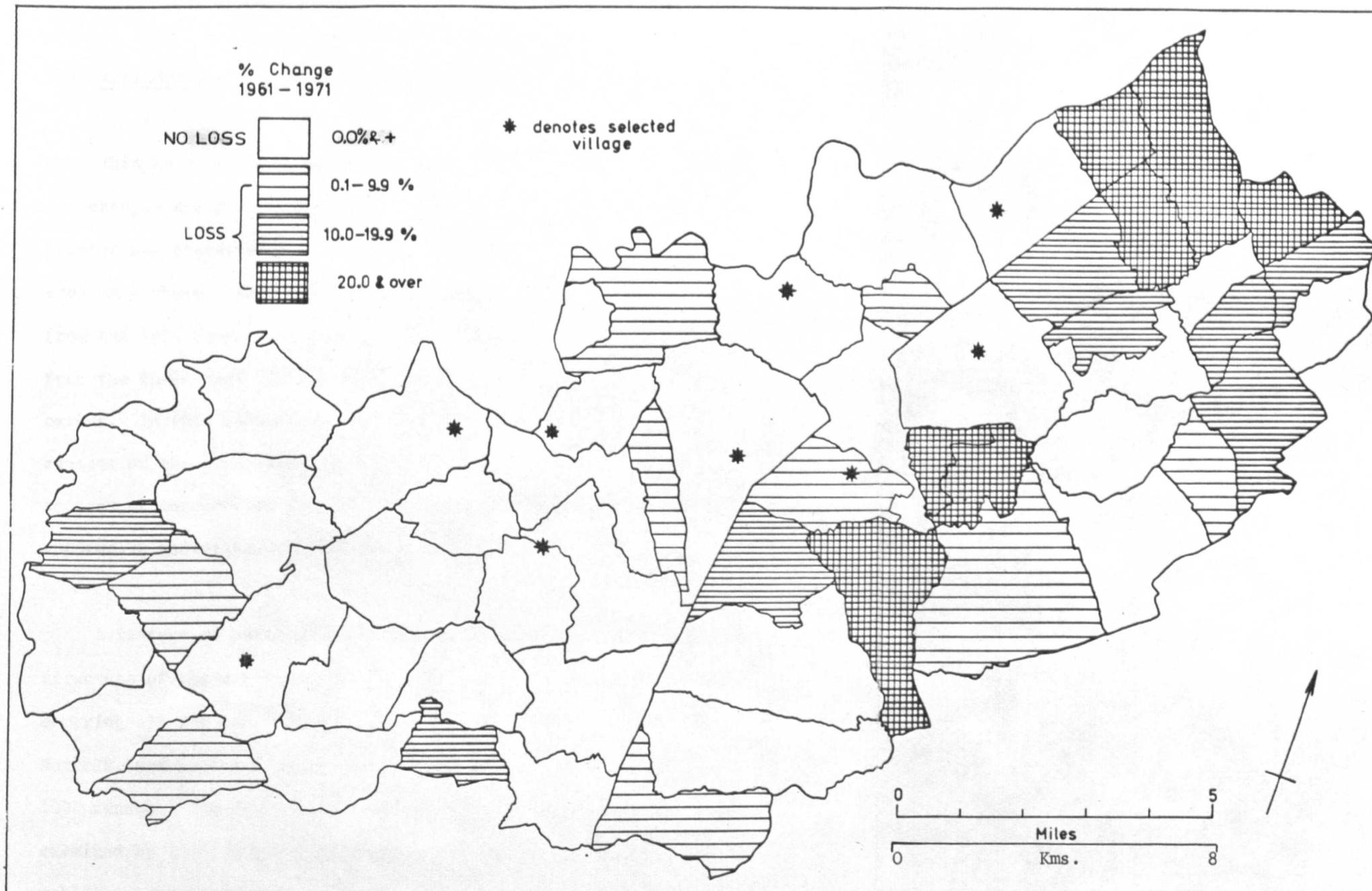


Figure 8.7 Population decline in the  
civil parishes of South Nottinghamshire,  
1961-1971

Source: Census, 1971

CHAPTER NINEPATTERNS OF POPULATION CHANGE - II:  
THE STRUCTURE OF THE RURAL POPULATION9.1 Introduction

This chapter forms the second part of the analysis of population changes and patterns in the two case study areas. The previous chapter was concerned with the broader elements in each case study area as a whole. As such the information was drawn principally from the 1971 census and from previous census returns, with data from the individual village studies being used to a more limited extent. In this chapter we are concerned with more specific aspects of the population analysis and, consequently, the principal sources of information are the questionnaire surveys carried out in the twelve individual village studies.

A feature of particular concern to this chapter is the age structure of the rural population, which is the only analysis covering all the civil parishes in South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk, and is based on the enumeration district returns of the 1971 census. The residential structure of the survey villages is examined by looking at tenancy, length of residence, residential mobility, and reasons for moving to the respective villages. Finally we look briefly at the social structure of the individual villages and examine the distribution of social and socio-economic classes.

## 9.2 Age structure in the villages of the study areas

Information on the age structure of civil parishes can be obtained from the enumeration district returns of the census. These statistics, as was noted in Chapter Six, are available from the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (formerly the Registrar General's Office), and may be purchased as off-file listings of their computerised records. The statistics for any given administrative county area are extremely bulky and are rarely held by academic or public reference libraries. However, many local planning authorities hold copies for their own use, and are often quite willing to allow genuine researchers access to these records. For this study both the Nottinghamshire and Norfolk County Planning Offices were very helpful in allowing the use of their enumeration district volumes.

Figures 9.1 and 9.2 illustrate in detail the age structure of the individual civil parishes in the two case study areas. As would be expected there is a great deal of variation between civil parishes, and consequently the presentation of this information in the two Figures tends to obscure any general patterns that might exist within the areas.

However, five important general observations can be discussed more fully:

- (a) The significance of more aged profiles in North Norfolk.

- (b) Social attrition of the young and middle aged adult population.
  - (c) The relative importance of the youngest age group in the profiles.
  - (d) The distorting influence of military personnel and their families.
  - (e) The influence of major selected centres on age profiles in neighbouring civil parishes.
- (a) The significance for more aged profiles in North Norfolk

There is evidence for more widespread dominance of the older age groups in the age profiles for the North Norfolk civil parishes. In eleven of the forty civil parishes in this study area, the sixty to seventy four years old age group is the dominant class of the profiles. It is interesting to note that of the six civil parishes closest to the coast, four show distinctly 'top heavy' age profiles. This may be associated with the movement of retired or retiring households to coastal settlements. This is apparent in the selected centre of Wells and in the small holiday centre of Blakeney, where substantial new housing development has encouraged this in-migration, but in Wiveton and Stiffkey this phenomenon in the age profiles may be as much a reflection of 'social attrition' in the fifteen to forty-four year old age groups.

In South Nottinghamshire 'top heavy' age profiles are rare, although several civil parishes suggest disproportionately large numbers of older residents, for example Car Colston, Bradmore and Granby. Only in three of the fifty-eight parishes in this study area, does the sixty to seventy-four year old age group dominate the age classes.

(b) Social attrition of the young and middle aged adult population

A second phenomenon which deserves special comment is that of social attrition<sup>1</sup> of that sector of the rural population represented here by the fifteen to twenty-nine, and thirty to forty-four year old age groups. In North Norfolk twenty-two of the forty age profiles show that the thirty to forty-four year old age group has the smallest share of the population under seventy-five years of age. In a further five civil parishes the fifteen to twenty-nine year old age group fills this role. We should be wary of interpreting this feature as evidence of geographical migration from these parishes, of the indigenous population in these two age groups. Nonetheless, given the nature of the general population trends in North Norfolk (as discussed in Chapter Eight) it is fair to assume that social attrition is probably a very important determinant of this phenomenon. There is an interesting geographical distinction in this study area, between the twenty-seven civil parishes indicating some evidence in their age profiles, and the thirteen where neither the fifteen to twenty-nine or thirty to forty-four year old age groups have the smallest share of the population under seventy-five years old. Eleven of these thirteen are concentrated in the south-west corner of the study area.

This feature is assisted by the presence of four civil parishes (Tattersett, Helhoughton, Raysham and Pudding Norton) which are particularly influenced by concentrations of military personnel and their families, associated with the air bases at Sculthorpe and West Raynham. Nonetheless, it is possible that this geographical distinction may also be associated with the expanded job opportunities at Fakenham, and the level of social provision at that centre, which has influenced the retention of many people in these age groups in the surrounding settlements.

In South Nottinghamshire this phenomenon in the age profiles is less widespread. In six of the fifty-eight civil parishes the thirty to forty-four age group has the smallest share of the population under seventy-five years of age. In rather more parishes, ten in all, this is related to the fifteen to twenty-nine age group. This, however, is a simplistic assessment and there is some evidence from the survey in the study villages and conversations with the villagers, that social attrition of the young adult age group in the indigenous population, may be more widespread. This seems to be more apparent in the non-selected villages where local opinion associates this with disadvantaged housing opportunities. This evidence is only based on local opinions, and it was not possible to substantiate this, perhaps by a study of selected individuals that had recently left the villages (a notoriously difficult task). This study suggests that such social attrition may be characteristic of the non-selected villages, and that it is masked in Figure 9.2 by the in-migration of young middle class households to vacated private housing, and to occasional new infill development, and property conversions.

(c) The relative importance of the youngest age group in the profiles

Another important general feature is that despite the apparent trend in North Norfolk towards an increasingly aged population structure, there is still a sizeable proportion of residents in the youngest age group, the under fifteen's. In an elementary model of a balanced age structure the youngest age group will be larger than any older group. This is a simple assessment and it does not take account of different migration patterns, or changes in the crude birth rate, but in nearly a half of the North Norfolk civil parishes (eighteen) this feature is not apparent. A similar phenomenon is apparent in South Nottinghamshire where the youngest age group is not the largest in twenty-two of the fifty-eight civil parishes. Civil parishes with relatively large numbers of armed forces personnel and their families, show the highest proportions of residents in the youngest age group. An exceptional example is Tattersett in North Norfolk, where nearly a half of the population is less than fifteen years old (43.2%). A similar feature is apparent in all of the selected villages in South Nottinghamshire, but in only two in North Norfolk (Melton Constable, and Fakenham).

The association between proportions of 'under fifteens' and the location of primary or first school facilities in both areas was tested but shown to be of little significance. Of more importance, particularly in South Nottinghamshire was the location of recent residential development. This explains the situation in the selected villages, where the survey indicated that private housing on the new estates was dominated by younger middle class households often with children. The relationship also explains the differences between

selected villages. For example, East Bridgford is the selected centre with the least recent development at the time of the 1971 census. This was due, in part, to the centre of the village being designated a 'special amenity' area and being subject to strict development control policies. East Bridgford is also the selected centre with the smallest proportion of 'under fifteens' (22.2%). In contrast the four selected villages in South Nottinghamshire with the greatest amount of recent residential development up to 1971, all show the highest proportions in this youngest age group, Cotgrave (35.9%), Keyworth (31.3%), Bingham (30.3%) and East Leake (28.4%). This relationship may also be seen in some non-selected villages. For example, Thoroton is over two miles from the nearest primary school but over a third of the population of the civil parish (35.2%) is less than fifteen years old. The survey in this study village showed that this was largely related to a small estate of detached houses built in the village in the late sixties, and occupied (at the time of the questionnaire survey) mostly by families with young children.

The association between new housing and the youngest age group is more obscure in North Norfolk. In fact, as we have already suggested, in some of the coastal settlements the construction of new housing has led to an intensification of the in-migration of retired and retiring households. Nonetheless, the results of this examination support the concern which planners place on the provision of primary educational facilities for substantial residential development, since such development is generally associated with proportionately more children in the incoming households.

(d) The distorting influence of military personnel and their families

We have already commented on the impact that the presence of armed forces personnel and their families may have on local age profiles. In North Norfolk this is most apparent in the civil parishes of Tattersett, Helhoughton, Raynham and Pudding Norton. In South Nottinghamshire the same influence can be found in the parishes of Shelford (associated with RAF Newton) and Flintham (related to neighbouring RAF Syerstone). This influence is mostly associated with the presence of married quarters in the appropriate enumeration districts. See for example Plate 9.1 showing RAF married quarters at Newton airbase. A similar effect may also occur in the age profiles for civil parishes near military bases, where experience in the North Norfolk survey indicates that many armed forces households purchase houses despite their international mobility.

(e) The influence of major selected centres on age profiles in neighbouring civil parishes

An interesting feature in North Norfolk, which is not apparent in South Nottinghamshire, is that the six civil parishes immediately adjacent to the major selected centre, Fakenham, and with the single exception of Hempton, all show more balanced age profiles than are characteristic of other non-selected villages in the study area. This is not apparent with the three other selected villages in North Norfolk. One is drawn to the conclusion that this may be a



Plate 9.1 Married quarters at RAF Newton, South Nottinghamshire

This study has shown that in the same way as concentrating residential development on selected centres may distort the age profiles for the local rural population, then so too does the rationalisation of those military facilities located in rural areas, which brings about an increased concentration of armed service (and related) personnel. This is probably most acute for those facilities which incorporate married quarters. This photograph illustrates part of such quarters at RAF Newton. The distorting effect which this facility has on the local 'civilian' population may be seen in the age profile for the civil parish of Shelford (in whose enumeration district Newton lies) shown in Figure 9.2.

direct result of the scale of capital investment in Fakenham, and its effect on social provision and the expansion of local employment opportunities. If this is the case, then it underlines the need for selected village development policies to be associated with broader local government policies of substantial capital investment, and the concentration of job expansion schemes at all selected centres in remoter rural areas.

This general examination of the age structure of individual civil parishes indicates that there may be some important distinctions between those settlements selected by the planning authorities as growth centres, the selected villages, and other settlements in the areas. Figures 9.3 and 9.4 show these distinctions in more detail. The two diagrams show the composite age profiles for selected and non-selected settlements in both of the case study areas, contrasting these with the profiles in 1971 for England and Wales as a whole. In North Norfolk the selected and non-selected profiles are very similar, although we should bear in mind that for the selected villages we are merging distinctly different profiles. In contrast, in South Nottinghamshire the two age profiles are rather different. The difference in the distribution of the age groups in the two profiles are not great but there are two important features. Firstly, there is a larger proportion of children in the selected centres (28.3%) compared to the non-selected villages (23.7%). Figure 9.4 shows that the proportion in the selected villages is greater than in England and Wales as a whole. The second feature is the large proportion of more elderly people in the non-selected profile. Nearly eighteen per cent (17.6%) of the non-selected population are sixty years of age or

over, compared to only 13.1 per cent in the selected centres. This is an interesting difference since specialist provision for the elderly, such as old peoples bungalows and flats and local authority funded homes, are largely concentrated in the selected villages. The difference reflects how the development of housing estates in these centres has outstripped the rate at which special accommodation for more elderly people has been constructed. However, both of these elderly proportions in South Nottinghamshire are lower than the respective proportions of 23.1 and 24.0 per cent in North Norfolk. There is consequently a big difference between the proportions of the elderly population in the selected village profiles for North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire. The much higher proportion in Norfolk may be partially accounted for by a higher rate of in-migration of more elderly people for retirement, to the selected centres in the study area. If this is the case there is no direct evidence for it in the questionnaire analysis of reasons for moving to home villages. As will be seen later in this chapter, retirement is not very important as a specified reason, with only 1.5 per cent and 2.8 per cent respectively in the selected centres of Fakenham in Norfolk and East Leake in South Nottinghamshire, giving this reason. This, however, does not discount the possibility that retired or retiring people move to the centres for other reasons.

### 9.3 Tenancy in the study villages

One element of the household questionnaire survey was an examination of tenancy patterns. This is an important aspect of the examination of the rural population in the study villages, because

the balance of owner-occupied and rented (particularly local authority rented) property may substantially influence the demographic structure, and in particular the social structure of the individual settlements.

In all but one of the twelve study settlements, owner-occupied households formed half, or more than half of the surveyed households. The exception was the village of Barton in Fabis, in South Nottinghamshire, where only thirty per cent of the surveyed households were owner-occupied. This single exception was a result of a very high rate of local authority tenancy in the village. The highest rate of owner-occupation is in the Norfolk village of Great Ryburgh, with eighty per cent. With the exception of these two settlements, the rate of owner-occupation is very close to the 'area' averages of approximately sixty-two and sixty-seven per cent in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire respectively, as shown in Table 9.1.

The proportion of rented property is more variable, reaching peaks of forty-four and fifty per cent in Stiffkey (Norfolk) and Barton respectively, with a 'low' of only eleven per cent in the Nottinghamshire village of Thoroton. There is considerable variation around the 'area' averages of thirty-three per cent in Norfolk and twenty-seven per cent in the South Nottinghamshire case study. This variation reflects the uneven distribution of local authority housing within the study areas. We have noted in the previous chapter that modern local authority developments tend to be highly concentrated on a few specific settlements. In both of these case study areas these settlements are those chosen

by the local planning authorities as selected villages. This association, whilst not coincidence, is not a result of joint policies between the planning and housing departments of the local authorities. Nonetheless, the concentration of modern local authority housing on selected villages has tended to reinforce the concept of selected village development in rural areas. In contrast the pattern of local authority housing before the Second World War was more highly dispersed, and this has to a large extent resulted in the current uneven distribution.

For the purposes of this study the rented tenancies incorporated both the public and private sectors. Private rented property, both furnished and unfurnished, was far less common in both of the study areas than housing in the public sector. Since there are no separate figures for the privately rented tenures, it is not possible to analyse this element of property tenure objectively. However, from the individual village studies it was apparent that the settlements of East Bridgford and Thoroton, both in Nottinghamshire, held more privately rented tenures than the other settlements studied. In both of these cases the appropriate landowners have chosen to retain and, in some cases, subsequently to modernise their properties, usually former tied cottages. These are subsequently used as a regular source of income, yet keeping them as a capital investment, by letting the properties as unfurnished cottages. In contrast, the general pattern in the other study villages seems to have been for the landowners to have sold such property as it became vacant, and unnecessary. Conversations with farmers in the study areas suggest that this more general pattern is partly a reflection of the capital investment

requirements of modern agriculture, with the landowner selling off surplus property in an attempt to raise capital for new machinery or other farm goods. In other cases the property owner simply lacks the finance or inclination to modernise these properties and consequently markets the houses before their condition deteriorates.

The other tenancy sector identified in the village studies was tied cottages. These were mostly the traditional tenures of agricultural labourers but included other occupation-tied tenures, such as the village vicarage where it was occupied by the incumbent priest. Once again the proportion of 'tied' tenures in the villages varied considerably between extremes of twenty per cent in Barton and none at all in the Nottinghamshire selected village of East Leake. This feature in East Leake reflects a real distinction between selected and non-selected settlements in 'tied' tenancies. The other two selected centres in the individual studies have 'tied' proportions of one per cent in Fakenham, and three per cent in East Bridgford, in contrast to over ten per cent in seven of the nine non-selected villages. This difference is largely a product of the amount of recent development that has taken place in these selected centres, in both the public and private housing sectors, which has tended to swamp the small 'tied' housing sector. In addition there may be an actual reduction in numbers of tied houses, as residents change to the greater security afforded by the local authority housing in these villages. Many farmers and other landowners may also be reluctant to maintain a tied cottage when a convenient local authority substitute may be available.

It is difficult to identify general tenancy contrasts other than those discussed. There is a slight tendency for the owner-occupied sector to be smaller in Norfolk than in Nottinghamshire, this presumably being a simple function of more extensive private development of housing in the pressure area. Correspondingly, the rented sector is a little larger in the remoter area.

It is worth noting that second homes were initially classified as a separate tenancy category in this analysis, but whilst a few second homes were identified, it was not possible to interview their householders.

#### 9.4 Length of residence

In the questionnaire survey, length of residence in the study villages was examined on three levels: length of residence of the household head in the house; village; and county. Of these three elements, length of residence in the home village is the most important to this study.

The average length of residence in the house for both study areas is over ten years (North Norfolk: 12.4, South Notts: 10.6 years), although there is considerable variation about this average with standard deviations of 11.3 and 9.8 years respectively. Length of residence in the house shows the lowest averages in selected villages. In South Nottinghamshire only three settlements have averages of under ten years: the two selected villages of East Leake (9.5 years) and East Bridgford (8.3 years) and also

the minor growth village of Kinoulton (8.3 years). In North Norfolk the lowest average is for the growth centre of Fakenham (10.2 years). The pattern is, therefore, for the length of residence in the house generally to be slightly higher in North Norfolk. This distinction is expanded when we consider the pattern of residence in the village and in the home county.

The questionnaire surveys in the North Norfolk study area found the average length of residence in the 'home' village was just over twenty-three years. Only one settlement in the five study villages had an average of below twenty years and this was the growth centre of Fakenham (19.9 years). In contrast, in the South Nottinghamshire survey only two of the seven study villages had averages of above twenty years, the average for all South Nottinghamshire being slightly less than sixteen years. The pattern would seem to be for a longer period of village residence in the remoter of the two study areas. However, it would be unrealistic to attach much significance to this distinction since it may be distorted by a number of factors. In particular, as we have earlier noted, the North Norfolk area has a higher proportion of more elderly people than South Nottinghamshire and this may partly account for the higher length of residence average in the former area.

The average length of residence in the individual study villages varies quite considerably within both of the study areas. One of the factors which seems to bring about this distinction is differential growth. In South Nottinghamshire the lowest average is in the selected village of East Leake (12.1 years) where there

has been substantial residential growth within the last ten years. Second to East Leake is the smaller settlement of Kinoulton, which is a minor growth village. As such, Kinoulton is not a selected village, but it has experienced considerable development and consequently shares the residential growth characteristic of East Leake. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the lowest average of 'village' length of residence in North Norfolk is in the growth centre of Fakenham. However, not all 'growth' villages have low length of residence trends. In the Nottinghamshire study village of East Bridgford the average of nearly twenty years is comparatively high for the area.

There is a considerable difference between the two study areas in the pattern of length of residence in the respective 'home' counties. In North Norfolk the average is a remarkably high forty-one years, whilst in South Nottinghamshire it is less than twenty-eight years. This difference is reflected in the proportion of respondents that had lived in the 'home' county all of their lives. In North Norfolk this covered nearly two-thirds (62.6%) of the household heads, and less than forty per cent in South Nottinghamshire (38.9%). The apparent difference between the two areas may be largely accounted for by the geographic location of the areas in respect of other administrative counties. Residential mobility is not contained by county boundaries, and it follows that the much closer proximity of other counties to the South Nottinghamshire area (notably Leicestershire and Derbyshire) would tend to lower the average for length of residence in the county, in that study area.

The length of residence information allows us to differentiate between newcomers to the villages and other, old established, residents. This is a valuable aid in interpreting some of the behavioural patterns of village households, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, and is commonly used in studies of rural communities. Unfortunately, the actual distinction between these two length of residence groups is not clear, and it may of course, be perceived differently by different members of the local community. Broadly, the newcomer/old established distinction has three important features:

(a) It has a temporal element related to the amount of time that a given family, or individual, has been living in a village.

(b) It has a social dimension which is both cause and effect of a simple 'them' and 'us' division in the village community. This is a very flexible element, and it was evident from the village studies that a family could overcome the time barrier of how long they had lived in their village by successful social interaction with the established villagers.

(c) It has a spatial element related to the part of a village in which a given family lives. This aspect is shown principally in the larger villages, notably East Leake and Fakenham, where recent residential development has been concentrated in large estates. A family living in or near one of these estates would tend to be automatically classed as a newcomer to the village, even though many of the new

estate families had lived in the village previously. This phenomenon may also be seen in some of the smaller settlements. In the village of Kinoulton, for example, in South Nottinghamshire, recent residential development has taken place almost exclusively in the eastern half of this linear village. Consequently, many of the established residents in the west of the settlement look on the other half of the village as 'where the newcomers live'.

For the purposes of the later analysis it is important that we should be able to define the newcomer and old established groups. The most convenient criterion for this is the temporal element. The various village studies indicate that the best division is ten years residence in the community. This is not a completely satisfactory division because, by implication, it ignores the social and spatial dimensions of the newcomer/old established distinction. In practice, however, in those study villages where the social dimension is important, this ten year division does seem to differentiate between the old established and newcomer groups, with the exception of a few individual households. In addition, as most of the post war estate development in both of the study areas has been built since the mid 'sixties, this ten year division also satisfies the spatial dimension at the time of analysis.

Nonetheless, this ten year division is obviously not a perfect delineation of the newcomer and old established groups in all the study villages. This is most evident in the smaller study villages in the case study areas. In these settlements the ten year

division represents a broadly accurate distinction between the two length of residence groups, but cannot account for some of the households heads interviewed who had been living in the respective communities for up to twenty years but still considered themselves as newcomers. In the larger growth villages the newcomer and old established groups were fairly accurately defined by the ten year threshold and even in the smaller settlements such interviewed household heads were the exception rather than the rule. Nonetheless, these exceptions are significant and consequently subsequent references to 'newcomers' or 'established' residents in this and following chapters should be considered as temporal terms, and not as references to homogeneous social groups.

The proportion of households classified as newcomers in the North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire samples are, respectively, 40.5 per cent and 57.1 per cent. With the single exception of Great Ryburgh (15.0%) the proportion varies little between the Norfolk study villages. This is not the case in South Nottinghamshire where the proportion rises from forty per cent in Normanton to over sixty per cent in East Leake (64.1%). In fact, in the Nottinghamshire study settlements there is a clear difference between the newcomer/old established balance in the smaller villages and that in the larger settlements. Only in the settlements of East Leake, East Bridgford (63.6%) and Kinoulton (63.7%) does the proportion of newcomers rise above a half of all the interviewed households. This seems to be related to the selected village/growth village status of these three settlements, since substantial development in all three centres has resulted in an expansion of the newcomer group. This is not so in the Norfolk growth centre,

Fakenham, where the proportion of newcomers (46.2%) is considerably less than in the South Nottinghamshire growth villages. This is because much of the recent residential development in Fakenham has been local authority housing, including old people's bungalows, and the survey suggests that many of these properties have been occupied by people who were already living in Fakenham. Consequently, the newcomer proportion has not expanded greatly, as might have been the case if all the new housing had been occupied by people previously living outside Fakenham.

Just as the balance of newcomers and old established residents is important to the societal structure of the different villages, then so too is the social class structure of the two length of residence groups. We will examine later in the chapter the overall social class structure of the study villages, and the method used in the survey for assessing the class classification of individual households; for the time being we are concerned only with examining the social class make-up of the newcomer and old established groups. This aspect of the analysis becomes even more important when we consider Pahl's<sup>2</sup> assertion that the entry of newcomers into villages has generally polarised the rural class structure of the local communities, redefining it along 'national' class lines.<sup>3</sup>

In both of the case study areas the old established population shows a slight but definite bias towards working class households, with a little above forty per cent of the old established households interviewed being classified as middle class. In the newcomer households the opposite is the case. In North Norfolk

slightly over two-thirds (67.9%) of the newcomers were middle class, whilst in South Nottinghamshire this proportion rises to nearly ninety per cent (88.7%). The area totals for North Norfolk are reflected fairly closely in the individual village studies for that case study. The only exception is the village of Great Ryburgh, where the established population seems to be weighted towards middle class families. In South Nottinghamshire the very small working class proportion of newcomer households is a feature shared by most of the study villages. The only exception is Barton and even here two-thirds of the newcomers are middle class. There is more variation when we consider the South Nottinghamshire established households, where the proportion that is middle class varies from one hundred per cent in Wysall to under ten per cent in Barton. Consequently, the proportion for the area as a whole does not reflect the real situation in the established population of the individual villages. There is an important difference between the pattern in the selected villages of East Leake and East Bridgford, where about a quarter of the established households are classified as middle class (26.3 and 25.0% respectively), and in the other smaller villages where, with the notable exception of Barton, there are more middle class than working class established households. The difference is principally accounted for by the existence of large local authority housing estates in both of the selected villages, and, in Barton, housing a large number of established working class households.

The differences between the social class structure of the newcomer and established groups in both of the study areas, is an important aspect of 'tomorrows' rural social structure. Even

allowing for different patterns of residential mobility in the two groups, and therefore different 'survivor' rates, it seems that the established households of the future will be dominated by the middle class families.

Middle class domination of the newcomer group has been most apparent in South Nottinghamshire where it largely reflects the role of the private developer in residential expansion. Both case studies show that recent private housing is almost totally occupied by middle class families<sup>4</sup>. Consequently, the dominance of the private developer in residential expansion has encouraged the growth of middle class households in the study area. In North Norfolk the private developer has shared development with the local authority housing projects. In Fakenham, in particular, much of the new housing is local authority property, built in association with the settlement's 'growth centre' status<sup>5</sup>. Consequently in Fakenham the newcomer group is, socially, more heterogeneous. There are other factors involved outside the simple provision of local authority housing, but this analysis does highlight the implications of the role assumed by the private developer in rural residential development.

### 9.5 Residential Mobility

In this study we are concerned principally with three aspects of residential mobility in the two case study areas:

- (a) Rural-to-rural mobility, or inter-village movement of households.

(b) Urban-to-rural mobility, where the previous place of residence was in a town or city.

(c) Non-local-to-local mobility, with the movement of households previously living outside a defined 'local' area.

These are not the only aspects of residential mobility that are of interest. Of particular value would be a study of migration of households out of the villages in the case study areas. This would be of particular interest for North Norfolk, where depopulation is such a widespread feature of the demography of the area. Less obvious may be the use of an out-migration study for the other case study. However, in South Nottinghamshire we must remember that a rapidly increasing population conceals a very real depopulation within certain occupational groups<sup>6</sup>. But studies of out-migration involve profound methodological difficulties, and in this study the analysis of residential mobility must necessarily be restricted to a spatial consideration of movements into the study area as disclosed by the previous place of residence of the survey respondents.

The basic pattern of in-migration to the study villages (Table 9.2) is illustrated by examining household movements within three geographical tiers: the county, the region, and the United Kingdom. In North Norfolk over two-thirds (68.0%) of the respondents gave their previous place of residence as within the county of Norfolk. This included a fairly substantial proportion of the respondents (15.3%) who had lived in the respective study villages all of their lives. The most notable feature of the

spatial pattern of residential mobility within the county, was that it was dominated by movements within the case study area. In all, well over half (57.3%) of all the respondents in the five study villages in North Norfolk had previously lived within the boundaries of the case study area. This is an interesting statistic and is given added importance when we consider that only a very small proportion of respondents had previously lived in Norwich (2.3%). Clearly, the dominant pattern of residential mobility within the North Norfolk case study villages is one of relatively short distance, rural-to-rural movements. There is no evidence to suggest that migration to villages from the Norfolk towns is of anything but minor importance in the overall pattern. It is also notable that this feature of residential mobility is found in all the study villages of North Norfolk, with each having half or more than half of its respondents previously living within the case study area.

The pattern of mobility within Nottinghamshire is rather different. In the South Nottinghamshire case study a slightly lower proportion of the respondents had formerly lived within the county (59.8%). In addition, whilst previous place of residence in the villages of the case study area, dominates the general pattern of mobility of the households, the proportion (34.9%) is not as dominant as that in North Norfolk. It is also apparent that a smaller proportion of respondents had lived in their villages all of their lives (9.3%). The principal difference between the two study areas is in the significance of urban-to-rural migration from within the county. In North Norfolk this movement is almost insignificant, but in complete contrast nearly a quarter of all

the South Nottinghamshire respondents had previously lived in one of the Nottinghamshire towns (22.7%). This movement was almost totally accounted for by migration from the Greater Nottingham area, with twenty per cent of all the respondents. In perspective, however, it is quite remarkable that in South Nottinghamshire, a pressure area bounded partly by a major conurbation of half a million people, inter-village migration from within the study area is more important in the pattern of mobility than the joint contribution of Nottingham and its adjacent suburbs. This feature is true for all but one (East Bridgeford) of the study villages, and it must cause us to question the validity of the traditional view of residential mobility in pressure areas as dominated by short distance urban-to-rural movements<sup>7</sup>.

The second tier of the mobility analysis is focussed on movement from within the respective regions. For the purposes of this study these are the standard economic regions of the East Midlands (for South Nottinghamshire) and East Anglia (for North Norfolk). This tier represents medium distance migration which, whilst not 'local' in nature, is not as 'alien' as migration from outside the regions. The two regions are of a similar spatial size but very different population density, with the East Midland region (3.4 million population<sup>8</sup>) having about double the population of the East Anglian (1.7 million) region. Consequently, one might expect that the East Midlands would be a more important element in the pattern of migration to the South Nottinghamshire study villages, than would the East Anglian region be for the corresponding North Norfolk case study. In fact, this is so with 78.0 per cent of the South Nottinghamshire respondents formerly living within the region

compared to 70.4 per cent for North Norfolk. We have already seen, however, that the regional contribution is dominated by movement from within the county. The net contribution of the regions (respondents formerly living within the region but outside the county) is very different for South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk, as shown in Table 9.2.

In the remoter of the study areas the net regional contribution is only 2.4 per cent of the respondents, whilst in South Nottinghamshire the proportion is nearly twenty per cent (18.2%). In part, this difference is a product of the influence of Leicester on the South Nottinghamshire villages, with 8.1 per cent of all the respondents coming from that city. But the difference also reflects a major difference between the two areas in the significance of medium distance movements. In North Norfolk, mobility seems to be polarised between the two extremes of short distance movements from within the study area and long distance movements from outside the East Anglian region. In contrast, medium distance movements do seem to be of greater significance to South Nottinghamshire. This feature is more variable within the study villages. In North Norfolk three of the five sampled settlements have net regional contributions of nil, whilst one, Brinton, has over ten per cent (11.8%). In South Nottinghamshire the variation is almost as great with the villages of East Bridgford, Kinoulton and Wysall having five per cent or less (see Table 9.2) and East Leake, Normanton and Thoroton having over twenty per cent. There are no obvious reasons to explain this variation between the villages, with the single exception of Normanton on Soar, in South Nottinghamshire. The massive net regional contribution in

this village (45.0%) is a simple function of the geographical location of the settlement on the River Soar (Appendix 5: Map 10) which at this point separates Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. This close location to Leicestershire is reflected in the fact that Leicester and Loughborough are more important sources of migrants to the village than Greater Nottingham or even the South Nottinghamshire villages.

Migration to the study villages from outside the respective regions is more significant for North Norfolk than for South Nottinghamshire with respective proportions of 29.6 and 22.0 per cent. The geographical origin of migrants to the study areas from outside the respective regions is shown in Figures 9.5 and 9.6. This longer distance in-migration was related to movements from other English counties, with Scotland and Wales being comparatively unimportant sources, and movement from outside Great Britain (2.3% of all households in North Norfolk and 1.6% in South Nottinghamshire) also being relatively unimportant.

These rates can be directly compared to the results of some other studies which have calculated the proportion of residents in villages studied coming from outside the 'home' region. The most influential study has been that of Pahl<sup>9</sup> who found a comparable rate of only sixteen per cent of residents in Hertfordshire villages coming from outside the South East region. The study of the village of Ringmer in Sussex by Ambrose<sup>10</sup> indicated a similar process with only eleven per cent of residents coming from outside the South East. The two principal comparable studies of rural settlement outside South East England are those of Radford in

Worcestershire<sup>11</sup>, and Emerson and Crompton in Suffolk<sup>12</sup>. In the two villages studied in Worcestershire, approximately<sup>13</sup> twenty per cent of the residents had lived previously outside the West Midlands region. In Suffolk, social surveys in eight rural districts found that the migration rate from outside East Anglia accounted for proportions of between twenty-two per cent (three districts) and thirty-seven per cent of the populations, with an aggregated average of twenty-eight per cent. The range of these studies is too narrow to allow us to make any accurate general observations about the relative importance of long distance migration in the pattern of residential mobility in rural areas. Nonetheless, there is an apparent distinction, which is amplified by the results of this study, between mobility in remoter rural areas and in those thought of as 'pressure' rural areas. The rates for migration from outside the region are consistently higher in the Suffolk studies, than for those in Hertfordshire, Sussex, Worcestershire and South Nottinghamshire. This is reflected in the North Norfolk rates where the village rates vary from twenty-three per cent in Sharrington to thirty-seven per cent in Stiffkey.

The geographical pattern of mobility from outside the region shows a more diverse pattern of source areas for South Nottinghamshire than from North Norfolk. In North Norfolk residents have come from fifteen different counties in England, whilst in South Nottinghamshire twenty-two different counties are represented. In part this difference may be accounted for by the larger sample size (of interviewed householders) in the latter study area, but allowing for this distortion it seems likely that a real difference exists between the two case studies. The difference is shown

visually in Figures 9.5 and 9.6.

Not only is the pattern of source areas less diverse in North Norfolk, but there is also a notable concentration on movement from the South Eastern counties and from Greater London in particular. Approaching ten per cent (8.6%) of all residents in the North Norfolk sample had lived previously in Greater London. Greater London is of more importance to the structure of residential mobility in the North Norfolk study villages than the nearby regional capital of Norwich (2.3% of all residents). In South Nottinghamshire also the principal source region is the South East, but here it provides only seven per cent of all residents in the sample, compared to over seventeen per cent in North Norfolk. The difference between the two areas cannot be explained by a simple distance decay function, because both are a similar distance from the South East Region (for example Fakenham in Norfolk, is 120 miles from London, whilst East Leake in South Nottinghamshire is 114 miles). It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the 'London overspill' development in Norfolk. Certainly there have been no direct influences of this movement on the North Norfolk villages. But we cannot ignore the possibility that the planned overspill developments at Thetford (and also to a limited extent at King's Lynn) may have encouraged additional movement from London to the county. Certainly, there has been no comparable 'overspill' to influence movement into the South Nottinghamshire area. Of more direct importance is the industrial estate at Fakenham. This was developed in the sixties as a major element in the 'growth centre' status of the settlement. The estate has since attracted a number of industrial concerns including a large process and packaging

unit for a national frozen food conglomerate. Many of the households which have moved to the study village in North Norfolk have either moved with the industrial concerns or have come to jobs in the companies. In each case these were householders with positions in management or senior supervisory functions.

Table 9.2 shows the differences between the study villages. Generally the distinctions between the North Norfolk settlements are comparatively small. Certainly there is no significant difference between the pattern of migration to the selected village of Fakenham and those of the other, non-selected villages. The influence of the industrial estate at Fakenham would seem to have been spread over a number of villages in the area and not confined to this settlement alone. In South Nottinghamshire the inter-village differences are greater, but few general observations can be made on these differences. The village of Normanton on Soar displays a markedly different pattern because of its proximity to the Nottinghamshire/Leciestershire border, as noted earlier. It is worth noting that differences in the contribution of the 'rest of the county' to the mobility patterns, are not related to the distance of individual settlements from Greater Nottingham - the centre which dominates the migration sources of this sector. In South Nottinghamshire there is a distinction between the proportion of residents coming to the settlements from outside the region in the major growth village of East Leake, and the same proportions from other villages which are consistently lower, with the exception of Normanton. However, as the other selected village, East Bridgford, does not share this distinction it is difficult to assess its actual significance in the selected/non-selected village division.

At the beginning of this section we introduced the three aspects of residential mobility in rural areas that were of particular significance to this study: rural-to-rural mobility, urban-to-rural mobility, and non-local-to-local mobility. The general impression that may be formed from the foregoing discussion is that mobility in both areas is dominated by rural-to-rural movements, but this is the case only for migration within the county. In North Norfolk over ninety per cent (92.8%) of inter-county migration (excluding those born in their existing 'home' villages) is from other rural settlements in the county. In South Nottinghamshire the proportion is smaller at about sixty per cent (61.9%), but this is largely a product of the importance of movement from within the case study area, because outside the study area migration is dominantly from Greater Nottingham and to a lesser extent from the other Nottinghamshire urban areas. Nonetheless, as we have earlier noted, in South Nottinghamshire rural-to-rural movements from within the case study area are a more important feature of mobility within the region than migration of families from Greater Nottingham to the study villages. In only one village, East Bridgford, was Greater Nottingham a source of more households than the South Nottinghamshire villages. Generally population pressure in 'pressure' areas is seen as having principally external causes, with local urban centres in particular, often being confined by 'Green Belt' legislation, creating demand for housing in the rural area, supported by an employment pattern dependant on commuting to the towns. The evidence from the South Nottinghamshire example shows that the pattern of mobility is much more complex than this, with inter-village, short distance movements, being more important than migration from the local urban areas.

The pattern of mobility from previous places of residence outside the county areas, is rather different to the rural-to-rural pattern shown in local, intra-county, movements. In fact, in both areas non-local movement<sup>14</sup> to the study areas is dominated by urban-to-rural migration. The actual proportion of non-local moves into the area from urban sources is remarkably similar for the two case study areas, 73.6 per cent in North Norfolk and 72.7 per cent in South Nottinghamshire.

The third aspect of mobility of particular concern to this research is non-local-to-local movement. Here we are principally concerned with the migration to the study villages of households formerly resident outside the county area. In both study areas this aspect of mobility represents a substantial proportion of the surveyed households, 32.0 per cent in North Norfolk and 40.2 per cent in South Nottinghamshire. The results of other studies may help to put these proportions in perspective. Pahl found that sixty-one per cent of his rural respondents in Hertfordshire were previously resident outside the county<sup>15</sup>. The equivalent proportion established by Ambrose in the Sussex village of Ringmer was substantially less, twenty-nine per cent<sup>16</sup>. Radford's study of the Worcestershire villages of Martley and Kempsey<sup>17</sup> found that migrants from outside the county composed approximately forty per cent and thirty per cent<sup>18</sup> respectively, of the populations. This would suggest that Pahl's figure is atypical of most rural settlements, although it may well apply to other settlements in counties on the edge of Greater London or other very large conurbations. Nonetheless, even though Pahl's proportion seems to dwarf those found in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire this should not

obscure the fact that a comparatively large proportion of the resident population in the study villages have moved to their present homes from outside the county.

The structure of residential mobility to the case study areas from outside the county areas may have some profound influences on the social cohesion of the village populations. If we consider the migrants from outside the county to be the true immigrants to the communities, in the sense that they are non-locals, it is of considerable importance that they are also predominantly from urban locations. Consequently these households are not only immigrants but also urban, and many may be independent of both local and rural influences. Such immigrant households may find considerable difficulty in identifying with the social values of 'village' life, but more important the established village residents and newcomers to the villages who had previously lived in the county, might see the immigrants as different to themselves, as outsiders to the community. This is a highly generalised argument and it is clear from the village studies that some immigrant and urban families are apparently successful in involving themselves with social life in the village. Most, however, are less than successful<sup>19</sup> and this introduces an important element in the structure of rural communities, which may adversely effect their social cohesion.

It should be noted as a final comment that urban experience is also quite extensive in the local rural population, i.e. those who have lived in the village all their lives or who were formerly resident in villages within the county. In North Norfolk over

sixty per cent (61.1%) of the respondents had lived in a town at some point in their lives, rising to over seventy per cent (72.9%) in South Nottinghamshire. The proportion with urban experience varies considerably between the study villages but in every case is half or more of the sampled population<sup>20</sup>.

#### 9.6 Future mobility from the study villages

Respondents in the household questionnaire survey were asked whether they thought that they would move from the village at some time in the future. Those household heads who thought that they either would or might move were also asked the probable reason for their move. This section of the questionnaire was not intended to give an accurate assessment of migration from the villages in the future but it did provide a simple tool with which to contrast the individual villages and also the different social and age groups in the communities. The results are summarised in Table 9.3.

Broadly, there is little difference between the two case study areas. In North Norfolk nearly two-thirds of the sample (65.6%) considered that they would not move, whilst in South Nottinghamshire this proportion was still well above a half of the householders (59.1%). There is a slight difference in the two areas when considering the proportion of household heads who thought that they either would or might move in the future, with a greater proportion in South Nottinghamshire expressing a more positive intention to leave the village.

Within these general patterns there are some differences between the different social and age groups. In both South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk the 'newcomer' households showed a greater propensity to move, with around a half of the newcomers, in both areas (47.2% in North Norfolk and 56.7% in South Nottinghamshire), saying that they would or might move from the villages. This compares to proportions of about twenty per cent, (20.6% and 18.9% respectively) in the old established households. Social class is not an important differentiation in North Norfolk, with middle class and working class households showing very similar patterns of future migration. This is not so in South Nottinghamshire where over half (50.9%) of the middle class households in South Nottinghamshire considered that they would or might leave the villages, compared to less than twenty per cent (19.0%) of the working class households. To some extent these different social class attitudes may reflect the traditional propensity for local authority housing tenants to be less mobile, due partly to social values such as the importance of kinship ties, and partly to both real and perceived housing constraints. In three of the South Nottinghamshire villages (East Bridgford, Kinoulton and Normanton) none of the working class households interviewed expected to leave the village. In East Leake only one in seven (14.3%) of the working class households considered that they would or might move. This contrasts to the situation in the other South Nottinghamshire study village where the working class households seem to be less rooted. This was essentially a product of the young and middle aged agricultural workers in these settlements who rarely saw themselves as working on the same farm for the rest of their lives.

As might be predicted, expectation of leaving the village was strongly influenced by the age group of the household head. Generally, the proportion of respondents that anticipated staying in the village was lowest in the under thirty-four age group (42.9% in North Norfolk and 42.4% in South Nottinghamshire) and highest in the oldest, the sixty-five and over group (75.5% and 83.0% respectively). Generally, the older the age group the higher the propensity to stay in the village.

The reasons for future migration from the villages were extremely varied and it is clear, in retrospect, that to obtain an accurate picture of motivation for future moves from rural settlement one would have to interview a much larger sample of households. This survey allowed us to identify twenty-six distinct reasons although only a handful of these were mentioned by more than two or three households in either of the case study areas. Table 9.4 shows the full response pattern. The most important factor seems to be employment and in South Nottinghamshire. Nearly a half of the potential future migrants (41.3%) considered that a geographical or functional change of job would be the reason for their move. This was by far the most important reason in South Nottinghamshire, with the second most frequently mentioned factor, 'to be near family', accounting for under seven per cent of the potential migrants. There is some evidence to suggest that the reasons given for future moves from the villages are strongly related to the age of the household head. Employment is more important for the younger, under forty-five age groups, whilst a desire to be nearer the family is mentioned exclusively by residents over fifty-five years of age.

The situation in North Norfolk is rather different. Whilst the future migration rates are remarkably similar in both areas, the principal reasons for future moves seem to be different. In North Norfolk the most important factor is a perceived dissatisfaction with village facilities. Over a quarter of all those households who thought they would or might leave the village gave this as the reason. Understandably, this reason is most important in the small villages of the case study. We shall examine social provision in detail in Chapter Eleven, but for the time being we should note that there is an important degree of dissatisfaction with facilities in those villages that are not in the immediate hinterland of the range of facilities provided in Fakenham. Conversations with respondents indicated that dissatisfaction was mostly associated with shopping facilities and with schools, principally with the long commuting distances to the secondary schools of the area.

Employment was only the second most important reason given for possible future migration from the North Norfolk villages (19.0%) and the third reason was moving house to be nearer the family (11.9%).

Table 9.3 shows the differences between the study villages. In North Norfolk the proportion of households expecting to leave the village varies very little, with the notable exception of Stiffkey, in which nearly two-thirds of the village sample considered that they either would or might move from the village in the future (62.4%). The lowest rate is in Fakenham (26.1%) with Great Ryburgh only slightly higher (30.0%). Since poor facilities is

the primary reason for potential migration, the lower rates in these two villages are probably related to better access to facilities in these settlements. In South Nottinghamshire there is greater variation between the study villages. The range between the highest (Kinoulton, 63.7%) and lowest (East Bridgford 24.2%) future migration rates is very similar to North Norfolk but whereas in the remoter case study area all but one of the study villages are close to the minimum rate, in South Nottinghamshire they are spread between the two extremes. As with Norfolk, the lowest rate of the Nottinghamshire study villages is in a selected village, but the larger selected village, East Leake, has a much higher future migration rate (40.6%). This fact may suggest that future migration is independent of the provision of facilities, in the South Nottinghamshire villages. This would seem to be confirmed by the additional evidence that the second lowest rate is in the small village of Thoroton (30.8%), which has the lowest standard of social provision in the seven study villages of this case study area, and geographically is the most isolated.

### 9.7 Reasons for moving to the study villages

The complex nature of reasons for moving to the villages made it advisable to phrase the appropriate question in the household interview with reference to a limited number of pre-coded answers. By doing this one may gain a more useable analysis but at the expense of constraining the detail of the householders reply. As we wished to have as much detail as was practical to obtain, this questionnaire used no less than twelve pre-coded responses. The results for the study areas are shown in Table 9.5.

In both case study areas the principal reasons for moving to the study villages was employment (29.8% in North Norfolk and 32.4% in South Nottinghamshire). This pattern is reflected in the individual villages with nine of the study settlements having no more important factor than employment. The exceptions were Stiffkey and Sharrington in North Norfolk (6.2% and 7.7% respectively) and Kinoulton in South Nottinghamshire (13.6%). This does seem to be broadly related to the distance of these settlements from the nearest major urban centre (Kings Lynn and Nottingham, for the respective study areas) which is a simple function of the focus of opportunities in the two local labour markets, on these towns<sup>21</sup>. Employment as a reason for moving to the villages seems to be most important in the large selected centres of Fakenham (38.5%) and East Leake (42.5%). In Fakenham this is no doubt related to the considerable expansion in employment facilities that has occurred in the settlement since the mid-sixties, in 'association' with the 'growth' policy. This does not explain the situation in East Leake where employment is even more important as a factor but where there has been no widespread provision of new jobs (discussed in more detail in Chapter Ten). This may support the idea popularised by Pahl<sup>22</sup> that one of the most important housing groups in the new rural housing estates are what he terms 'spiralists': young, middle class households in the lower career grades of their occupations who, through career demands, are highly mobile. Observation in the villages of the study area indicates that such households do not live exclusively in the growth villages, many have homes in the smaller settlements, but that in the growth villages with their extensive new housing, these families are proportionately more numerous. It is difficult, however, to

assess this phenomenon objectively.

The second principal reason for moving to the study villages, in South Nottinghamshire, was related to the particular house ('liked the particular house'). This was for the major reason in about one in seven of the South Nottinghamshire households (14.6%), although less important in North Norfolk (9.2%). The actual importance of this factor in the individual villages varied considerably from one to another. This variation does not seem to be related to any single factor, such as the physical attractiveness of the settlements, type of housing or the age structure of respondents.

The third factor was being born in the study village. In North Norfolk this was the second most important reason for moving to the villages (15.3% of households) and in South Nottinghamshire the fourth principal factor (9.3%). There was considerable social variation in the relative importance of this reason to different households, being most often mentioned by working class households, and less frequently by their middle class counterparts.

Table 9.5 shows the importance of the other reasons for moving to the study villages. As a general observation it is worthwhile noting that housing considered as a composite factor ("cheaper housing", "liked particular house", and "to obtain local authority housing"), is considerably more important in South Nottinghamshire (28.0%) than in North Norfolk (17.6%). This may, of course, be a simple reflection of greater pressure on housing facilities in

the Nottinghamshire case study area. Many of the other pre-coded reasons for moving to the villages were infrequently mentioned in the surveys. There were two important exceptions to this observation. Retirement was of little significance as a reason for moving to the South Nottinghamshire villages but it was of some importance in two of the Norfolk settlements, Brinton (17.6%) and Great Ryburgh (15.0%). In perspective, however, this is not a major 'stated' reason for in-migration to the study villages in North Norfolk. The second factor was "to be in the countryside". This was of little importance in North Norfolk, although aesthetically the countryside here is more attractive than that in much of the South Nottinghamshire case study area. In South Nottinghamshire this factor was of importance principally to two settlements, Barton (15.0%) and Kinoulton (31.8%). There is no apparent explanation for the massive proportion in the latter village, although here, as in the other villages, this reason was almost exclusively restricted to young and middle aged, middle class households who were newcomers to the settlements.

There were fewer variations between the social groups in the study villages, in their reasons for moving to the village. We have already noted that being born in the village was associated more with working class households, as was "to obtain a local authority house", which was to be expected. "Liked the particular house" was principally a middle class response, but otherwise there were no other major social class distinctions. Age also seemed to have little influence except for retirement and "born in the village", also to a limited extent for the "to be in the countryside" reason. There were few apparent distinctions between the

newcomer and old established households, in both case study areas. This is in contrast to the results of the surveys carried out by Radford<sup>23</sup> and Ambrose<sup>24</sup>, who both found that certain housing factors were more important for the newcomers. There is no clear evidence that this is apparent in the case study areas of this survey. Nonetheless, we can certainly agree with Radford's observation that reasons for moving to the study villages seem to be more related to moving to a given house, rather than to a specific village<sup>25</sup>.

### 9.8 The social structure of the village populations

We cannot leave a discussion of population change without a detailed look at the changing social structure of rural communities. This single subject has probably generated more interest amongst town and country planners, academics, and laymen, than any other aspect of population change in the countryside. There has, of course, been a substantial amount of literature examining this topic. The work of Pahl is the most extensive, but amongst other notable contributions have been those of Duncan-Mitchell<sup>26</sup>, Thorns<sup>27</sup>, Crichton<sup>28</sup>, and Connel<sup>29</sup>. A recurring feature of these studies is that the social composition of rural communities is changing. This is related principally to the expansion of the adventitious component of local populations brought about by changing patterns of personal mobility, particularly in relation to the journey to work.

The development of commuting patterns in local economies has brought about a dramatic and rapid transition in the demography of rural settlements. This is most evident in those rural areas that are part of the hinterland of major urban areas. As early as 1963

Bracey was able to summarise this:

"... the bogey of rural depopulation which has been with us in Great Britain for a whole century has been banished: most rural areas within thirty kilometres of a sizeable town now report increases in their resident population". 30

This has not been true for many of the remoter rural settlements, as we have seen in the previous chapter for the example of North Norfolk, but even here commuting may have had some effect in reducing the scale of depopulation in some settlements. There have been a variety of individual village studies which have shown the influence of the movement of commuting households on population trends<sup>31</sup>. Here we are concerned only with the influence on the social structure of the villages.

The development of commuting in rural England is seen as going hand in hand with an expansion of the middle class component of rural society. Pahl has summarised this process most effectively:

"It seems that the traditional world of a small, established middle class with a large working class population has been invaded by a new middle class commuting element so that now the middle class group is numerically the greater". 32

This has been accompanied by structural changes in rural society which have reinforced the significance of the middle class working class division. The traditional, historical structure of rural society<sup>33</sup> may be generalised as a simple status hierarchy ranging from the village squire, parson and schoolmaster at the top to the farm worker at the base, although this is a simplistic

assessment. Stratification did exist in this social system but it was based essentially on individual or familial status and not social status. Harris<sup>34</sup> has described the system in terms of 'real villagers' and 'other villagers', these groups being defined by a 'core' group of the village community. In principle these divisions actually cut across social class, although in practice social class was not important simply because of the relatively small numbers of middle class families in the villages. Consequently, the work by Pahl and others has shown that the social structure of many English villages has been rearranged to a more abrupt middle class working class dichotomy. This has been interpreted as a transformation of rural society to correspond more closely to conditions elsewhere in the country - a process of urbanisation in the countryside.

In order to examine the contemporary social structure of the study villages in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire, we must be able to identify the basic social groups. Other studies have used two methods in interpreting social stratification. The Registrar General's (now the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys) classification of socio-economic groups is the most useful general tool. This is a simple and academically acceptable typology based on the easily identifiable criteria of occupation. The problem comes when one attempts to translate this classification to the more appropriate social class divisions. For the purposes of this study we are concerned only with two social class groups, the middle class and working class. It is doubtful if a more complex stratification based on upper middle class, lower middle class, etc, such as that used by Emerson and Crompton<sup>35</sup>, is of any real significance. This simplified the methodological

problem. The basis of the social class classification used in this study is Runciman's<sup>36</sup> now established concept that class is self-assigned. This means that differentiation between middle class or working class status is not possible on formal criteria such as occupation or income. Fortunately, the survey method used in this study was easily adapted to incorporate an informal assessment. This was essentially a subjective assessment at the questionnaire interview based on a number of factors: housing tenure, house location, occupation of household head<sup>37</sup>, etc. This was not an ideal classification simply because it was based on a subjective evaluation, but as the assessment was made by the same person in every interview any error was uniform throughout the village studies. In practice, the actual assessment of social class was very simple in nine cases out of ten, with housing, occupation, and general discussion being the most useful criteria in helping the evaluation.

Table 9.6 shows the social class structure of the twelve study villages. In both of the case study areas middle class households are the more numerous. This is less evident in North Norfolk where one village, Sharrington, shows a distinct working class dominance and another, Stiffkey, shows a even balance between the two social class groups. In fact, the most polarised social structure in North Norfolk is in the 'working class' quasi-estate village of Sharrington. It is notable that there is a parallel community to this village in the other case study area. This is Barton in Fabis where the social class ratio is very similar. Barton is not an estate village but it does retain a relatively large proportion of households in agricultural work, a feature which it shares with Sharrington. Otherwise the two settlements have very little

in common to explain their similar social class structure. In South Nottinghamshire the middle class dominance of most of the villages is more pronounced. In all of the villages, except Barton, over two-thirds of the interviewed households were middle class. In one, the village of Wysall, this proportion was ninety per cent. With the exception of the two 'working class' villages of Sharrington and Barton and of the almost socially polarised community of Wysall, it is notable how similar are the social structures of the other villages, within the two rather different study areas. One inter-village contrast, however, is important. The selected villages of Fakenham, East Leake and East Bridgford tend to have relatively higher proportions of working class households. This is explained by the tenancy structure of these settlements which each have large local authority housing estates, functioning as important sources of housing for many working class households.

Table 9.6 shows the South Nottinghamshire sample has proportionately more middle class households than North Norfolk, although it is interesting that the gap between the two study areas is not wider. Previous studies which have examined the social class structure of contemporary rural settlements in England, have related the numerical dominance of the middle classes to the relative proximity of urban areas. However, this study shows that this phenomenon is not confined to the 'pressure' rural areas. North Norfolk is a remoter rural area, yet only one of the five study villages has more working class than middle class households. There is no simple explanation for this social structure. There is some commuting to workplaces in either Kings Lynn or Norwich, although this may involve a daily journey, by private car, of over fifty

miles. But such work patterns (discussed in Chapter Ten) are not common, and where they exist are related equally to working class and middle class households. Consequently, a simple in-migration of middle class commuting households cannot explain the social structure in North Norfolk. Bielkus<sup>38</sup> and others, have explored the association between second home owners and change in rural settlements in remoter areas. It is clear from these studies that second homes may significantly expand the numbers of middle class households in such villages. This may be happening in North Norfolk but if so it cannot explain the dominance of middle class households in our survey since we were unable to interview any second home occupiers in any of the five village studies.

The movement of retired or retiring households to North Norfolk is a more important factor. Many of the households heads interviewed in the Norfolk villages were retired (35.6% of the sample, compared to 17.4% in South Nottinghamshire). The highest rate was in Brinton where nearly sixty per cent of the households were retired. Furthermore, in four of the five study settlements virtually all of the retired households were newcomers to the communities and were middle class households. The exception was Fakenham, where although there were several retired households who were also middle class newcomers, there was also a group of old established, retired households (mostly widows) who were of middle class status, and a number of retired, working class newcomers, mostly living in the local authority purpose built housing in this selected centre.

Another important factor has been the movement of professional and managerial staff to (or with) the publishing and industrial

concerns that have developed at Fakenham. Whilst only a handful of such households were interviewed in the surveys, it seems clear that some chose to live in Fakenham itself whilst others purchased property in smaller settlements. Consequently, the influence of this rather specialised in-migration to the area, upon the social structure of local communities, may be diffused beyond the boundaries of Fakenham.

Another aspect of the social structure of the case study villages may be measured by using the official socio-economic class categories. This gives a more detailed classification as it is based on seven socio-economic classes, which are objectively defined by the occupation of the household head. However, this is a measure of socio-economic class and not of social class in the study villages.

Table 9.7 shows the detailed socio-economic class structure of the seven study villages. The differences between the two study areas reflect the fact that there are proportionally more middle class households in South Nottinghamshire than North Norfolk. Consequently Classes I, II and III combined, form under forty per cent of the North Norfolk sample (35.9%), but about sixty per cent (59.9%) in South Nottinghamshire. These represent the non-manual classes, but cannot be compared directly to the middle class social group because the latter will include a number of households in manual class IV (Skilled manual occupations, Foremen, Supervisors etc.). Correspondingly, Classes IV, V and VI are more important in North Norfolk than South Nottinghamshire. Class VII (Armed Forces and others unclassified) represents a small proportion of

the households in both areas, although there is evidence to suggest that several houses in Fakenham are owned by RAF personnel, but are occupied by tenants whilst the owners are posted to bases outside Norfolk.

This socio-economic class structure reveals an interesting point about the social class structure. The gap between manual and non-manual class groups is wider than the difference between the middle class and working class groups. This suggests that a number of manual households, in the self-assigned class classification, are defined as middle class. This is related in particular to Class IV households in North Norfolk, with a substantial proportion of these being classified as middle class. This suggests that there is an important difference between the social composition of the middle class group in the two case study areas. This may go some way to explaining the middle class dominance in North Norfolk, since the industrial expansion at Fakenham has provided jobs for skilled manual workers which may in turn have encouraged skilled personnel to move to the area, and to correspondingly influence social structure.

The differences between the socio-economic class structures of the twelve study villages are quite considerable. This is due in part to the detailed nature of the classification, and also to the necessarily small sample size in the village studies. This effectively means that we can make no general observations about differences between the individual Classes. In the following section, however, we shall discuss at length the inter-village contrasts between the combined Classes I and II group.

## 9.9 Social Polarisation

In 1971 Ambrose found that the 'most striking characteristic' of the social structure of the village of Ringmer, in Sussex, was the 'preponderance (53%) of the total population who fall into social classes I and II'<sup>39</sup>. Table 9.7 shows that Ringmer is not an isolated occurrence, since eight of the twelve study villages in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire have comparable proportions of between nearly forty and eighty per cent.

Socio-economic Classes I and II include professional workers and also managers and employers in industry and commerce. This is only one sector of the middle class since the two groups exclude a wide range of other occupations in the intermediate non-manual class (III), and some in the skilled manual class (IV) which may be considered as middle class in status. Consequently, a social structure where over forty per cent of household heads are in group I and II indicates an important degree of intra-class concentration. The author has examined this at some length<sup>40</sup> and suggests that within many rural communities this concentration of classes I and II is associated with a process of middle class social polarisation. A separate paper is included as Appendix Six, giving a more detailed examination of the methodological problems of assessing the effect of the process on the social structure of individual villages.

The term social polarisation is taken from the terminology of some urban studies which have examined a similar process taking place in many urban areas, notably parts of inner London<sup>41</sup>.

Polarisation, of course, implies a movement towards social extremes, but this process in both urban and rural areas is characterised only by middle class social polarity, and it is in this context that we use the term. Whilst there is a similar phenomenon in urban areas, it does seem to be the result of rather different mechanisms, and is taking place in a very different spatial context. Consequently, the urban literature is of limited value in seeking to understand rural social polarisation, other than as an introduction to the methodological problems of examining the process.

Studies of the process in the rural context are extremely limited. Pahl<sup>42</sup> has used the term 'polarisation' in a rather different context: to describe the redefinition of the social structure of some villages into two fundamental social groups, the working class and the middle class. Our use of the term is very different. The only specific work concerning social polarisation in villages is represented by an article by Hall<sup>43</sup>, who discusses the process in the context of rural planning policies. Nonetheless, it would be misleading to give the impression that we are discussing a social process which has previously been unrecognised. The author has discussed the process with a number of professional planners who are concerned with, or actively working in, rural settlement planning. In each case a general awareness of the phenomenon existed, although a number of planning officers were rather surprised at the scale of the process indicated by the North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire studies. There is also a wide acceptance that a social process such as this is occurring within the rural communities themselves.

Table 9.8 shows the changing socio-economic structure of the two case study areas. This indicates large increases in the proportion of the population classified as Classes I and II. However, in neither case is the decennial change in, or the absolute proportion of, Socio-Economic Classes I and II, so great as to justify the use of the term social polarisation.

Table 9.7 illustrates the socio-economic structure of the study villages. This table goes some way to explaining why the social structure of the study areas taken as a whole indicates, at best, only a very moderate trend<sup>44</sup> towards social polarity. The table indicates a wide variation between the individual village studies in the proportion of households classified in Classes I and II. However, both of the major selected villages, East Leake and Fakenham, exhibit relatively low social polarity proportions. The explanation for this must be partly associated with the nature of the local authority programme of capital expenditure in housing. We have already shown that since the Second World War such programmes have tended to focus local authority housing in the selected villages. As a direct result of this policy the social structure of selected villages generally shows a large sector in the manual classes (Socio-Economic Classes IV, V and VI). An equally important feature is the high proportion of households classed in group III, as is particularly evident in East Leake. There is no such simple explanation for the preponderance of this group in some selected villages, but since the great majority of these households live on the private estates of low to medium value housing that are a characteristic of many selected villages, one may assume that a causal relationship may exist between these households and the

type of property that they chose to live in. The evidence in the questionnaire survey considered in the section on "reasons for moving to the village" indicates that this relationship does exist with proportionately more respondents in class III living in either East Leake or Fakenham, giving either "liked the particular house" or "cheaper housing" as their principal reason for coming to the village.

As a consequence of these housing factors, selected villages tend to have a lower degree of social polarity, although it would be a mistake to consider that very few households of Socio-Economic Classes I and II live in selected villages. Selected villages, by the nature of the development policies applied to them, are amongst the largest rural settlements in a given area. This is certainly true in both North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire. Consequently the social structure of selected villages will disproportionately effect the statistics for the whole area, as given in the census record. In South Nottinghamshire for example, there are six major selected villages which together account for nearly two-thirds (61.3%) of the total rural population of the area in 1971. Hence, selected villages will tend to mask a process of social polarisation in the official statistics for the area as a whole.

An examination of social polarisation in the case study areas requires a simple evaluation of what is a significant degree of social polarity and what is not. The degree of social polarity in England and Wales is wholly unsuitable to being used as a comparative measure. In addition, the lack of strictly comparable research makes it difficult to construct our own yardstick, but

experience of rural social structures outside the study areas suggests that a combined proportion, of Classes I and II, of approximately forty per cent can be taken as a reasonable guideline. Using this working guideline, we can see that the most remarkable feature of the statistics in Table 9.7 is not that one settlement has an eighty per cent degree of polarity, but that eight, three in North Norfolk and five in South Nottinghamshire, show signs of significant social polarisation. If these statistics are representative, it indicates that middle class social polarisation may be a comparatively widespread phenomenon in rural areas.

There is some difference between the degree of polarity in the two study areas, with four of the five highest polarity scores (the proportion of the respondent households, in the village samples, classified in Socio-Economic Classes I and II) coming from the Nottinghamshire villages. This is partly a simple reflection of different employment opportunities between the two areas. North Norfolk is a more remote rural area than South Nottinghamshire, with limited opportunities in the local labour market for employment associated with Classes I and II. This is not the case in South Nottinghamshire which lies within commuting distance of a number of large urban areas. Consequently, the development of social polarisation in the remoter rural area may be limited by local employment opportunities in the commercial and professional sectors. Both long distance commuting and second home ownership would be methods of bypassing local employment limitations, but these were both shown to be limited in the village surveys. The other major bypass to shortage of local

employment is provided by the movement of retired householders of Socio-Economic Classes I and II to the villages. This is of considerable importance to the development of social polarisation in North Norfolk, with a positive correlation of 0.90 between the proportion of households in Classes I and II and the proportion of retired households in the Norfolk study villages (Spearman's rank correlation coefficient). This is a statistically significant association. In contrast the same correlation test in the South Nottinghamshire villages gave a coefficient of  $-0.07$ , which is an almost perfect measure of no association between the two variables. These results indicate that retired households are a very important aspect of social polarisation in the remoter rural area, North Norfolk, whilst in South Nottinghamshire they assume no particular significance in the development of the process.

The very high degree of polarity in the Nottinghamshire village of Wysall (80%) is worth special comment. This may be best interpreted not as a 'freak' case, but as an example of a settlement in which the process of polarisation has developed more extensively than in other study villages. Field studies indicate that there are some villages which may show even greater degrees of polarity than Wysall. In the South Nottinghamshire study area the village of Widmerpool, a neighbouring settlement to Wysall, is approaching almost total polarisation. Such villages are very much the exception rather than the rule, but nonetheless constitute an important aspect of the process of polarisation.

To examine the mechanisms of rural social polarisation, it is necessary to look at the pattern of housing in those settlements

which are more likely to show a marked degree of polarity, the non-selected villages. In the survey villages, occupation tied housing and privately rented accommodation are generally of limited importance, as we have earlier discussed. In addition the local authority sector is now largely focussed on the 'selected villages. The remainder of the housing stock in the non-selected villages can be considered as falling into four groups:

- (a) Pre-1918 housing ... modernised.
- (b) Pre-1918 housing ... non-(or partly) modernised.
- (c) Post-1918 housing .. low/medium market value.
- (d) Post-1918 housing .. higher market value.

This is, of course, a highly simplified view of the rural housing system but it does provide a useful general, reference system. The 1918 division is based on the working threshold adopted by the major building societies. The structure of housing within these divisions will vary from one village to another, but as a general rule only in the selected villages will property in the third sector be extensive. This is not the case for all selected villages, but it is so for most. In most non-selected villages, post-1918 property of low or medium value is less common. This is partly because the post-Second World War period of increased development pressure on many rural areas, has come at a time when rural growth was being largely concentrated, through settlement classification systems on selected villages.

Entry into the other three housing sectors increasingly requires a relatively large capital investment, or a relative

degree of affluence, or both. Certainly modernised property or partly modernised property was available in some of the survey villages at a moderate, or even low market value, but such property is now very limited. In addition, the practical operation of home ownership loans, often excludes households of moderate income from owning such property.

The conversion or modernisation of older property in villages may be seen as a way of overcoming high property values or limited opportunities of lower value modernised housing. However, extensive modernisation of property is subject to development control. Often buildings are 'listed' and require special consideration, and others must conform to the high standard of layout and design in 'conservation' villages (where planning controls over design, approach those used in the National Parks). These restrictions influence the cost of modernising village property. Often it may be necessary to consult an architect, to employ specialist labour (e.g. a thatcher) and to use high cost, specified materials. This will be in addition to the basic costs of modernisation. In consequence, the process is an especially costly investment, with or without the limited help of an 'improvement grant'. The problem of accessible capital and that of home ownership loans, means that most non-speculative modernisation is undertaken by middle class households of at least moderate affluence.

When this is combined with the relative scarcity of more recent low or moderate value housing, and the high market values of other newer property in the non-selected villages, then we can see that the structure and operation of the housing system in these villages,

increasingly favours the occupation groups in Socio-Economic Classes I and II. This is a highly generalised account, and the village surveys indicate that Classes I and II do not have a monopoly of vacated property, or of the limited amount of new housing.

If Classes I and II do not generally have a monopoly on house vacancy or construction, then a stage can exist at which a near monopoly may be reached. This was apparently the case in Wysall at the time of the survey. This would logically lead to a rapid intensification of the degree of polarity in the affected settlements. This may come about for a number of reasons. Firstly, there may be a threshold point above which the demand for living in a particular settlement is increased, partly because of the ascribed status of the village (a good address), partly through a desire to be with social peers. Secondly, increased demand may come about through a perception of high environmental quality in a village. Thirdly, demand may increase as the amount of property, or suitable property, in a settlement becomes more limited. This is apparently the case in the village of Widmerpool, illustrated in Plate 9.2. Also, and this is a more direct influence of the planning system, there is some evidence to suggest that the strict control of development that is implied by 'conservation village' designation, is associated with a measure of security to property values, and this may generate increased demand. In all cases increased demand is reflected in higher property values which may be brought about by the simple association between supply and demand, or by the action of estate agents<sup>45</sup> or developers<sup>46</sup>: In this situation a spiral can occur which may lead to degrees of polarity as high as, or higher than, that in Wysall.

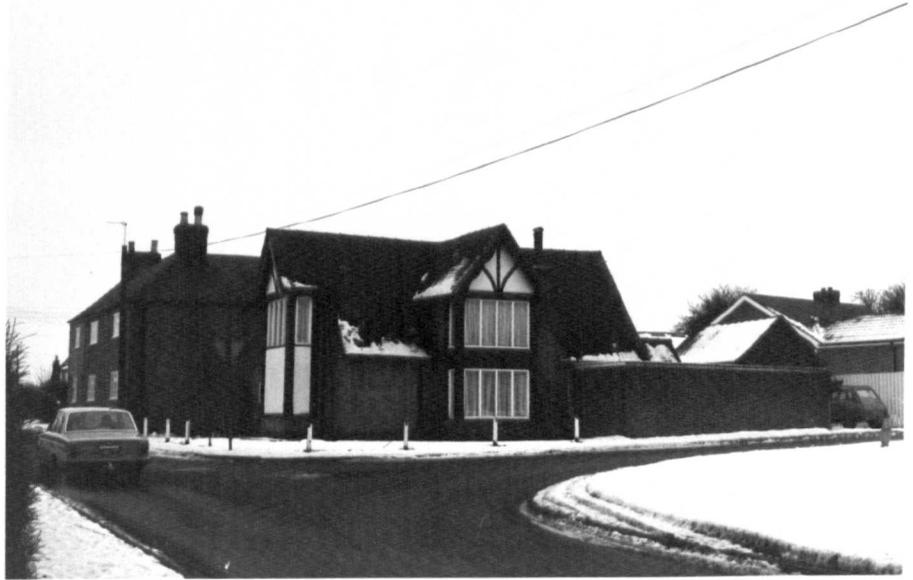


Plate 9.2 The old school house in Widmerpool, South Nottinghamshire

This small Nottinghamshire village developed in the late 'sixties with considerable residential infilling within the settlement, of higher value property. This quite rapid development has effectively exhausted potential development land within the village. This situation had led to increased pressure on the few established cottages and terraces in the villages which remained largely unmodernised. The former school house shown above was, one of the last properties in the village to be converted or modernised. This process in Widmerpool in the last ten years, seems to have been largely associated with increased middle class social polarity in the village.

There is no suggestion that social polarisation is a direct result of planning practice. Clearly a limited degree of polarity is to be expected in many rural areas, the general extent of this being a function of many factors, notably commuting and opportunities in the local labour market. The contribution of the planning system is through the principle of settlement categorisation. This creates differential development opportunities between selected and non-selected settlements. Within these constraints the structure of housing in non-selected villages, and the complex operation of the 'private' housing market have the effect of localising social polarisation in many, but not all, small and medium sized non-selected villages, resulting in an intensification of the degree of polarity in those communities. If settlement categorisation had not instituted a system of differential development opportunities, then the degree of polarity in individual settlements might be limited by more widespread housing opportunities for occupation groups outside Classes I and II. It would be naive to assume that social polarisation would not exist if development control were not instituted through settlement categorisation. Fashionable villages would still exist and the same problem with financing housing modernisation would still occur, but the effect of social polarisation on many smaller villages would be less than it is now. Hall<sup>47</sup> has effectively summarised the influence of the planning system:

"These changes, amounting to a large scale piece of social engineering, have never been consciously willed by the planners - still less by the villagers themselves. They are the unforeseen consequences of concentrating growth in selected settlements."

We have discussed social polarisation at some length because not only is this an important feature of the social structure of contemporary rural settlement, but it is of additional importance to this research since the process has been indirectly encouraged by the planning policy of selected village development. It would seem appropriate, in this context, to consider briefly the influence of social polarisation on rural settlements. This was not examined specifically in the two case studies but some general observations were suggested by the field studies and questionnaire interviews in the study villages.

The principal drawback to a polarising of the social class structure along the lines presented in this analysis, is that it leads to a further reduction in the amount of property that may be available to the young, 'indigenous' population of the villages. It is a feature of selected village development that non-selection means no, or very few, new houses, and this may have the effect of forcing some of the younger population away from the village, often upon marriage. Social polarisation can only intensify this process by generating market forces which makes most property too expensive for those young members of the settlements who may wish to remain in the village.

Preservationists would argue that the development of a socially polarised structure in rural settlements would tend to protect the environment quality and, where relevant, the architectural heritage of villages. Field surveys in the study villages indicate that this may be the case, with most conversion and modernisation of properties being undertaken to a generally high standard. It is

clear that in many individual cases this is taken well beyond the requirements that might be imposed by the local planning authority. In many cases, particularly in North Norfolk, social polarisation has resulted in the preservation of many houses that might otherwise have decayed through neglect or through the lack of the capital or the motivation to improve them.

There are consequently both advantages and disadvantages to the process of polarisation in rural settlement. Hall<sup>48</sup> has synthesised this by referring to polarised communities as 'upper middle class museum pieces', although this is both a highly generalised observation, and a slightly unfair description of the situation. Nonetheless, it may be that social imbalance in some villages, is the price that has to be paid for the preservation of environmental quality and architectural heritage in many of the smaller villages in England, in both remote and pressure areas alike. Whatever the situation it seems clear that middle class social polarisation is a process which deserves more detailed analysis and further research.

#### 9.10 Summary

This chapter is the second part of the analysis of population changes and patterns in the case study areas. Here we are principally concerned with information relating to the individual villages in the study areas and specifically to the case study areas.

The age structure of the village populations indicates some important contrasts between the two case studies and between

individual villages. An important feature of many villages in North Norfolk is the characteristicly more aged profile. This may be related to a process of 'social attrition' of the young and middle aged adult population, supported in some villages by an in-migration of retired and retiring households. In North Norfolk there is some evidence to indicate that the more balanced age profiles of civil parishes surrounding Fakenham may be associated with new job opportunities created through the 'growth' centre policy. The same phenomenon is not apparent with the major selected centres in South Nottinghamshire.

The tenancy structure in both study areas is dominated by owner-occupied households, with only one study village having fewer than half of the interviewed households being so classified. The highest proportion was eighty per cent in the Norfolk village of Great Ryburgh. The rented sector, which includes local authority housing, was of more variable significance, forming between eleven and fifty per cent of households in different villages. This seems to be largely a function of the uneven distribution of local authority property in both case study areas, brought about largely through the concentration of this housing on estates in selected villages. In most of the study villages 'occupation tied' housing is of less significance, particularly in the tenancy structure of selected villages.

The general patterns of length of residence in the case studies shows that North Norfolk has more longer stay households than South Nottinghamshire, although this may be partly caused by the more elderly age structure in that area. There is also a tendency for

selected villages to have shorter length of residence patterns than non-selected villages, although there is some variation between selected centres. The length of residence data also gives us the basis for forming a distinction between newcomers to settlements and old established residents. From this we can see that the only settlements with a preponderance of newcomer households are the selected villages, although Fakenham is an exception. Newcomers to the study areas are predominantly of middle class status. This is directly related to the balance of new housing in the study villages, which is, with the single exception of Fakenham, strongly associated with private developments. Consequently only in Fakenham, where there has been an important expansion of local authority housing, in addition to considerable private development, can the newcomer group be said to be socially heterogeneous.

Residential mobility within the two case study areas is dominated by short distance migration and in both areas the most important single source is short distance (local) rural-to-rural mobility. There are, however, some important contrasts between the two areas. In North Norfolk over half of the surveyed households had previously lived within the boundaries of the case study area. This compares with about a third of the households in South Nottinghamshire. In South Nottinghamshire local urban-to-rural migration is far more important than it is in North Norfolk, although even here it is of less importance than local rural-to-rural movement. Medium distance movements, from outside the county but within the region, are important only in South Nottinghamshire. Long distance migration, however, is important to both study areas, though more

significant in North Norfolk. The source areas in this pattern of migration are shown in Figures 9.5 and 9.6. These indicate a strong concentration on Greater London and the South East as a source of long distance migrants to North Norfolk, with a more diverse pattern in South Nottinghamshire. Since both of the study areas are similar distances from London it is difficult to find a simple explanation for this contrast. It does seem probable, however, that this may at least partly be related to qualified and skilled manpower migration to the industrial estate at Fakenham.

The pattern of future mobility in both case study areas is broadly similar, although there are important differences in the reasons given for possible/probable future movement. In South Nottinghamshire employment is by far the most important factor, whilst in Norfolk dissatisfaction with village facilities, notably schools and shopping facilities, was the principal factor. This fact may have important implications for the future planning of resources in the remoter of the two study areas.

The reasons for coming to the villages show some small, but important differences between South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk, although in both areas employment was the principal factor. What does emerge from both study areas is that residential migration to the villages is principally related to factors associated with individual houses or to a broad geographic area, and rarely to what may be called village specific factors.

Most of the study villages in both North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire, show a preponderance of middle class households.

This may have been expected in South Nottinghamshire but is a little surprising in North Norfolk. This would seem to underline the importance of the in-migration of retired or retiring householders (who are generally middle class) in North Norfolk and also the rather specific migration of professional and managerial households to the new or expanded industries in Fakenham. The middle class dominance is greater in South Nottinghamshire and shows a stronger bias to non-manual occupations than North Norfolk, where skilled manual workers are an important element of the middle class.

Pahl and others have shown that the middle classes have come to constitute an increasingly large proportion of the rural population in England. This research, in both North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire, shows that there are important developments taking place within this general process that are leading to a concentration on just the professional, managerial and employing sectors of the middle classes in many villages. This process is described here as social polarisation, after a comparable urban phenomenon, and the results of this study indicate that social polarity within the middle classes may be a comparatively widespread feature of the social structure of rural areas. Furthermore this analysis indicates that the operation of the policy of selected village development is an important factor in the process.

In general this chapter has shown some important differences between the two study areas but also some interesting similarities. Of equal significance are the contrasts between selected and non-selected settlements. These contrasts are frequently a direct

product of the different development opportunities and development patterns that occur in the settlements. It is quite clear from the studies that different patterns of residential development can profoundly, and very rapidly, affect many aspects of the social structure of rural settlements. This influence might be seen as an important consideration in the regulation of residential development in rural areas, although in the contemporary planning system there is no established mechanism, legal or administrative, which allows for this.

FOOTNOTES

1. The causes of this social attrition are related to a number of factors, notably to relative deprivation in social and housing opportunities, and to changes in the employment structure of rural areas. These have been discussed extensively elsewhere. For a general perspective see, for example:

H.D. Clout, *Rural geography: An introductory survey*, (1972).  
pp.8-33.

2. R.E. Pahl, *Urbs in Rure*. London School of Economics and Political Science Geographic Papers No.2.

3. We should note that research by Thorns has shown that the entry of newcomers to a rural community does not always have the effect of polarising the social class structure. See:

D.C. Thorns, "The changing system of rural stratification".  
*Sociologia Ruralis* 8 (1968), pp.161-178.

4. This is a widespread phenomenon in rural England and reflects, in part, different housing values and goals between the two social classes, the middle class and working class. This should not, however, create an impression of a socially homogeneous group of 'white collar' new house owners in the villages. In the selected villages in particular, many house owners were skilled manual workers who were later classified as middle class in 'self assigned' social class status.

5. The recent local authority housing developments at Fakenham have been specifically associated with the development of the industrial function of the settlement and in particular with the recently completed industrial estate.

6. In a paper published in 1952 Vince developed a theoretical terminology for this phenomenon:

S.W.E. Vince, "Reflections on the structure and distribution of rural population in England and Wales, 1921 - 1931".

*Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*

18 (1952), pp.53-76.

7. This view may derive largely from misinterpretation of the perspective of Pahl's work within the context of the whole of rural England. Pahl found that mobility to his study area was dominated by movements from Greater London and from the towns of the Hertfordshire area. Subsequent research has shown that the Hertfordshire situation, being very close to Greater London itself, may be atypical of other rural areas in England. See:

R.E. Pahl, op cit (footnote 2).

8. HMSO, *Census 1971: Preliminary report*. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

9. R.E. Pahl, op cit (footnote 2).

10. P. Ambrose, *The quiet revolution: Social change in a Sussex village, 1871-1971*. (1974) p.111.

11. E. Radford, *The new villagers: Urban pressure on rural areas of Worcestershire*. (1970), pp.23-38.
12. A.E. Emerson and R.E. Crompton, *Suffolk: Some social trends*, Report for the Suffolk Rural Community Council. (1968), pp.19-21.
13. The presentation of Radfords data does not allow for exact comparison.
14. For the purposes of simplicity, 'local' is used in this context to refer to residential migration taking place within the administrative boundaries of the county.
15. R.E. Rahl, op cit (footnote 2).
16. P. Ambrose, op cit (footnote 10).
17. E. Radford, op cit (footnote 11).
18. See footnote 13.
19. This may seem to suggest a perception of failure on the part of the households. In fact, this is not necessarily so, since many immigrant households expressed no conscious desire (in the questionnaire interview) to 'fit into the village'.
20. Variations between the villages are largely related to the social structure of the sample population, since middle class households show much higher rates of urban experience than working class

households, in both study areas.

21. We should point out that whilst there is a broad association between the distance of settlements from the nearest major urban centre, and the relative importance of 'employment' as a factor in residential mobility into the settlements, this is not statistically significant. Statistical tests applied to the association resulted in a weak positive correlation which was not statistically significant (above the 95 per cent confidence interval).

22. R.E. Pahl, "The social objectives of village planning". *Official Architecture and Planning*. August 1966.

23. E. Radford, op cit (footnote 11).

24. P. Ambrose, op cit (footnote 10).

25. This point is reinforced by the findings of a study of the Brixworth district of Northamptonshire. In an examination of the decision making process in rural housing choice, Weekly found that few houses were picked for 'village related' factors. See:

I.G. Weekley, *The vicaral population: A study of the structure of village economies*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. University of London (1974).

26. G. Duncan Mitchell, "Depopulation and rural social structure" *Sociological Review* 62 (1950), pp.69-85.

27. D.C. Thorns, *Social stratification and social mobility in a rural area*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Exeter. (1967).
28. R.M. Crichton, *Commuters village* (1964).
29. J. Connel, "Green belt country" *New Society* (1971), pp.304-306.
30. H.E. Bracey, "Rural Settlement in Great Britain". *Sociologia Ruralis* 3 (1963), p.75.
31. See, for example:
- R. Crichton, op cit (footnote 28).
- P. Green, "Drymen: Village growth and community problems". *Sociologia Ruralis* 4 (1964). pp.52-62.
- G.J. Lewis, "Commuting and the village in mid Wales" *Geography* 52 (1967), pp.294-304.
- P. Ambrose op cit (footnote 10).
32. R.E. Pahl, op cit (footnote 2).
33. See for example the studies by:
- W.M. Williams, *The sociology of an English village: Gosforth*. (1956).
- W.M. Williams, *A West Country village: Ashworthy - family, kinship, and land* (1963).

- J. Littlejohn, *Westrigg: The sociology of a cheviot parish*. (1963).
34. C. Harris, *Hennage: A social system in miniature*. (1973).
35. A.E. Emerson and R.E. Crompton, op cit (footnote 12).
36. W.G. Runciman, *Relative deprivation and social justice* (1966).
37. Retired households were defined on the basis of the last full time occupation of the household head, and widows on the occupation of their late husbands.
38. C.L. Bielkus, A.W. Bodgers, G.P. Wibberley, *Second homes in England and Wales*. (1977).
39. P. Ambrose, op cit (footnote 10), p.116.
40. D.J. Parsons, "Village development in England: An examination of the process of social polarisation". Paper presented to the conference of the Institute of British Geographers (Rural Geography Study Group) on *Rural Settlement and Land Use Planning*. University of Lancaster, 1977.

Also, shortly to be published:

D.J. Parsons, *Social polarisation: The influence of rural settlement planning policies*. Discussion Paper. Department of Geography. University of Sussex.

41. See Appendix Six for a full bibliography.
42. R.E. Pahl, *Whose city?* (1975), pp.23-27.
43. C. Hall, "Village growth and strife". *The Guardian*. March 1st, 1976.
44. Indeed the actual rate of change seems to be similar to that experienced in England and Wales as a whole.
45. The special contribution of commercial estate agents is worth specific comment here. The field research in Wysall indicates that estate agents based in Nottingham and Leicester may have been critical factors in the escalation of housing values that occurred in this village in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies. This is difficult to assess, due partly to the reluctance of estate agents to discuss this factor, but the evidence suggests that in further research concerning social polarisation this is a topic which is particularly worth detailed examination.
46. Property developers can act in a similar manner with new property built in villages, as estate agents may do with established housing. Prices may be raised above what may be constituted a normal market level, although this may partly be caused by a need to compensate for higher land values. More commonly the property which is built, individually or in small groups, is of a type or design that will command high values. This process has been observed in both Wysall and the neighbouring village of Widmerpool.

In addition the author has recently completed a short paper, prepared at the request of the Lake District Special Planning Board, which examines a specific example of this operation of private developers in the village of Gosforth, Cumbria. The results of this short study, add weight to the idea that both estate agents and property developers may be important active agents in escalating the process that leads towards high degrees of social polarity in some villages.

47. C. Hall, op cit (footnote 43).

48. C. Hall, op cit (footnote 43).

Table 9.1 The tenancy structure of the study villages

	Tenancy structure of sample households (%)			
	Owner-occupied households	Households with rented tenancy <sup>1</sup>	Occupation tied households	Total
Brinton	64.7	23.5	11.8	100.0
Fakenham	60.0	38.5	1.5	100.0
Great Ryburgh	80.0	15.0	5.0	100.0
Sharrington	53.8	30.7	15.4	100.0
Stiffkey	50.0	43.7	6.2	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	61.8	32.8	5.3	100.0
Barton in Fabis	30.0	50.0	20.0	100.0
East Bridgford	69.7	27.3	3.0	100.0
East Leake	67.9	32.1	-	100.0
Kinoulton	68.2	18.2	13.6	100.0
Normanton on Soar	75.0	15.0	10.0	100.0
Thoroton	76.9	11.5	11.5	100.0
Wysall	70.0	20.0	10.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	66.8	27.1	6.1	100.0

1. Households with rented tenancy include both the local authority and private rented (furnished or unfurnished) housing sectors.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.2 The pattern of residential mobility into the study villages<sup>1</sup>

	% of households from source area							Total
	Born in village	Within case study area	Rest of county	Rest of region	Rest of U.K.	Abroad		
Brinton	17.6	35.3	-	11.8	35.3	-	100.0	
Fakenham	9.2	49.3	13.8	-	24.6	3.1	100.0	
Great Ryburgh	15.0	40.0	15.0	5.0	25.0	-	100.0	
Sharrington	23.0	46.1	7.7	-	23.0	-	100.0	
Stiffkey	31.3	18.7	6.3	-	37.5	6.3	100.0	
NORTH NORFOLK	15.3	42.0	10.7	2.4	27.3	2.3	100.0	
<hr/>								
Barton in Fabis	25.0	25.0	30.0	15.0	-	5.0	100.0	
East Bridgford	15.2	18.2	42.4	3.0	18.2	3.0	100.0	
East Leake	3.8	27.6	19.0	22.9	25.7	0.9	100.0	
Kinoulton	18.2	31.8	27.2	4.5	18.2	-	100.0	
Normanton on Soar	15.0	-	5.0	45.0	35.0	-	100.0	
Thoroton	15.4	26.9	19.2	23.1	11.5	3.8	100.0	
Wysall	5.0	30.0	45.0	5.0	15.0	-	100.0	
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	9.3	25.6	24.9	18.2	20.4	1.6	100.0	

1. Based on previous place of residence

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.3 Future migration from the study villages

	Households perception of migration (%)				
	Will move	May move	Will not move	Don't know	Total
Brinton	5.9	29.4	52.9	11.8	100.0
Fakenham	16.9	9.2	73.8	-	100.0
Great Ryburgh	10.0	20.0	70.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	7.7	23.1	69.2	-	100.0
Stiffkey	43.7	18.7	37.5	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	16.8	16.0	65.6	1.5	100.0
Barton in Fabis	35.0	10.0	55.0	-	100.0
East Birdgford	12.1	12.1	75.8	-	100.0
East Leake	23.6	17.0	59.4	-	100.0
Kinoulton	36.4	27.3	36.4	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	25.0	25.0	50.0	-	100.0
Thoroton	7.7	23.1	65.4	3.8	100.0
Wysall	35.0	5.0	60.0	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	23.5	17.0	59.1	0.4	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.4 Reasons for perceived future migration from the study villages

Reason <sup>1</sup>	% of area sample who will/may move from the village in the future	
	NORTH NORFOLK	SOUTH NOTTING-HAMSHIRE
Due to change of household heads' workplace . . .	19.0	41.3
To retire/for retirement . . . . .	7.1	4.8
To be nearer the family . . . . .	11.9	6.7
For a smaller house . . . . .	2.4	1.0
For a larger house . . . . .	2.4	2.9
To emigrate . . . . .	4.8	4.8
Dissatisfied with the village community . . . . .	-	2.9
Dissatisfied with the village facilities . . . . .	26.2	2.9
For the children when they become older <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	2.4	3.8
To live in an old peoples home . . . . .	-	2.9
To be able to purchase a house . . . . .	2.2	3.8
To buy a larger farm . . . . .	-	1.9
To live in a more 'rural' area . . . . .	2.4	2.9
To avoid depreciating house values . . . . .	-	1.0
If the village is further developed . . . . .	-	2.9
To move closer to current workplace . . . . .	-	2.9
For a bigger garden . . . . .	2.4	1.0
Marriage . . . . .	2.4	2.9
To obtain a council house . . . . .	2.4	1.0
For a change . . . . .	4.8	3.8
To live with relatives . . . . .	2.4	-
To live further away from present workplace . .	2.4	-
If local trade shopkeeper becomes worse . . . .	2.4	-
If airport Castle Donnington is expanded . . .	-	1.9
TOTAL . . . . .	100.0	100.0

1. As far as possible the phrasing reflects the respondents own terms. Aggregation of these responses was kept to a minimum because of the differences of response and the small cell sizes (see text).

2. In each case a reaction against the village/area schools or against facilities in the village for teenagers.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.5 Reasons for moving to the study villages

Pre-coded reason	% of area households	
	NORTH NORFOLK	SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
For village community spirit .....	0.8	2.4
To a job or to be within commuting range of workplace .....	29.8	32.4
Property cheaper than elsewhere .....	1.5	4.5
Liked the particular house .....	9.2	14.6
Wanted to be near to relatives .....	-	0.8
Wanted to be near to friends .....	1.5	0.8
Moved to spouse on marriage .....	8.4	4.0
To obtain local authority housing .....	6.9	8.9
Born in this village .....	15.3	9.3
For retirement .....	6.1	3.2
To be in the countryside .....	2.3	8.1
Other reason .....	18.3	10.9
TOTAL .....	100.0	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.6 The social class structure of the study villages

	% Households		
	Middle class <sup>1</sup>	Working class <sup>1</sup>	Total
Brinton	58.8	41.2	100.0
Fakenham	52.3	47.7	100.0
Great Ryburgh	60.0	40.0	100.0
Sharrington	38.5	61.5	100.0
Stiffkey	50.0	50.0	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	52.7	47.3	100.0
Barton in Fabis	35.0	65.0	100.0
East Bridgford	66.7	33.3	100.0
East Leake	67.9	32.1	100.0
Kinoulton	77.3	22.7	100.0
Normanton on Soar	70.0	30.0	100.0
Thoroton	73.1	26.9	100.0
Wysall	90.0	10.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	68.9	31.1	100.0

1. For definition refer to the text of this chapter.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.7 The socio-economic class structure of households in the study villages

	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS <sup>1</sup> (%)							TOTAL FOR ALL CLASSES	TOTAL FOR CLASS I & II
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
Brinton	41.2	11.8	0.0	23.5	23.5	0.0	0.0	100.0	53.0
Fakenham	12.3	9.2	7.7	35.4	27.6	3.1	4.6	100.0	21.5
Great Ryburgh	20.0	20.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	40.0
Sharrington	15.4	0.0	15.4	23.1	30.8	15.4	0.0	100.0	15.4
Stiffkey	12.5	25.0	6.2	12.5	31.3	12.5	0.0	100.0	37.5
NORTH NORFOLK	17.6	12.2	6.1	30.5	28.2	3.1	2.3	100.0	29.8
Barton in Fabis	15.0	15.0	0.0	10.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	30.0
East Bridgford	27.3	15.2	24.2	12.1	9.1	9.1	3.1	100.0	42.5
East Leake	9.4	25.5	23.6	21.7	16.0	1.9	1.9	100.0	34.9
Kinoulton	31.8	22.7	18.2	4.5	22.7	0.0	0.0	100.0	54.5
Normanton on Soar	25.0	30.0	5.0	25.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	55.0
Thoroton	19.2	23.1	7.7	23.1	26.9	0.0	0.0	100.0	42.3
Wysall	55.0	25.0	5.0	5.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	80.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	20.2	23.1	16.6	17.0	20.6	1.6	0.8	100.0	43.3

1. As defined by the Office of population, Censuses and Surveys ( a summary of the occupational classification is given in Appendix Six).

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 9.8 The socio-economic structure<sup>1</sup> of the case study areas

Year	SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (Bingham Rural District <sup>2</sup> )								
	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS <sup>3</sup> (%)							TOTAL ALL CLASSES	TOTAL CLASSES I & II
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
1961	4.3	14.4	14.5	25.7	21.9	6.5	12.6	100.0	18.7
1966	6.2	16.6	19.6	27.0	16.0	5.1	9.4	100.0	22.8
1971	6.4	19.9	19.9	33.9	10.4	2.6	6.7	100.0	26.3
NORTH NORFOLK (Walsingham Rural District)									
1961	1.2	7.9	7.3	23.1	24.6	18.6	17.3	100.0	9.1
1966	1.4	12.1	9.1	30.5	25.8	12.2	9.1	100.0	13.5
1971	2.2	14.9	10.0	30.5	25.8	7.2	9.1	100.0	17.1
ENGLAND AND WALES									
1961	3.3	11.1	17.7	34.1	17.0	7.0	9.8	100.0	14.4
1966	3.8	11.0	17.9	32.7	16.9	6.8	10.9	100.0	14.8
1971	4.5	18.2	13.0	31.7	16.8	6.8	9.0	100.0	22.7

1. The table refers to households by the Socio-Economic Group of the chief supporter and include retired households. These statistics are therefore roughly, but not specifically, comparable to those in Table 9.7

2. This represent only a part of the South Nottinghamshire study area itself (the remainder forms a part of Basford Rural District).

3. The Socio-Economic Classes are based on the standard OPCS classification, as in Table 9.7 also, as defined in:

HMSO, Classification of Occupations. Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (1970).

Source: Census 1961, and 1971. Sample Census 1966.

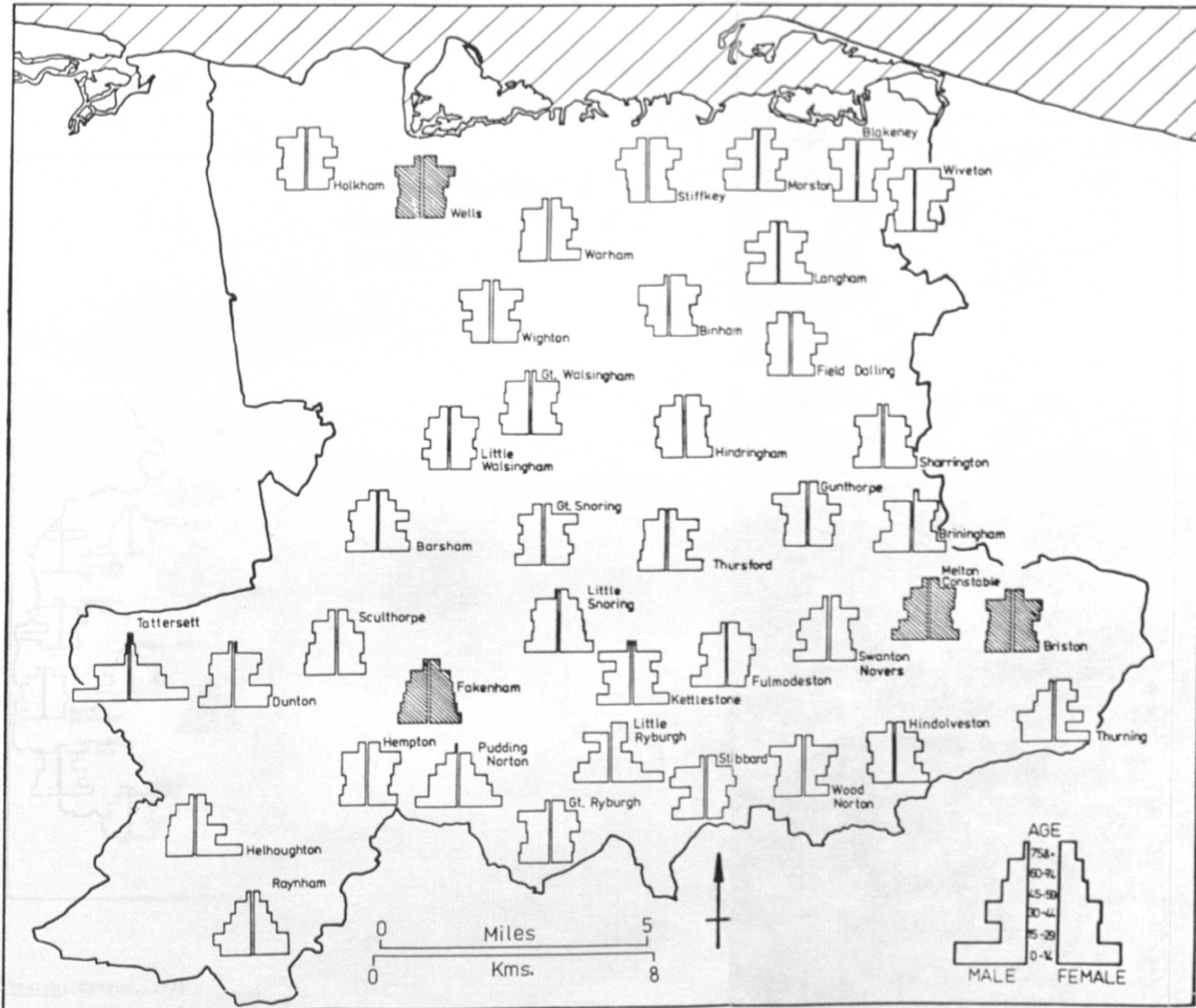


Figure 9.1 Age profiles for the individual civil parishes of the North Norfolk study area

Selected villages  
 Non-selected villages

The individual age profiles for the civil parishes are based on the cell populations expressed as a percentage of the total population, according to the following scale:

Source: Census, 1971

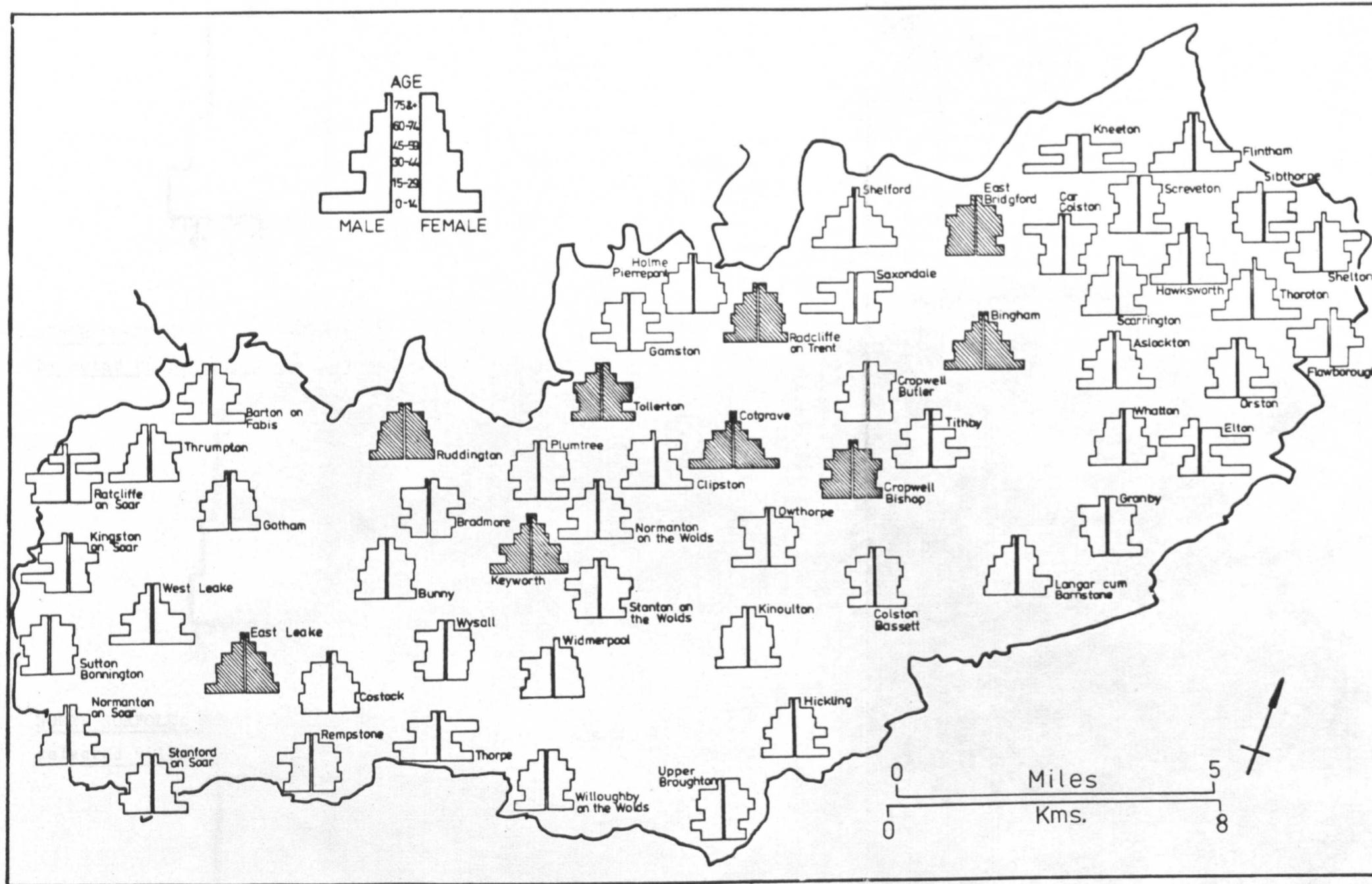
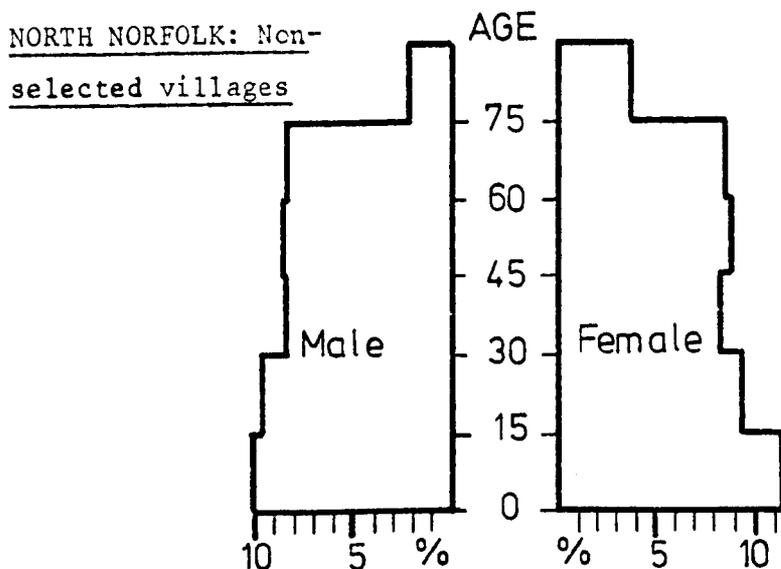
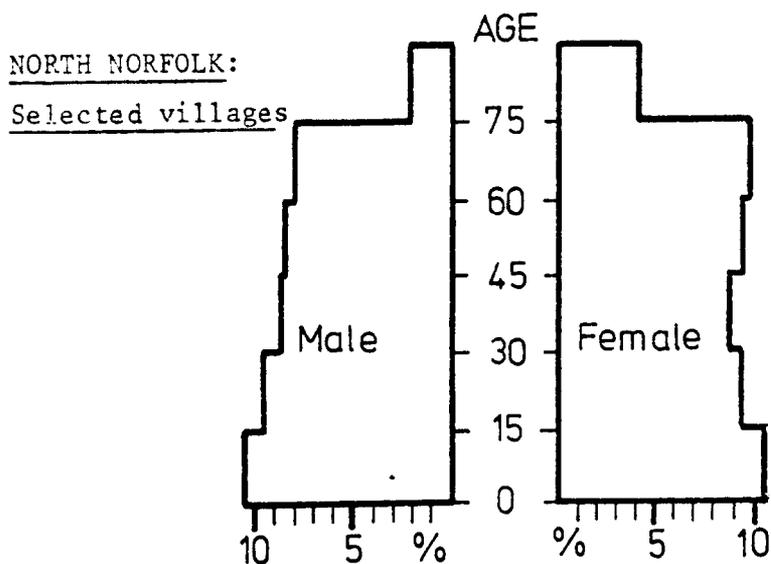
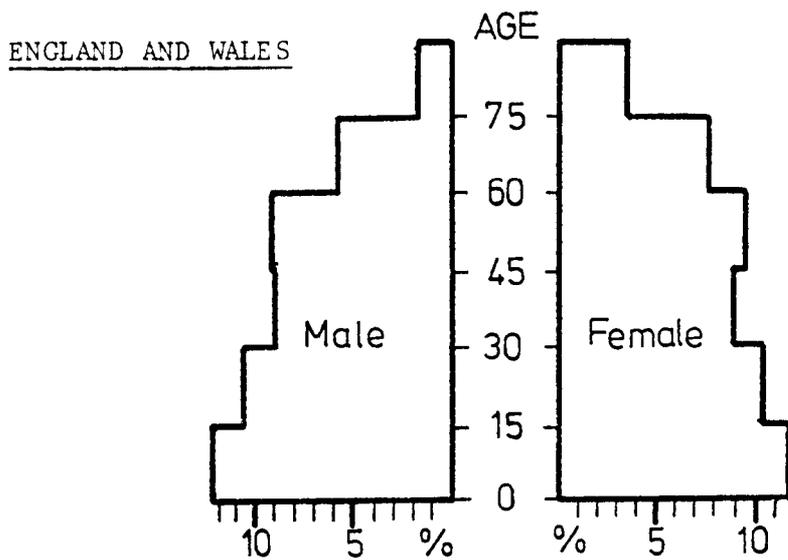


Figure 9.2 Age profiles for the individual civil parishes of the South Nottinghamshire study area

The individual age profiles for the civil parishes are based on the cell populations expressed as a percentage of the total population, according to the following scale:

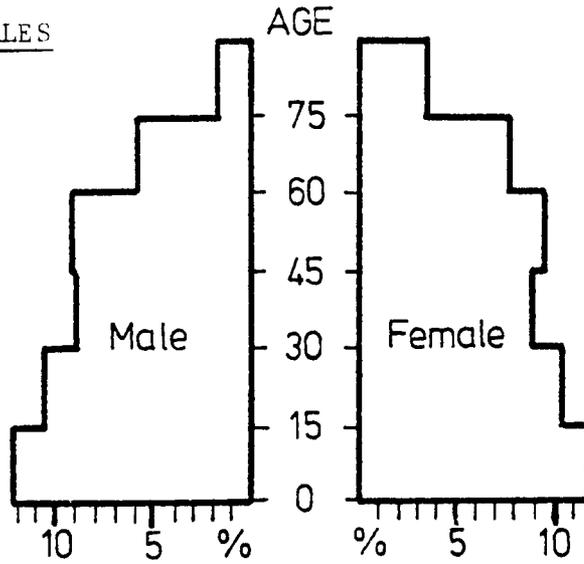
Figure 9.3 Age profiles: Selected villages and non-selected villages in North Norfolk, 1971



Source: Census, 1971

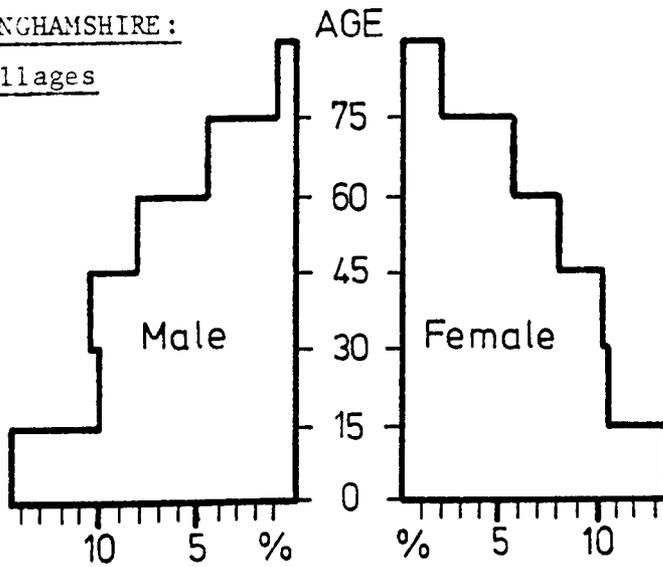
Figure 9.4 Age Profiles: Selected villages and non-selected villages in South Nottinghamshire, 1971

ENGLAND AND WALES



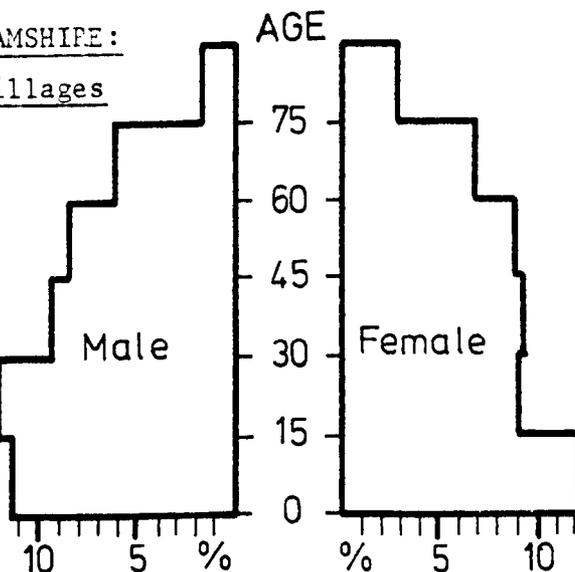
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE:

Selected villages



SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE:

Non-selected villages





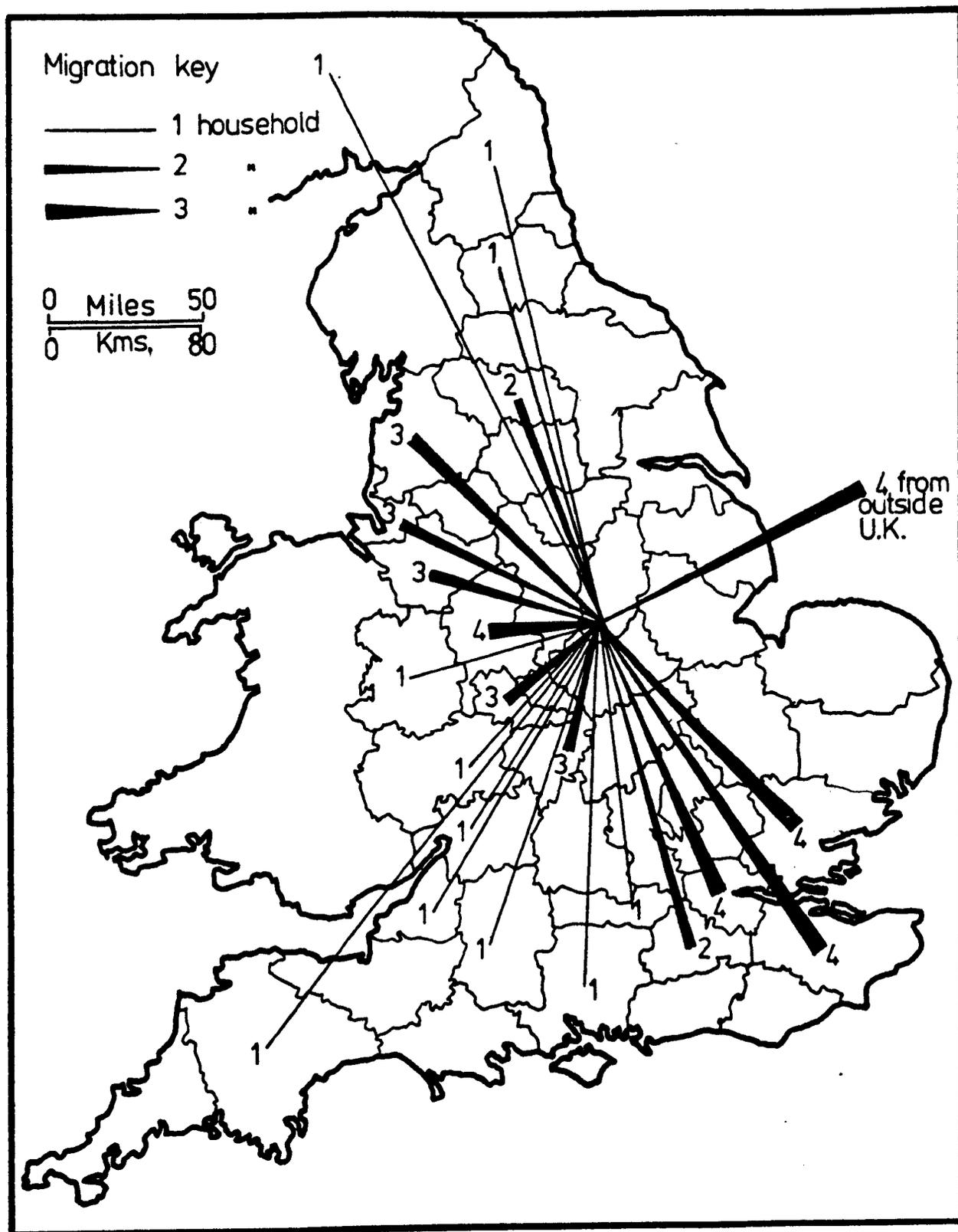


Figure 9.6 Migration of households to the South Nottinghamshire study villages from outside the East Midlands region

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

CHAPTER TENSELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACILITIES IN  
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND NORTH  
NORFOLK - I: PATTERNS OF PERSONAL  
MOBILITY AND EMPLOYMENT10.1 Introduction

This and the following chapter are concerned with employment in the case study areas, (Chapter Ten), and the distribution and patterns of use of shopping, service, and recreational facilities (Chapter Eleven). This division, although it unfortunately breaks the continuity of the related subject matter, is necessary because of the large amount of information that we wish to present from the household questionnaire survey.

In Chapter Three we considered the development of the planning concept of selected village development. We established that one principle which is central to this is that selected village development should create or reinforce the existence of a number of rural growth points, based on the selected centres, which act as foci for the provision of social and economic facilities, and employment opportunities, for the whole rural population. Furthermore, the physical development of these centres leads, through multiplier effects, to an expansion of their service base and to improved employment opportunities, largely in the manufacturing industries, which Garbett-Edwards<sup>1</sup> has examined at length. In this chapter and the following chapter, we shall attempt to evaluate this dimension of selected village development policies, through an examination of employment patterns and the distribution and pattern of

use of socio-economic facilities in the study areas.

The pattern of distribution in South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk, cannot be interpreted without a detailed examination of the pattern of personal mobility of the population. Consequently, the first section of this chapter analyses this at some length.

The consideration of socio-economic facilities, and employment patterns is consequently focussed quite appropriately, on the association with selected village development policies. As such neither this chapter or chapter Eleven, attempts a complete review of social and economic facilities (and employment) in rural areas. The select bibliography which is attached to this thesis contains references to material which is more relevant to this (Appendix Eight).

## 10.2 Personal mobility of households in the study villages

In this section we examine two aspects of personal mobility: the pattern of car ownership<sup>2</sup> as shown by the household survey, and the distribution of rural bus services. As an additional element in public transport, train services are comparatively unimportant since only three settlements of the 124 in the two study areas retain a British Rail passenger station. These three are all on the Grantham to Nottingham line. This fact, in itself, is a sad example of the widespread decay in rural passenger train services that has occurred in these study areas as in much of the rest of rural England. The current system of special public inquiries that must precede proposed railway closures may have introduced a degree of political protection for the remaining rural services but this has come too late for the villages in North Norfolk, where the only remaining service

is a freight facility between Fakenham and Norwich.

It is an accepted feature of rural transport studies that the rate of car ownership, per household, is higher in rural areas than in urban. About half of all households, nationally, have the use of a car, but recent studies by the Department of the Environment have defined rates of 74 per cent in Devon <sup>3</sup>, and 73 per cent in Suffolk <sup>4</sup>, whilst a comparable figure in an Oxfordshire parish, studied by P.E.P., showed 67 per cent <sup>5</sup>. The questionnaire survey of the two case study areas indicates a similar rate in the Norfolk villages, with 76 per cent, and a very high rate in South Nottinghamshire, with 83 per cent. Table 10.1 shows there are considerable variations between the study villages in the actual proportion of households with use of a car. However, only two settlements in the Norfolk study, Brinton (70.6%) and Great Ryburgh (60.0%), and only one in South Nottinghamshire, Barton in Fabis (65.0%), record rates below 75 per cent. The lower rates in these villages seem to be largely a function of the composition of the survey population in those villages since there were considerable variations in the rate of car ownership between different social groups in the population. There was a reduction in the rate for working class households, of which 66.1 per cent and 67.9 per cent respectively had the use of a car in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire. More significant was the considerable fall off in the rate for the elderly population, so that in the Norfolk study villages fewer than half of the households whose household head was sixty-five or more years old had the use of a car (44.9%) and this was only a little higher for the elderly households in South Nottinghamshire (55.3%). This indicates an important social variation in the rate of car

'ownership' which we shall return to later.

The occurrence of low car ownership for the elderly is hardly surprising. Whilst this was not studied specifically in the questionnaire, the evidence from the household interviews suggests there are three principal components of low rates of car ownership in the study areas.

1. Households which have given up a car due perhaps to infirmity, an income which is too low to support a car, or where the only driver (usually the husband) in the household has died.
2. Households which have never had a car and where neither husband or wife has learnt to drive (and are too old to do so now).
3. Households where low incomes have not allowed the purchase and support of a car.

The questionnaire surveys also showed a fairly high rate of multi-car ownership, although the variation between the two study areas was more pronounced for this aspect of personal mobility. In fact, nearly half of the households with a use of a car in South Nottinghamshire had two or more cars (42.2%). In the Norfolk study villages the rate was substantially lower (26.0%). Connel has commented on the association between multi-car ownership and household status in four Surrey parishes <sup>6</sup>. In his study he suggested a relationship between two-car households and the professional status

of the household head. Connel associated multi-car ownership with the comparative affluence of these professional households. In both North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire there is no direct relationship between multi-car ownership and professional households, although the middle class households in the study villages do have a much higher rate of two or more car ownership. In fact, in our study areas multi-car ownership seems to be associated more with a real need for more than one car, than as a reflection of the prosperity of more affluent households.

This description of car ownership may seem to suggest a pattern of high personal mobility in both of the study areas and particularly in the South Nottinghamshire villages. On the face of these statistics this may seem to be true, but in reality the figures conceal a considerable degree of immobility in the population. We have already shown that the proportion of households with use of a car falls off remarkably for the elderly population. This is also true for the late teenage group, although because of the structure of the analysis and our concern with car ownership per household, we cannot measure this. The P.E.P. study in an Oxfordshire parish <sup>7</sup> showed that nearly half the men (47%) and nearly three-quarters of the women (71%) in the 14-24 age group are without their own private transport. Other studies have also shown a statistical association between car ownership and the family income level <sup>8</sup>. This association identifies the low income households of rural areas as another group with a lower degree of personal mobility.

Another important feature of the personal transport pattern identified by the questionnaire survey was 'daily immobility'. This was characteristically a feature of car owning households in which

the husband used the vehicle for daily transport to work leaving a wife, often with young children, at home in the village without any means of personal transport, except possibly a bicycle. This applied more frequently to young adult households, often those with the greater transport needs, than to middle aged adult households in which the wives were often in employment away from the home during the daytime. This is not a disabling feature for those housewives whom it affected. The shopping survey for example indicated that such 'daily immobile' households relied heavily on 'late night' shopping facilities at local or urban supermarkets. Consequently, this partial immobility can be overcome to some degree, but it is nonetheless an aspect of comparative personal immobility which may make many car owning households dependant on other forms of transport from the village during the daytime.

To summarise, in a given rural population there will be a proportion of the total who are in one or more of the lower mobility groups: the late teenage group, the elderly and retired population and households on low family incomes. We can consequently think of a residual population characterised by a high degree of relative immobility brought about by low car ownership rates. Examination of the pattern of personal transportation in South Nottinghamshire and the car ownership rate, in the context of this residual immobility, suggests that the proportion of households with the use of one or more cars is approaching an optimum. This highlights the phenomenon that a degree of personal immobility is a persistent feature of rural society. To this we must also add the existence of 'daily immobility' in many car owning households. The high rates of car ownership in Table 10.1 can thus be seen to disguise

the high rates of relative immobility for some sectors of the rural population. Pahl has drawn attention to this phenomenon <sup>9</sup> in a more general context, but Pulling and Speakman <sup>10</sup> have summarised this in relation to town and country planning:

"The planners' obsession with car ownership per household totally obscures the realities of personal mobility. People, not vehicles per household are what matters."

At the design stage of this study we followed the precedents set by previous research by measuring car ownership per household. We can now establish this as an ineffective way of measuring aspects of personal mobility. However, by using variable transformation techniques on the computer systems file, we are able to calculate an estimate of the proportion of households affected by partial immobility (daily immobility of housewives, etc., or of households with teenage members who are without personal motorised transport). When we add these households to those with no cars or motor cycles, we can gain a more realistic impression of patterns of personal 'immobility' in the study areas. In both study areas roughly a quarter of car owning households are affected by daily immobility (26.7% in North Norfolk and 21.5% in South Nottinghamshire). When considered in the context of totally immobile households this shows that in North Norfolk about a half of all survey households are affected by total or partial (daily) immobility (49.6%). This proportion is smaller in South Nottinghamshire (36.5%). In addition households where there are teenage members without personal motorised transport, cover sixteen per cent and seventeen per cent of the survey households in the two study areas. This puts the pattern of personal mobility as indicated in Table 10.1 in a rather different light.

It is within this context of personal mobility that the discussion of rural bus services assumes particular significance, since, in the effective absence of train services, the bus assumes an important role as an alternative source of personal transport for those households which are wholly or partly immobile.

There is an extensive literature from a wide variety of social, economic, geographic and planning sources, which has discussed the decline in rural bus services. An important feature of this process, as first examined by Green <sup>11</sup>, is that rural bus routes are becoming increasingly focussed on inter-urban routes. There has been widespread decline in those bus routes with two rural termini (i.e. rural-to-rural bus services), although, as Weekly <sup>12</sup> has pointed out such services were never very important in rural England (in contrast to rural-to-urban services). More important has been the decay of urban-to-rural routes with a single rural terminus, since these were important sources of access to shopping and service facilities in towns. The Transport Act of 1968 included in its legislation provision for county councils to support certain 'uneconomic bus routes' and most rural areas are now affected to varying degrees by subsidies under sections 30 and 34 of this Act; Menear <sup>13</sup> has examined a case study of this situation. Nonetheless, there has been continued decay in the last ten years in rural bus services, although this seems to have affected the bus companies proper rather more than the smaller independent rural operators, a point examined by Evans in some detail <sup>14</sup>.

The provision of bus services in the two case study areas is illustrated in Figures 10.1 and 10.2. The service pattern for North Norfolk, from the 1976 bus timetables, shows a number of

important features. Firstly, all of the daily services are based on inter-urban routes with Norwich, Kings Lynn, Cromer (via Sherringham) and East Dereham as the termini. The only important termini within the study area are the selected villages of Wells and Fakenham. Generally, however, bus services from the non-selected villages to the selected centres are very limited, and this must be an important constraint on the efficiency with which selected centres can act as centres of social and economic provision for the population of smaller settlements. There are no rural-to-rural services, or urban to rural services with termini other than Wells or Fakenham. Clearly, then the process of concentration on inter urban routes is in a fairly advanced state. In fairness we should note that when service rationalisation has occurred, the inter-urban services are often re-routed through the would-be 'deprived' villages. Service decay does not seem to be as advanced for the non-daily services, and services remain to the markets at Kings Lynn, East Dereham, Holt and the small settlement of Burnham Market.

The market day services are a crucial element in the provision of bus services to the villages in the study area. There are twenty-nine settlements which have no regular stage bus services, but an additional eighteen villages are served only by these market day services. In fact, only fifteen of the settlements within the survey area have a daily bus service. This very low network density is illustrated in Figure 10.1.

The geographical standard of provision in North Norfolk is thus very poor, with only one settlement in four being on a daily bus service. This situation of relative deprivation is further compounded by the poor quality of provision, in terms of service frequency, in those settlements which do have a daily stage service. Only two of the services in the area have more than five daily return services, involving only nine of the villages. There are also no regular Sunday stage services

in the whole of the area and very few evening services. The frequency of buses on many routes is diminished during the school holidays since many of these services are based on transporting school children (where an official school bus is not provided).

Figure 10.2 shows the contrasting service in South Nottinghamshire. The map shows a higher network density than in North Norfolk but a number of specific contrasts should be examined. Firstly, not only are there urban-to-rural services with termini in the selected villages, but there are also rural termini in the smaller villages of Redmile, Stathern and Long Clawson. These are Leicestershire villages but the routes to these termini are principally related to the South Nottinghamshire villages.

In North Norfolk market day services are an important supplement to the restricted network of daily services. In South Nottinghamshire market day buses are comparatively unimportant and they serve only three villages which are not on daily bus routes. This is only partially a consequence of the higher network density of this study area. In fact, only nine settlements are without a stage bus service.

The quality of service in South Nottinghamshire is also much better than that in the other case study area. Most of the settlements within South Nottinghamshire (thirty-four) have services with a daily frequency of more than five buses. Most of the inter-urban services have an hourly frequency with late evening and Sunday buses. Some of the urban-to-rural routes also have a limited Sunday service. The widespread provision of special school buses (see Plate 10.1) is also an important feature since this means that none

of the regular stage services are cancelled during the school holidays, as is certainly the case in North Norfolk. There is thus a profound difference between the provision of bus services in the two study areas.

It is an interesting feature of both of the study areas that settlement size seems to have little bearing on the standard of service in a given village. This seems to be true for all except the largest villages, usually the selected villages themselves.

Work on rural bus services in North Norfolk has already been undertaken by Munton and Clout <sup>15</sup>. Their analysis of the routes in 1970 which by then had decayed considerably, and their use by the local population, was subsequently summarised as:

"Further cuts in services would in most cases make little difference to mobility patterns. However, there were sections of the community which would suffer from any reductions, namely the aged and less affluent who had to rely on public services for choice in their shopping activities and access to doctors and dentists and other town based services. The analysis showed that rural transportation is not just an interim problem as is sometimes supposed". <sup>16</sup>

This summary of the transport situation for the immobile households of the study area indicates the seriousness of the situation. Since Munton's and Clout's work, there has been a minor development in the North Norfolk situation, brought about by the introduction of an experimental community bus service scheme. The service was based on six neighbouring villages, four of which lie within the study area. The service did not commence its stage operations (see Plate 10.2) until after the completion of the household survey



Plate 10.1 A school bus in East Bridgford, South Nottinghamshire

In South Nottinghamshire the catchment areas for secondary schools and for most primary schools (as with this example in East Bridgford) are served by school buses contracted by the Local Education Authority. In North Norfolk specialist provision of school buses is less extensive, and many of the existing regular 'stage' services are dependant on transporting children to school along with adult fare paying passengers. Consequently, some of the North Norfolk bus services are suspended during the school holidays, which services to intensify the very poor provision of public transport in that study area.

Plate 10.2 A timetable for the community bus service in North Norfolk posted on Sharrington village hall

One of the problems of the Norfolk community bus scheme is efficient communication of the timetable and special excursions. In Sharrington this is approached by notices displayed outside the village hall and the sub-post office. The primary stage services started in November, 1975, although there have been more recent extensions to the timetable as it now operates (February 1979), and as it is shown in this photograph



in the study villages, which by chance included two of the settlements in the scheme (Brinton and Sharrington) but it is a significant aspect of rural transport in the area and, as an experimental service which has attracted support in other parts of the country, it is of considerable interest. The community bus service scheme is examined in some detail in Appendix Seven.

The pattern of use of bus services is not considered separately within these chapters, although we do consider the use of buses in transport to shops, services, journey to work and recreation. As a general assessment, we can see that buses may potentially be an important element in filling the transport demands of people who either do not have a car or who are otherwise partially immobile. But in the two study areas the actual use of buses does not reflect this potential, due at least in part to the poor quality of the service, particularly in Norfolk. This feature is obviously not confined to the study areas but is a characteristic of most of rural England. There does seem to be a case for rethinking the structure of rural transport, as McLoughlin has suggested<sup>17</sup>, possibly along the lines of community based services similar to the community bus scheme (considered in detail in Appendix Seven) or based on a collective use of some private cars<sup>18</sup>. At the other extreme is the suggestion by Bendixson<sup>19</sup> that settlement planning should be based on the development of housing resources on centres that are located on major inter-urban routes. It is interesting to note that whilst rationalisation of other rural services such as church, and education facilities makes the resulting pattern more efficient (though not necessarily more desirable), the same is not true for rationalising the rural transport system.

### 10.3 Patterns of employment in the study areas

As with the rural transport problem there is an extensive multi-disciplinary literature on the pattern and changing structure of employment in rural areas. The decline of the importance of the primary sector brought about largely by reduction in the size of the agricultural workforce, and rapid expansion of commuting as a critical aspect of employment for rural households, have dominated this literature. It is not our objective to discuss either of these elements at length here, although Appendix Eight presents a selected list of relevant literature in this subject area. Of more direct significance to this study has been the literature specifically concerned with rural industrial development and expansion, particularly within the context of manufacturing industries.

In the introduction to this chapter we mentioned the association of rural industrial development with rural settlement planning policies. Most planning authorities seek to focus improved employment opportunities on selected villages and this is almost invariably thought of, in policy terms, as related to manufacturing industries. One might argue against the wisdom of a policy which is primarily associated with manufacturing industries, since this ignores the increasing technological and economic constraints on the national workforce employed in these industries<sup>20</sup>, and also the social basis of the population in rural areas which looks more to 'white collar' than to 'blue collar' employment. Gilg has commented<sup>21</sup> that rural policies regarding employment would be more realistic if they concentrated on certain of the service sectors.

The desire for rural industrial expansion, predates the development of rural settlement planning policies. The Scott report <sup>22</sup> of 1942, whilst it deprecated the establishment of 'heavy' and noxious industries in the countryside, recommended that mobile industries should be located in existing, or new, small towns so as to improve employment opportunities in rural settlement. There were other sources, contemporary to the Scott report, which also called for the extension of selected industries to rural settlements; these included Orwin <sup>23</sup>, and the Agricultural Economics Research Institute <sup>24</sup> with which he was associated, and also Thomas <sup>25</sup>.

Contemporary local planning authorities almost universally accept the need for improved employment opportunities in rural areas, and in most this is formalised as a policy approach in the old county development plans and reviews, or the contemporary structure plans (though at the time of writing for most rural authorities this remains in draft form). The Nottinghamshire and Norfolk policies are fairly typical of the written statements:

For Nottinghamshire. "Land shall be allocated in selected villages to provide for the establishment of small employers. Elsewhere in the rural areas of the county land shall be made available for small scale industries where this will not create unacceptable traffic and environmental problems". <sup>26</sup>

For Norfolk: "Land will be allocated for all the centres listed .... In other centres, permission may be given for small scale industrial development in keeping with the size and character of the settlement .... Workshop scale industries in the rural areas will be encouraged .... Permission for other industrial development in rural locations will be given where special justification can be shown, and will be subject to conditions and agreements to ensure adequate road access, services and protection of the landscape." <sup>27</sup>

Such policy statements may give the impression of a planned and organised approach to rural industrialisation. In fact, this is rarely the case. The actual approach is usually ad hoc, in response to specific development applications, although a few authorities do adopt more positive measures through direct involvement, such as the construction of advance factory units. Garbett-Edwards<sup>28</sup> has indicated that such positive measures are very important indeed in actually bringing new employers to a given rural area. Such positive measures, however, are more usually associated with remoter rural regions, and the contrast between the two case study areas illustrates this distinction.

In the North Norfolk study area the feature which dominates new employment opportunities is the industrial estate at Fakenham, (as shown in Plate 10.3). The recently developed estate built largely at the initiative of the local authority in association with its policies for rural employment and settlement planning, comprises a number of purpose-built factory and warehouse units, each of several thousand square feet, complemented by a comprehensive range of manufacturing services. The scheme has been a partial success. At the time of the field survey (May, 1975) not all of the units had been occupied. But firms which had moved to the estate had a significant impact on the employment structure of the area. This was particularly true for the units occupied by the Ross manufacturing, packing, warehousing, and transportation functions (shown in Plate 10.4).

There have been no comparable industrial estates constructed in South Nottinghamshire but there has been substantial provision of new employment within the study area. This is reflected in,



Plate 10.3 Part of the industrial estate at Fakenham

The Fakenham industrial estate is a particularly important expression of the growth centre policy applied to this settlement by local government.

Plate 10.4 Part of the industrial premises occupied by "Ross's" on the Fakenham industrial estate

This single unit has had a particularly important impact on employment in Fakenham, and neighbouring villages, although speculation about re-location of this plant underlines its 'foot-loose' character, and therefore the potentially unstable basis of expanded job opportunities such as this.



for example, the new NCB colliery at Cotgrave<sup>29</sup>, shown in Plate 10.5, which employs a little over one and a half thousand men, built near the selected village of Cotgrave. The CEEB power station built near the small village of Ratcliffe on Soar has also been a significant development. In addition, there have been industrial developments at the former RCAF air base at Langar, and notably the John Deere unit shown in Plate 10.6, although the employment pattern at this site, which Wheeler<sup>30</sup> has examined in more detail, has been rather less stable than at Cotgrave or Ratcliffe.

There is an important locational factor to be realised about these new major centres of employment in South Nottinghamshire. Neither the Ratcliffe and Langar sites are located at, or even near, a selected village. Cotgrave colliery is adjacent to a selected village but has been the cause of an interesting inverse relationship between selected villages and new employment. The Cotgrave site was designated by the NCB in 1947 (although the pit did not actually begin production until 1964). This was before the County Council started to use a policy of selected village development, which was introduced with the Nottinghamshire County Development Plan<sup>31</sup> in 1952. Consequently, the planning decision on where to locate the pit had nothing to do with selected village policies. The village of Cotgrave is now a selected centre, but this is principally related to the considerable capital investment in services and housing that has been associated with the NCB housing estates built in the village.

In South Nottinghamshire what new industrial development that has occurred at selected villages seems to have been on a smaller scale to that in Fakenham. Plate 10.7 and 10.8 show examples of



Plate 10.5    The National Coal Board mine at Cotgrave

This modern NCB development is the only coal mine in the South Nottinghamshire study area, and provides an important source of employment in the area (although opportunities are largely related to the NCB housing estates at Cotgrave). Critics of the NCB proposal to develop three pit-head sites and associated facilities in the Belvoir Vale, have cited Cotgrave, perhaps unfairly, as a local example of the social and environmental impact of modern NCB development in rural areas.

Plate 10.6    The "John Deere" industrial unit at Langar

The John Deere plant is an important industrial development at the former Royal Canadian Air Force airfield at Langar (the development of the site has been examined more fully by Wheeler - see text). This provides an example of the importance of employment centres external to the villages, though not necessarily on 'green field' sites, to the pattern of rural job opportunities.





Plate 10.7    A small garment finishing unit at Cotgrave

Although this unit employs only a very small number of people, mostly women, in this building, it indirectly employs others as 'outworkers', who work at home, in the village. An important consideration in the development of this enterprise, was the large number of housewives in the village without employment - related to the NCB housing estates.

Plate 10.8    A precision engineering unit in converted premises at East Bridgford

This photograph and Plate 10.7 above, provide two examples of the characteristically small scale of new employment opportunities in the selected villages of South Nottinghamshire.



this in the selected villages of Cotgrave and East Bridgford. In South Nottinghamshire such development seems to be associated with private initiatives, with the County Council only acting in a regulatory role in the context of new industrial employment in the area. It is difficult to say whether or not the employers in such new units as have come to the selected villages, would have preferred to locate in a non-selected settlement had they a free choice of location with no planning controls or influences. A valuable study of footloose industries in the lower Trent valley by McNaughton<sup>32</sup> does not shed any light on this situation. Nonetheless, McNaughton found that many of his surveyed units had come to a specific site because of the existence of vacant, suitable premises. Since most of these properties would need planning permission for 'change of use' this would suggest that the local planning authority might exert an important, although obviously not an initiatory, influence on the actual location of new industries.

Table 10.2 shows the structure of employment in the case study villages of South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk. We should note that these tables are not representative of the whole of the case study areas since they are a composite picture of the study villages only.

The principal distinction between the two area patterns is in the manual and non-manual sectors of employment outside the agricultural groups, which are considered separately later in this discussion. In North Norfolk the 'white collar' groups (classes 1 to 6) constitute about a quarter of all households heads in full-time employment (25.1%), whilst the same group in South Nottinghamshire is over double the size (55.5%). It follows that for 'blue

collar' workers outside agriculture and including own account workers (i.e. classes 7 to 12) the situation is reversed between North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire with the two study areas having proportions of 53.6 per cent and 32.6 per cent respectively.

The cause of this difference between the study areas cannot be explained simply, but two factors do seem to be of critical importance. In the Norfolk study villages the 'blue collar' dominance seems to be partly associated with the concentration of industrial employment at Fakenham. Besides the new factory estate, which we have already discussed, this selected centre has three other major industrial units: a large printing and distribution centre for the publishers of Cox and Wyman (part of this plant is shown in Plate 10.9); a number of centres of automobile repair, several of which specialise in agricultural engineering; and a regional processing unit for the Advance Laundry Group. In South Nottinghamshire a principal factor behind the large 'white collar' sector is the pattern of commuting in professional and other non-manual employment, to Greater Nottingham and other adjacent large urban centres. This pattern will be examined in more detail later.

In both study areas the agricultural workforce (classes 13 to 15) is subsidiary to both 'white collar' and 'blue collar' employment. In North Norfolk the agricultural share of the employment pattern for heads of household is 15.7 per cent, whilst in South Nottinghamshire it is 11.8 per cent. The difference between the two seems to be largely accounted for by the smaller proportion of 'agricultural workers' (i.e. staff subsidiary to the farmer or farm manager) in South Nottinghamshire although this may be a reflection simply of small farm units).



Plate 10.9 "Cox and Wyman's" publishers plant at Fakenham

This processing plant provides an important source of skilled manual employment in this selected centre. Unlike most of the other large industrial employers in Fakenham, Cox and Wyman are situated on a site close to the centre of the settlement which may be a constraint on the development of this plant.

This picture of employment in the case study villages represents a single time horizon in a quite dynamic situation. Previous research by Drudy and Wallace in North Norfolk has indicated some of the changes that are occurring in the rural employment pattern <sup>33</sup>. Their study area, based on the Wells, Holt and Fakenham employment exchange areas, shows a marked reduction in the importance of agriculture between 1960 and 1968, with a decline from 3,633 agricultural jobs to 2,734 during the period. At the same time employment in manufacturing rose from 786 jobs to 1,243. The overall employment structure recorded a net decline of over seven hundred jobs, which represented about eight per cent of employment stocks in this labour market recorded at the beginning of the period. This goes to show just how dynamic the employment situation in rural areas can be.

We should bear in mind that the employment pattern discussed here relates to the heads of household as identified by the questionnaire survey. The structure of employment for other household members can be rather different. This has been studied in some detail in Norfolk. A study <sup>34</sup> based on information from the youth employment officer showed a high propensity for male school leavers who lived in villages as opposed to the small market centres, to obtain first jobs in agriculture. For young men living in selected centres the pattern of first destination was more strongly determined by the level of education of the individual, with opportunities for the more highly qualified school leaver being very limited in the local area. Most of the other school leavers (70%) found first jobs in manufacturing industries in their home village or local small town. The study showed that opportunities for girls were severely constrained. This feature applies equally to adult

women, a factor which became clear in the household interviews of our survey. McNaughton, however, found that this pool of unused or under-used female labour is a positive attraction for some footloose industries<sup>35</sup>. In this context the establishment of the laundry processing unit in Fakenham, which almost totally employs women, is notable.

#### 10.4 Patterns of Employment : the location of respondents' work places

Tables 10.3 and 10.4 show the workplace structure for household heads in the study villages of North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire respectively. The actual centres of work used by respondents in the questionnaire survey varied from village to village. This seems to be a simple function, as might be expected, of the geographical position of each village, its socio-economic structure, and the extent and type of employment opportunities in the surrounding centres. Nevertheless, considered more generally, some patterns do emerge, and Tables 10.3 and 10.4 attempt to show these.

'Home village employment': The importance of the home village as a workplace is different for the two study areas. In South Nottinghamshire there is a notable difference between the smaller villages, which are important sources of employment for their resident population, and the larger selected villages of East Leake and East Bridgford where a smaller proportion of the respective samples of household heads in full time employment (11.7% and 11.5%) hold jobs in the home village. In the smaller villages the proportion is as high as fifty per cent in Wysall. The difference between the small and large villages is partly accounted for by the relatively greater

significance of agriculture as a work source in the small villages. In both Wysall and Thoroton, for example, over a third of the working population interviewed (34.6% and 33.4% respectively) worked on farms. Furthermore, the majority of workers in agriculture lived in the same parish as that in which the farm was based. There were a few examples of agricultural commuting, although this was usually associated with agricultural labourers living in local authority accommodation within selected villages. In complete contrast, the proportion of the surveyed workforce employed in agriculture in the two selected villages was much smaller, with 2.8 per cent in East Leake and 2.4 per cent in East Bridgford.

This is not to suggest that agriculture is the only source of home village employment in the smaller villages, because this is certainly not the case. In Wysall, for example, the very high proportion of the workforce who live and work in the village, is partly associated with the existence in the village (see Plate 10.10) of a small light engineering company, producing agricultural elevators.

The small 'home village' proportion in the two selected villages is an interesting phenomenon when seen in the context of the Nottinghamshire planning policy (which we have earlier discussed) to encourage new employment opportunities in the selected centres. In principle, this concentration of employment opportunities in the selected centres is aimed to improve the employment base not only of the population resident in the selected villages, but also of the surrounding smaller villages. Table 10.4 shows that selected villages are, in fact, rather worse off than the surrounding villages. There are two important factors in this phenomenon.



Plate 10.10 Wysall Tractor Co., South Nottinghamshire

This small established business in the village of Wysall, specialises in the production of agricultural elevators. Current planning (and related) legislation and regulations make it rather difficult for local planning authorities to encourage the establishment of small scale and workshop type industries such as this, particularly outside the selected villages.

Firstly, although there have been new employment opportunities in both East Leake and East Bridgford, the rapid expansion of the size of these communities has outstripped the rate of provision of jobs. In East Bridgford a precision engineering firm (shown in Plate 10.8) has become established, whilst in East Leake there have been two new factories (knitwear, and plastics technology) and an extension to the processing unit of the British Gypsum plant. In addition, the latter village has seen an expansion in its 'service' employment as new shops and services have opened. Nonetheless, this new employment has not even begun to keep pace with the residential expansion of the settlements. The example of EastLeake indicates the scale of the problem. In the last inter-censal period the population of the settlement increased by over two-thirds (68.7%), a net increase of nearly two thousand people. This rapid expansion of population would have required about 750 jobs<sup>36</sup> (or full-time equivalent jobs).

Secondly, the provision of new employment in the selected villages is not associated with the type of employment usually related to the socio-economic structure of the newcomer households. In Chapter Eight we discovered that the newcomer group was dominated by middle class households, and in South Nottinghamshire these were characterised by employment in the non-manual occupation classes. In contrast, most of the new employment opportunities in the selected villages are semi-skilled or skilled manual in type. Consequently, there is a lack of association, in South Nottinghamshire, between the type of new jobs in the selected settlements and the socio-economic structure of the newcomers to the settlements.

The pattern of 'home village' employment in North Norfolk is rather different. With the notable exception of Sharrington, the smaller non-selected villages all have high proportions of their workforce employed in the village. These proportions are generally higher than those in the comparable South Nottinghamshire villages, as might be expected for an area in which alternative sources of employment are limited and rather more remote from the study settlements. Sharrington may seem to be an exception (see Table 10.3) to this pattern. As noted in Chapter Nine, this is like an 'estate village', where employment is strongly associated with the farms of the estate. Since most of these farms lie adjacent to, but not in, the 'home' parish, there is a very high proportion of the workforce whose workplace is just outside the home village parish. This is reflected by the very large proportion classified as working in 'the remainder of the study area' (75.0%).

The principle distinction between North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire is the importance of home village employment in the selected centre. In Fakenham over half of the workforce interviewed in the survey were employed in Fakenham itself. This contrasts remarkably with the proportions of only a little over ten per cent in the two South Nottinghamshire selected villages. The reasons for this profound distinction are rather complex but two factors are particularly important. Firstly, the County Council have adopted a more active role in pursuing their policy objective of improved employment opportunities in Fakenham. As we have noted earlier, this has led to the establishment of large manufacturing units on the new industrial estate on the edge of the settlement. Consequently, there has been considerable provision of new employ-

ment in Fakenham. In addition, the relative scale of residential development in the settlement has been more modest than at either East Leake or East Bridgford, with an inter-censal increase of nineteen per cent (a net increase of under seven hundred people). Thus, residential growth has not outstripped the provision of new jobs. As a result, the situation at Fakenham conforms more closely to the planners' model of a selected centre, with considerable development of employment opportunities for both the selected settlement itself and for surrounding smaller villages. We should note here, however, that the balance between residential and industrial development in Fakenham has been a function largely of limited demand for new housing in the area acting as a brake on the rate of growth of the settlement, rather than a conscious development control policy to restrict the rate of residential development to the rate of provision of new jobs.

The second critical factor in the Fakenham situation is that there is a closer association between the type of new job opportunities and the socio-economic characteristics of the newcomer households. In Chapter Nine we commented that the newcomer group in Fakenham was more socially heterogeneous, due largely to the apparent balance between private and local authority development in new housing. Consequently, a large sector of the newcomer population was associated with the skilled and semi-skilled manual employment characteristic of the new employment opportunities in the settlement. An additionally important feature in this context was that many of the private houses on the new estates in Fakenham were bought by respondents in socio-economic group IV (supervisory and skilled manual), a phenomenon which was less common in the South Nottinghamshire selected villages.

These two factors together, the balance between new employment opportunities and residential growth, and new employment and the socio-economic composition of the newcomer group, largely account for the high proportion of 'home village' employment in Fakenham. We should also acknowledge, as for the smaller Norfolk study villages, that the degree of self sufficiency in employment is also related to limited job opportunities elsewhere in the study area, and to the relative remoteness from urban sources of employment.

Rural employment outside the home village: The numbers of respondents employed outside the parish boundaries of the home village but within the study area, are fairly small but are a significant component of the villages' workplace structure. The importance of this locational aspect in the North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire study villages is fairly similar, with the notable exceptions of Barton and Kinoulton in South Nottinghamshire for which rural employment outside the parish is unimportant, and Sharrington in North Norfolk, which we have already discussed. The locations of these are obviously quite varied but two important general observations can be made.

Firstly, 'dispersed' employment sites, located outside the physical area of the villages, are of considerable importance. In South Nottinghamshire the principal sites indicated in the questionnaire survey were the RAF station at Newton airport, the British Gypsum mines at Gotham and Kingston, and the East Midlands Airport at Castle Donnington. In North Norfolk the principle sites were the USAAF base at Scarrington and the RAF station at West Raynham. An interesting feature of these sites is that they were significant only for those settlements nearest to them. For example, the East

Midlands Airport is little more than half an hour's journey by car from the most distant of the seven study villages in South Nottinghamshire. Yet of the seven respondents in the sample who were employed at the airport, all but one lived in East Leake, the study village nearest of the seven to the airport. Consequently, we should not see these dispersed sites as the only ones of significance in the study areas. This applies particularly to South Nottinghamshire where, if different study villages had been chosen for the survey, other similar sites such as the NCB mine at Cotgrave or the Langar airfield might have emerged as important 'dispersed' employment centres.

The second observation is the significance of selected villages as workplaces. In South Nottinghamshire we have already seen that the two study villages which are selected centres are of limited importance as employment sources for their own populations. For the five study villages in South Nottinghamshire which are non-selected settlements, the importance of the selected centres as workplaces is correspondingly small. Only five per cent of household heads in full-time employment in these five villages work in any of the South Nottinghamshire selected villages. The comparable proportion for the four non-selected villages in the North Norfolk study is thirty per cent. It is difficult to be precise about the comparative significance of this latter statistic since the sample size of respondents in rural employment outside the home parish is quite small. Nonetheless, the survey does indicate that the selected centres of Fakenham and Holt, in particular, are important workplaces. This is at least partly associated with the County Council initiative in providing advance factory units and associated services at these settlements.

Employment in the towns: The significance of urban settlements as workplaces for the study villages varies considerably between the two study areas, although this might be expected when one considers the relative remoteness of the Norfolk study villages from urban centres. Consequently, only seven per cent of the Norfolk household heads who were employed full-time, worked in towns, whilst in South Nottinghamshire the proportion was a little over a half (51.5%).

In the Norfolk study area only two urban centres were mentioned as workplaces, King's Lynn and Norwich, with 6.1% and 1.2% of employed respondents respectively. The smaller urban centres adjacent to the study area, such as Cromer, Hunstanton, East Dereham, and North Walsham, were unimportant. The relative insignificance of both of the larger urban centres must be largely related to the distance of these centres from the study villages, with both being over twenty miles from all of the villages.

The situation in the other case study area is very different. In South Nottinghamshire four of the seven study villages, Barton, East Bridgford, East Leake and Kinoulton, have over half of their employed respondents working in towns. The study village with the lowest degree of urban employment is Wysall where only a quarter of the household heads in full-time employment, work in towns. There are five large urban centres on or near the boundaries of this study area: Greater Nottingham, Newark, Melton Mowbray, Grantham, and Loughborough, with Leicester and Derby within a moderate commuting distance of many of the villages in the area. The principal urban centre is Greater Nottingham, which was the workplace for nearly a third (30.2%) of the employed respondents in the questionnaire survey. All of the other six towns are mentioned

in the survey as workplaces, but only Loughborough is of considerable importance, with 15.9 per cent of the employed respondents.

The relative importance of the different urban centres varied with the location of the study villages. The actual significance of specific urban centres to individual villages seems to be strongly associated with the relative proximity of the villages to a given town and to the employment opportunities elsewhere, particularly in other nearby towns. The evidence of the study of residential mobility in South Nottinghamshire suggests that this association is partly related to migration from the towns to the villages with migrants keeping their urban jobs. Consequently, Greater Nottingham, which is the principal urban workplace of the study, is totally unimportant for employment in Normanton. This is partly a reflection of the accessibility of this village to Loughborough, which is only three miles away in contrast to Nottingham's fourteen miles. There are also a number of newcomers in Normanton who lived previously in Loughborough. The significance of Loughborough is despite the fact that it is a much smaller centre than Greater Nottingham, roughly a tenth of the latter's size in the 1971 census, and offers fewer and less varied job opportunities. This should be seen as an indicator of the real complexity of the geography of rural employment patterns and not as a simple correlation between the relative importance of a given town in a village's employment structure and the distance of that town from the village. As a reflection of this, the example of Greater Nottingham shows that whilst there is an association between the relative significance of the urban centre as a workplace to the study villages and its road distance from the villages, this is represented by a weak <sup>37</sup> positive correlation which is not statistically significant.

Long distance commuting to urban workplace is an interesting if comparatively insignificant feature of rural employment which was to be found in both study areas. In Fakenham one respondent commuted three or four days each week to his office in London, the remainder of his working week being completed by working at home in his business as an architectural consultant. In South Nottinghamshire there were five similar cases of long distance commuting. Two businessmen living in Normanton worked in London on a similar basis to the Fakenham architect, by commuting three or four days each week to their London office and spending the rest of their time working at home. For the remaining three respondents long distance commuting was on a weekly basis, returning home only at the weekends, and was seen as a temporary arrangement following the respondent's job change or promotion to a distant location (Northampton for two of the respondents, and Widnes for the third).

Mobile employment: This was another interesting feature but this time one which was of considerable importance to the workplace structure of some of the study villages. This type of employment involved some problems of classification and identification. Generally respondents who were coded in this group were senior sales representatives or sales managers whose work was related to a variety of units, often spread over a wide area, and who were not 'based' in a regional or area head office. The group also included other employees of companies who saw their workplace as a variety of units in a given area, people such as company auditors, servicing and display personnel of national retail chains. Few manual workers were coded in this group, with the exception of some workers in the construction industry. Many own account workers seemed to have a comparatively mobile workbase, but these were

generally classified according to the location of their office, which was often at home, and/or of their storage facilities for materials and tools.

As a general rule those respondents with a travelling work basis were most significant in those villages more remote from towns. This is presumably a reflection of the relative independence of location exercised by such households. Consequently, this category was important in all the North Norfolk study villages, with the exception of the estate village of Sharrington and the selected village of Fakenham, as shown in Table 10.3. In South Nottinghamshire the category is unrepresented in four of the villages and is important only in Kinoulton (10.5%) and Thoroton (18.2%).

A general assessment of the foregoing discussion must stress the quite considerable differences in both the structure of the type of employment and in the pattern of workplace, between the two study areas. The two principal factors in this distinction are the relative accessibility of the study villages to urban centres of employment and the significance of selected villages as employment centres both for their resident population and for households in surrounding villages. In the context of the subject matter of this study, the planning process can do little to influence the former factor<sup>38</sup>, but there are policies designed to affect the latter. It is clear from this analysis that whilst both of the planning authorities in the case study areas have similar written policies in respect of selected village employment, only in North Norfolk have these policies had an important influence on employment in the study villages. In part this is related to the initiatives of the

Norfolk County Council in direct contrast to the authorities in Nottinghamshire whose direct involvement with employment provision have been associated more with the urban and quasi-urban centres in the county. The general attitude to new employment opportunities in rural South Nottinghamshire has been one of regulation and limited encouragement, rather than active involvement. This is not a direct criticism of the planning officers since policies are decided by their political masters. Furthermore, we must remember that the regional and sub-regional employment policies are rather different in the two study areas.

A very important second element in this difference between selected village employment expansion in the study areas, is the extent of residential development in South Nottinghamshire, which has greatly exceeded the provision of new employment opportunities. In addition, there is a mismatch between the socio-economic composition of newcomers to the study villages in that area and the type of new employment which has developed in the villages. This phenomenon is less evident in North Norfolk. This latter factor underlines the need to inter-relate planning decisions concerning housing and employment. Whilst the idea of selected village development (and the written statement of many planning authorities) does stress the importance of the inter-relationship between housing and jobs, it is clear that in practice many planning decisions relating to either housing or employment are taken in isolation. This may be due to a deficiency in planning practice or to a real or assumed deficiency in planning legislation. Whichever is the case, the importance of the relationship between housing and jobs needs to be more actively supported in rural settlement planning.

### 10.5 Journey to work in the study villages

We have previously considered the functional structure of workplaces in the case study areas. This section is concerned with a simple quantitative assessment of the pattern of journey to work in the study villages in terms of the distance travelled to workplace and the method of transport.

Table 10.5 shows the structure of journey to work in the study villages. It is clear that short distance journeys of ten miles or less dominate the pattern in both study areas, although this category is marginally more important in the North Norfolk villages. In neither of the study areas is the importance of this category a simple association with the degree of employment in the home villages. In fact, in Norfolk there is a slight negative correlation between these variables. (Spearman's rank correlation coefficient is  $-0.30$ ) whilst in South Nottinghamshire the positive correlation is only slight (coefficient of  $+ 0.48$ ), although neither of these coefficients is statistically significant. The importance of short distance journeys to work is hardly surprising and is reflected in the result of similar studies elsewhere in the country. For example, the study of Hampshire villages by Mass Observation Ltd. in association with the county planning department<sup>39</sup>, showed that over half of the workforce travelled less than six miles to work.

Medium distance commuting of from eleven to twenty miles to the appropriate workplace, is of some importance to both of the study areas. In North Norfolk only the study village of Sharrington shows no respondent travelling to work over this distance, asso-

ciated with this settlements' function as an 'estate village' with all of the employed respondents working locally. The pattern in the Nottinghamshire study villages is rather different to that in Norfolk. There are considerable inter-village contrasts in South Nottinghamshire. In Barton medium distance commuting is of no importance and in East Leake it is of limited significance. In complete contrast the village of East Bridgford has over half of all employed respondents commuting between eleven and twenty miles to work. There are very high proportions in Thoroton and Kinoulton also. In these latter three settlements the importance of medium distance community seems to be associated with the fact that Greater Nottingham, a principal employment centre for each of these study villages, is twelve, nineteen and thirteen miles respectively from the villages.

Longer distance commuting of over twenty miles to workplace is of little importance to either study area. With the exception of one respondent in Great Ryburgh and two in Normanton, all the cases of longer distance journeys to work are associated with the selected villages. As there seems to be no significant shared characteristic between the relevant households or individuals, it is difficult to understand why this association should be anything other than chance, which it may indeed be.

The method of transport used in the journey to work (Table 10.6) shows interesting contrasts between the two study areas, and, respectively, within them. In the country as a whole recent statistics show that the private car is the single most important method of transport on the journey to work (36%) with public buses (24%) and walking (20%) being the next most important<sup>40</sup>. The pattern of transport

to work in the study villages shows few similarities to the general national picture. The use of the private car varies from only a little over a quarter of the journeys to work of household heads in Brinton and even fewer in Stiffkey<sup>41</sup>, to over eighty per cent in each of East Bridgford and East Leake. In eight of the twelve study villages the proportion using cars is over a half of the employed respondents. The proportion falls only in those settlements where there is a large proportion classified as working at home, some farmers and agricultural workers, shopkeepers, etc., and where a significant proportion of the workforce are employed within the home village at workplaces which are convenient to walk to.

Generally, walking to work is rather less important than in the national figures, but the use of public buses is very much less important. In the Norfolk study villages no respondent uses the bus as a means of transport to work. This is a simple reflection of the decay of routes and, more specifically, to the complete inadequacy of services with timetabling that is convenient for travelling to work. The situation is similar in South Nottinghamshire, although, as we have already noted, bus services are rather better in this study area. It is notable that the two settlements on a bus service which does have convenient services between seven-thirty and nine in the morning, and similarly for buses returning to the settlements in the evening, (the Nottingham-Loughborough route) do make some use of buses for journey to work (East Leake and Norman-ton).

The specific patterns of transport to work for the individual villages are shown in Table 10.6. This shows that excluding those respondents who 'work at home' the great majority of journeys to

work are accounted for by private car and walking. The only other feature which is generally significant is the pedal bicycle although the survey indicated no cases where respondents cycled further than three miles to work.

### 10.6 Summary

This chapter forms the first section of a two part discussion of the distribution and 'consumer' use of social and economic facilities in the case study areas. This examination is focussed in particular on the impact of selected village development on these patterns of distribution and use.

This chapter is specifically concerned with the examination of patterns of personal mobility, without which a discussion of the patterns of use of facilities would be incomplete, and with the structure of employment and workplaces in the study areas as indicated by the sampled population of the study villages.

There is a very high rate of car ownership in both study areas, although this is slightly higher in South Nottinghamshire. The only study villages where this is not so, and where there is only a moderate rate of car ownership in the study households, are those whose population structure is characterised by a larger elderly component. This study indicates that the elderly are a more disadvantaged social group in terms of this aspect of personal mobility, as are the 'teenage' group in the village populations and also many housewives in one car households who are often 'immobile' during the day, due to the breadwinner's use of the car to travel to work. It is suggested that it is a reflection of the real

needs of mobility in rural areas that many households are classified as 'multi-car' owning.

The distribution of public transport routes in South Nottinghamshire is fairly comprehensive, although the quality of these services as indicated by the frequency of buses on the routes is often relatively poor. The best services are those which connect towns, as are special services between the major urban areas and adjacent selected centres. In contrast, the distribution of public transport routes in North Norfolk is very poor and nearly a half of all the settlements have no bus service at all, with many of the remaining villages being served by a weekly or bi-weekly market day service. Inter-urban routes are again the most important daily services. The route pattern indicates that the larger selected villages, and Fakenham in particular, act as foci for the bus services.

The North Norfolk study revealed the existence of an experimental bus service scheme based on community organisation within a designated group of villages. This system, the community bus service scheme, has subsequently attracted considerable interest from other local authorities and professional planners. This scheme, and its potential for further development and application to other rural areas, is examined at length in Appendix Seven. This analysis indicates that there are significant problems in the application of this idea, notably in terms of community servicing and also from pressure against the widespread extension of the system from independent bus operators and from trade unions. Consequently the system may be applicable only to a few selected remoter rural areas.

The pattern of employment in the two study areas is obviously complex, although it is notable that there is a slight 'manual' bias to the pattern in North Norfolk, whereas the South Nottinghamshire study villages are more characterised by 'white collar' employment. The structure of workplaces suggested in the study areas, indicated that in South Nottinghamshire there is an important difference between the selected and non-selected villages. Consequently, in the smaller villages 'home' village employment and other employment in South Nottinghamshire, which is not necessarily agricultural, is very important. In the larger, selected villages 'home' village employment is much less important. In most of the study villages urban based employment comprises about a half of the jobs of the household heads.

In North Norfolk urban based employment is of little importance. In these study villages employment in the home village and other local centres is even more important. The principle contrast between the two study areas is in the significance of the principal selected villages as employment centres, Fakenham in Norfolk is of considerable importance due in part to the considerable local authority investment in the new trading estate. There is no comparable investment up to the time of writing in the selected villages of South Nottinghamshire. In addition there is evidence that recent residential development in South Nottinghamshire selected villages has focussed largely on the private sector. Since most 'new' jobs provided in these centres are manually based, this indicates a mismatch between residential development and new job opportunities. In Fakenham there has been a more even balance between private and public (local authority) residential development and consequently there is a better match of employment and new housing.

This study indicates that if selected centres are to function as significant workplaces then these two factors, capital investment and the structure of residential development, will need to be considered in more detail.

Finally, the method of travel to work in both areas shows a high degree of dependence on the private car. Public transport is of no importance at all in North Norfolk and of very little significance in South Nottinghamshire. The journey to work itself, as the discussion of workplaces has indicated, is strongly related to distances of under twenty miles.

FOOTNOTES

1. D.P. Garbett-Edwards, 'The establishment of new industries' in J. Ashton and W.H. Long (Ed's). *The remoter rural areas of Britain* (1972), pp. 50 - 72.
2. For the purposes of this study the definition of a car owning household, is:  

'One with the daily and independent use of one or more motor vehicles, excluding motor cycles, public transport vehicles, goods vehicles (as defined for motor taxation purposes) and agricultural tractors'

This extended definition removes the aspect of tenancy from the term "car owning".
3. HMSO, *Study of rural transport in Devon*. Report of the Steering Group. Department of the Environment (1971).
4. HMSO, *Study of rural transport in West Suffolk*. Report of the Steering Group. Department of the Environment (1971).
5. M. Hillman, I. Henderson, and A. Whalley, *Personal mobility and transport policy*. P.E.P. (1973).
6. J. Connel, 'Green belt country'. *New Society*. 25th February (1971).
7. M. Hillman, I. Henderson and A. Whalley, op cit (footnote 5).
8. See for example studies of Merioneth for the Welsh Council and of Mid Glamorgan for the Mid Glamorgan County Council:  

HMSO, *A study of passenger transport needs in rural Wales*.  
 Welsh Council (1975).

and,

- D. Smith and G. Hoinville, *Mid Glamorgan transport use and attitude survey*. Social and Community Planning Research (1976).
9. R.Pahl, 'Is the mobile society a myth?' *New Society* 11th January (1968).
10. L. Pulling and C. Speakman, *Changing Directions*. A report by the Independent Commission on Transport (1974).
11. F.H.W. Green, 'Urban hinterlands in England and Wales : An analysis of bus services', *Geographical Journal* 116 (1950), pp. 64 - 88.
12. I.G. Weekly, *The vicinal population : A study of the structure of village economies*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London (1974).
13. A.D. Mennear, *Northumberland County Council's experience in implementing section 34 (Subsidies) of the Transport Act, 1968*. Paper presented to the seminar on rural transport at the Central London Polytechnic, 3rd November, 1972.
14. M. Evans, 'The economics of rural bus services in Lincolnshire with special reference to the independent operators', pp. 1 - 24 in the Open University Publication, *Rural transport problems in Lincolnshire and East Nottinghamshire*. (1973).
15. R.J.C. Munton and H.D. Clout, 'The problem bus'. *Town and Country Planning* 39 (1971), pp. 112 - 116.

16. H.D. Clout, *Rural Geography : An introductory survey* (1972), p. 174.

17. B. McLoughlin, 'Rural settlement planning : A new approach'. *Town and Country Planning* 44 (1976), pp. 156 - 160.

18. This is hardly a new idea. In fact, in 1971 the then Minister for Transport Industries announced new proposals regarding the road tax licencing system which were to help rural areas. Broadly, these proposals involved changes in existing legislation so as to allow car owners to give lifts to people from whom they could charge payment. In contemporary law this was not possible unless both driver and vehicle were appropriately licenced to carry paying passengers, either by a Public Service Vehicle license or a Hackney Carriage License. In addition, the Minister's proposals suggested that no Public Service Vehicle licence should be required for public service vehicles carrying fewer than eight people. Although these revisions were written in draft legislation they were subsequently dropped in response to strong lobbying from bus operators. The idea of an increased use of privately owned village cars has been revived as the social car idea, proposed by Rhys and Buxton:

D.G. Rhys and M.J. Buxton, 'The rural transport problem : A possible solution'. *Town and Country Planning* 42 (1974), pp 555 - 558.

19. T. Bendixson, 'Keeping on the country buses', *New Society*, 18th February, (1971).

20. Economic projections, notably by the SSRC Manpower Intelligence Unit at Warwick University and research by C. Leicester of the Institute of Manpower Studies at Sussex University, have indicated that for most sectors of the manufacturing industry, technological changes and innovation will dramatically affect productivity rates over the course of the remainder of this century. This has crucial significance for employment trends in this industrial sector because the projections clearly show that a reducing labour force will be needed to produce greater quantities of goods. It is not the function of this thesis to become involved with such projections of employment in the United Kingdom for the next twenty-five years, but one must immediately acknowledge the reservations made by these two independent research bodies that there are a number of 'imponderable' factors in the projections. Nonetheless, there is a basic trend here which should be considered by local authorities in their policy objectives. Given trade union and various political pressure it is unlikely that employment in the manufacturing sector will substantially decline, except perhaps in the event of a further economic recession, but the projections do indicate that the pre-seventies expansion in employment in parts of this sector is at an end, and that in a situation of moderate national growth, the manufacturing employment sector will not, proportionately, increase in size and is likely to reduce its share of the labour market.

21. A. Gilg, 'Rural employment', pp. 125 - 172 in G. Cherry (ed) *Rural planning problems* (1976).

22. HMSO, *Report of the committee on land utilisation in rural areas*. Cmnd. 6378 (The Scott report) (1942).
23. C.S. Orwin, *Problems of the countryside* (1945), pp. 68 - 69.
24. Agricultural Economics Research Institute, *Country planning : A study of rural problems* (1944).
25. F.G. Thomas, 'The future of the village and small town'. *Town and Country Planning* 10 (1952).
26. Nottinghamshire County Council, *Nottinghamshire structure plan : Draft written statement* (1976), p. 42.
27. Norfolk County Council, *Norfolk structure plan : Written statement* (1977), pp. 35 - 36.
28. D.P. Garbett-Edwards, *op cit* (footnote 1).
29. For more details of the Cotgrave colliery see:  
L.M. E. Mason, *Industrial development and the structure of rural communities : A case study of rural industrialisation in a parish in Nottinghamshire with reference to the social problems involved*. M.Phil thesis. University of Nottingham (1966).
30. P.T. Wheeler, 'Industrial development of Langar, Nottinghamshire' *East Midland Geographer* 4, (1967), pp. 262 - 266.

31. Nottinghamshire County Council, *Nottinghamshire County Development Plan* (1952).

32. W. McNaughton, *A geographical survey of manufacturing establishments located in rural areas of the lower Trent valley*. M.Phil thesis. University of Nottingham (1971).

33. P.J. Drudy and D.B. Wallace, 'Towards a development programme for remote rural areas : A case study in North Norfolk' *Regional Studies* 5 (1971), pp. 281 - 288.

34. R.J. Green and J.B. Ayton, *Changes in the pattern of rural settlement*. Paper presented to the Town Planning Institute conference on Planning for the changing countryside (1967).

35. W. McNaughton, op cit (footnote 32).

36. This figure is calculated on the basis of a crude ratio of people in full-time employment in England and Wales to the total resident population as enumerated in 1971. The statistic consequently allows for retired households, adults registered as unemployed, persons in full-time further education etc., but does not allow for differences between the social and age structure of the East Leake newcomers, and the population in England and Wales as a whole. The figure, nonetheless, is meant only as a very general measure and should be interpreted within the context of these reservations.

37. The correlation coefficient as measured by Spearman's Rank Correlation test is + 0.50, which is not statistically significant

at the 95 per cent confidence interval.

38. We should acknowledge that whilst little can be done to reduce distance between villages and urban centres, short of a major restatement of the early post-war concept of new towns development, which may be undesirable and is certainly unlikely, there are, nonetheless, certain measures which could reduce the relative accessibility of villages to towns. Specifically these include: road improvement schemes; increased provision of public transport services; reduced cost of travel via private or public transport. These are not presented here as practical policy objectives for rural areas but only as logically possible techniques. For the most part, however, these would be political rather than specifically planning decisions.

39. Mass Observations Ltd. and Hampshire County Planning Department, *Village Life in Hampshire*. (1966) p. 1.

40. HMSO, *Population trends*, 4 (1975).

41. This figures for Stiffkey is distorted by small cell sizes in the cross-tabulation, although it generally reflects the limited importance of the private car in journey to work patterns in this village.

Table 10.1 Personal mobility in the case study villages

	% of all households			
	Households with use of car <sup>1</sup>	Households without car but with use of motor-cycle	Households without use of motor-cycle or car	Total
Brinton	70.6	-	29.4	100.0
Fakenham	80.0	-	20.0	100.0
Great Ryburgh	60.0	5.0	35.0	100.0
Sharrington	84.6	-	15.4	100.0
Stiffkey	81.2	-	18.7	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	76.3	0.8	22.9	100.0
Barton in Fabis	65.0	-	35.0	100.0
East Bridgford	87.9	-	12.1	100.0
East Leake	83.0	1.9	15.1	100.0
Kinoulton	86.4	-	13.6	100.0
Normanton on Soar	80.0	5.0	15.0	100.0
Thoroton	88.5	-	11.5	100.0
Wysall	90.0	5.0	5.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	83.4	1.6	15.0	100.0

1. Including those households with more than one car.

Source: Questionnaire survey. 1974/5

Table 10.2 Type<sup>1</sup> of employment<sup>2</sup> in the case study samples

Employment category <sup>1</sup>		% of household heads in full time employment	
		NORTH NORFOLK	SOUTH NOTTING-HAMSHIRE
1.	Employers and managers in government and industry - large units .....	4.8	1.0
2.	Employers and managers in government and industry - small units .....	2.4	10.8
3.	Professional workers - self employed ...	2.4	2.0
4.	Professional workers - employees .....	9.5	24.0
5.	Intermediate non-manual .....	4.8	13.3
6.	Junior non-manual .....	1.2	4.4
7.	Personal service workers .....	-	1.5
8.	Foremen and supervisors .....	1.2	0.5
9.	Skilled manual .....	15.5	12.3
10.	Semi-skilled manual .....	22.6	12.2
11.	Unskilled manual .....	4.8	2.2
12.	Own account workers .....	9.5	3.9
13.	Farmers - managers .....	1.2	-
14.	Farmers - tenants and owner occupiers (excl. smallholdings) .....	3.8	5.4
15.	Agricultural workers .....	10.7	6.4
16.	Armed forces personnel .....	3.8	-
17.	Others (not classified above).....	-	-
18.	Unemployed .....	2.4	1.0
TOTAL		100.0	100.0

1. Type of employment based on the standard classification of the OPCS:

HMSO, Classification of Occupations Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (1970).

2. The table refers only to household heads in full time employment, or currently unemployed and seeking employment.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 10.3 Place of work for household heads<sup>1</sup> in the Norfolk study villages

Locational category	% household heads in full time employment					
	Brinton	Fakenham	Great Ryburgh	Sharrington	Stiffkey	NORTH NORFOLK
In home village	71.4	59.0	63.6	25.0	50.0	56.1
Remainder of study area	14.3	20.5	18.2	75.0	25.0	25.6
Norwich	-	2.3	-	-	-	1.2
Rest of rural Norfolk	-	4.5	-	-	-	2.4
Rest of urban Norfolk	-	9.1	9.1	-	-	6.1
Rest of East Anglia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of United Kingdom	-	2.3	-	-	-	1.2
Abroad	-	-	-	-	8.3	1.2
Travelling <sup>2</sup>	14.3	2.3	9.1	-	16.7	6.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. The refers only to household heads in full time employment

2. The travelling category is associated with those respondents whose place of work was not fixed, for example, mobile workers in the construction industry. In addition, some regional and area sales representatives and similar workers, are given travelling status where appropriate.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 10.4 Place of work of household heads<sup>1</sup> in the Nottinghamshire study villages

Locational category	% household heads in full time employment							
	Barton in Fabis	East Bridgford	East Leake	Kinoulton	Normanton on Soar	Thoroton	Wysall	SOUTH NOTTING-HAMSHIRE
In home village	46.2	11.5	11.7	36.8	25.0	31.8	50.0	21.8
Remainder of study area	-	19.2	16.0	-	12.5	18.2	25.0	14.4
Greater Nottingham	53.8	50.0	25.5	42.1	-	27.3	25.0	30.2
Rest or rural Notts.	-	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	0.5
Rest of urban Notts.	-	-	3.2	10.5	-	-	-	2.5
Rural Leicestershire	-	-	3.2	-	12.5	-	-	2.5
Urban Leicestershire	-	-	30.9	-	37.5	-	-	17.3
Rural Lincolnshire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Urban Lincolnshire	-	-	-	-	-	4.6	-	0.5
Rural Derbyshire	-	3.9	6.4	-	-	-	-	3.5
Urban Derbyshire	-	3.9	1.1	-	-	-	-	1.0
Rest of United Kingdom	-	3.9	2.1	-	12.5	-	-	2.5
Abroad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Travelling <sup>2</sup>	-	3.9	-	10.5	-	18.2	-	3.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. The table relates only to household heads in full time employment.

2. The travelling category is associated with those respondents whose place of work was not fixed, for example, mobile workers in the construction industry. In addition, some regional and area sales representatives and similar workers, are given travelling status where appropriate.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 10.5 Journey to work in the case study villages

	% of household heads in full time employment				Total
	10 Miles and under	11-20 miles	21-30 miles	Over 30 miles	
Brinton	85.7	14.3	-	-	100.0
Fakenham	70.5	15.9	4.6	2.3	100.0
Great Ryburgh	66.6	25.0	8.3	-	100.0
Sharrington	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Stiffkey	90.9	9.1	-	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	80.5	14.6	3.7	1.2	100.0
Barton in Fabis	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
East Bridgford	34.6	53.9	3.9	7.7	100.0
East Leake	85.1	8.5	3.2	3.2	100.0
Kinoulton	52.6	47.4	-	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	68.8	18.8	-	12.5	100.0
Thoroton	63.6	36.4	-	-	100.0
Wysall	83.3	16.7	-	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	72.3	21.3	2.0	3.5	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 10.6 The method of transport to work for household heads in the study villages

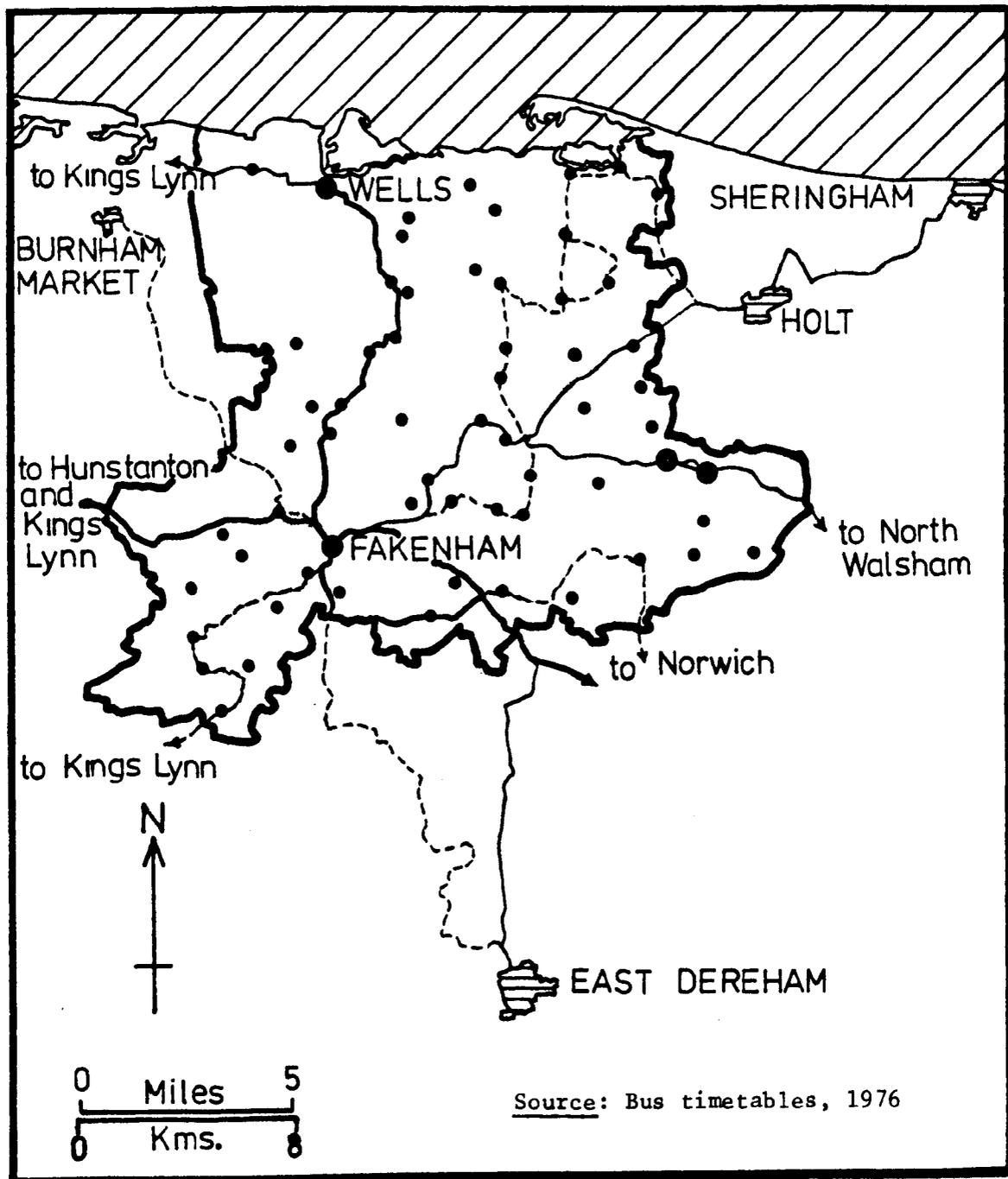
	% of household heads in full time employment								Total
	Own private car	Walk	Pedal cycle	Motor cycle	Public transport <sup>1</sup>	Private or works bus	Work at home	Lift - by car	
Brinton	28.6	42.9	-	-	-	-	28.6	-	100.0
Fakenham	63.6	18.2	15.9	-	-	-	-	2.3	100.0
Great Ryburgh	36.4	27.3	-	-	-	-	36.3	-	100.0
Sharrington	75.0	-	12.5	-	-	-	12.5	-	100.0
Stiffkey	16.7	16.7	16.7	-	-	16.7	33.3	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	51.2	19.5	12.2	-	-	2.4	13.4	1.2	100.0
Barton in Fabis	53.9	23.1	-	-	-	-	23.1	-	100.0
East Bridgford	88.5	-	7.7	-	-	-	3.9	-	100.0
East Leake	80.8	3.2	2.1	-	7.5	1.1	2.1	3.2	100.0
Kinoulton	63.2	21.1	-	-	-	-	15.8	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	68.8	-	-	-	6.3	-	25.0	-	100.0
Thoroton	63.6	21.1	4.6	-	-	-	13.6	-	100.0
Wysall	41.6	16.7	-	8.3	-	-	33.3	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	73.3	7.9	2.5	0.5	4.0	0.5	9.9	-	100.0

1. In practice all journeys to work using public transport were via stage bus services.

The statistics refer to the usual, or most common method of transport to work.

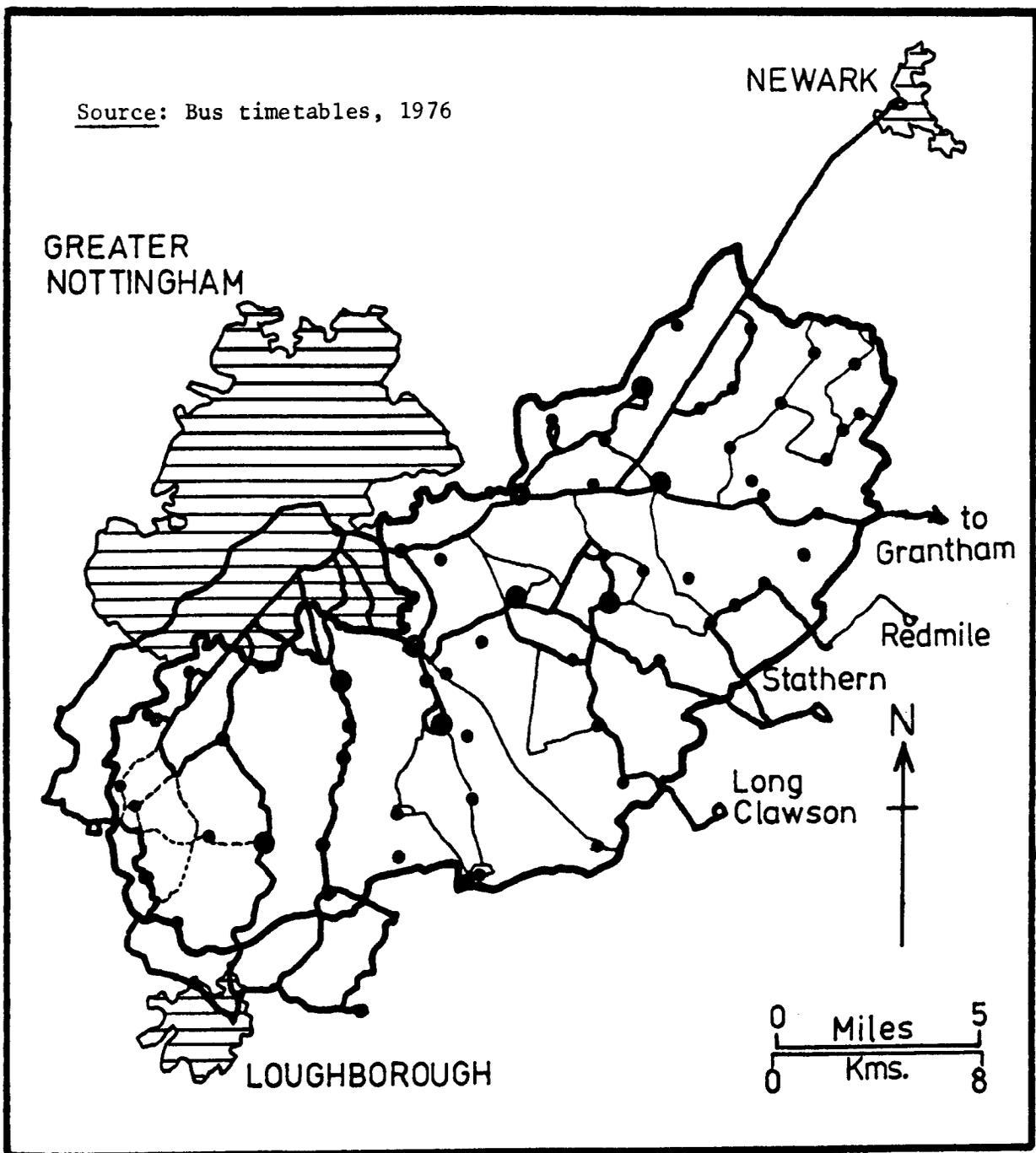
Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Figure 10.1 Stage bus services in the North Norfolk study area



- Service frequency<sup>\*</sup>; twice per week or less
- " " ; less than 5 daily services<sup>†</sup>
- " " ; more than 5 daily services<sup>†</sup>
- Selected village
- Other village
- \*Return stage services only
- †excluding Sundays

Figure 10.2 Stage bus services in the South Nottinghamshire study area



- Service frequency\* ; twice per week or less
- \_\_\_\_\_ " " ; less than 5 daily services†
- " " ; more than 5 daily services†
- Selected village
- Return stage services only
- Other village
- † excluding Sundays

CHAPTER ELEVENSELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACILITIES IN  
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND NORTH NORFOLK -  
II: THE DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF SHOPS, SER-  
VICES AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES11.1 Introduction

This chapter forms the second part of the discussion of selected social and economic facilities in the two case study areas. We are principally concerned with specific aspects of the patterns of distribution and use of retailing, service and recreational facilities. The discussion as a whole is concerned with all settlements in the study areas, but in those sections concerned with patterns of use (the information for which was collected in the questionnaire survey) we focus on the twelve study villages.

As with the previous chapter this examination focuses on the relationship of the actual pattern of distribution and of 'consumer' use of facilities, to the pattern assumed in the principle of selected village development, which sees selected centres acting as additional or even principal centres for the provision of employment, and shopping, service and recreational facilities for neighbouring rural settlements. As such the studies and publications referred to in this chapter are only those which are specifically relevant to the subject matter of this text. This means that a substantial body of literature concerned with social and economic facilities in rural areas is not referred to here. This omission is necessitated by the considerable breadth of the subject matter

of this chapter and the need to concentrate the text on the specific issues of interest to this research. A select list of relevant literature appears in the bibliography at the end of the thesis.

### 11.2 Retail facilities in the study areas

Literature concerned specifically with the distribution of retail services in rural areas and with the consumer behaviour of the rural population, is rather less extensive than that concerned with social provision generally. An early and important study was that by Bracey<sup>1</sup> in Wiltshire who examined 'commercial services' separately within the broader context of his examination of social provision in that county. More recent contributions to this literature, both with direct relevance to the case study areas, have been by Giggs, and by Green and Ayton. Giggs' study of retail change and decentralisation in Greater Nottingham and its rural environs<sup>2</sup> has highlighted two important features of the retailing pattern in this rural 'pressure' area. Firstly, between 1951 and 1968 the actual number of retail units in the rural area increased, in contrast to a decline in the central city area and a much smaller proportional increase in the outer urban ring. We should note, however, that these statistics take no account of the changes in the actual floorspace of the retailing function. Secondly, Giggs points out the close association between new shops and parishes which have either a large resident population (usually in excess of 2,500 people) or are subject to rapid population growth.

The studies by Green and Ayton<sup>3</sup> have focused not on the number of retail outlets but on their functions, and have related

the geographic distribution of different types of shops to the population size of villages. In this way they have built up a number of approximate population thresholds for the provision of retail functions to contemporary Norfolk villages. This work by the Norfolk County planning Department has become of substantial importance to the concept of selected village development and points to a minimum settlement size of at least five thousand people for the provision of a full range of retail functions and other services.

The concept of selected village development as applied by most local planning authorities, seeks to establish large selected villages with a full range of 'everyday' shops and services, and which can function as centres of social provision for surrounding settlements. This and the following sections of the chapter seek to examine how the existing distribution of retail facilities in the two case study areas relates to the pattern hypothesised by selected village development, and how the pattern of rural consumer behaviour of the sampled population of the study villages is associated with the actual distribution of shops.

The distribution of shops in the two case study areas is shown in Figures 11.1 and 11.2. In North Norfolk there are 195 separate retail outlets distributed between thirty-one settlements, and in South Nottinghamshire 227 outlets in thirty-seven settlements. This may seem to be a comparatively even situation except when we remember that the population of the South Nottinghamshire case study area (57,308 in 1971) is nearly three times greater than that for the Norfolk study area (19,800). Consequently, the

overall pattern of provision in terms of number of shops related to population density, is much better in North Norfolk<sup>4</sup>.

The geographical distribution, however, is less favourable in North Norfolk, where exactly a half of all settlements in the study area (thirty-one) have no shop at all. In South Nottinghamshire there is a marginally better standard of provision with twenty-five of the sixty-two settlements having no shop. The difference between the study areas can be accounted for by the larger number of very small settlements in North Norfolk. As Bracey has shown, and as is quite clear from this study, it is these very small settlements which are the least likely to have a shop.

This introduces the issue of population thresholds as related to retail service provision. We cannot measure this accurately for the settlements in the study areas since population statistics are published on the basis of enumeration districts, as discussed in Chapter Eight, which means that separate statistics for twenty-two settlements in North Norfolk and four in South Nottinghamshire cannot be obtained due to aggregation of the parishes into composite enumeration districts. Nonetheless, we can obtain a crude assessment of population thresholds by considering the distribution of shops in the geographic context of the enumeration districts themselves and not of individual settlements.

In South Nottinghamshire the average population size of those enumeration districts with no shops was 115, and in North Norfolk 188. In both of these case study areas there was considerable variation around this average with standard deviations of 87.8 in South Nottinghamshire and 93.9 in North Norfolk. The two largest

districts at the time of the field surveys with no shop, were Costock in South Nottinghamshire with a population of 495 in the last census, and Barsham in North Norfolk with 313. There was also considerable variation in the population size of districts with only one shop. The average for such districts was 292 in South Nottinghamshire and 319 in North Norfolk, but this ranged from minimum sizes of 118 (Hawksworth) and 140 (Wood Norton) respectively, to maximum sizes of 594 (Whatton) and 671 (Raynham). These statistics indicate the actual complexity of discussing population thresholds. For both of the study areas we could talk of a nominal district size of two hundred people above which there would be a high probability of having one or more shops, and below a probability of having no retail facilities. However, there is such variation caused by essentially local factors such as geographical location of settlements, historical evolution and associated factors, and local entrepreneurial initiatives, that it is quite meaningless to think in such precise terms as threshold values for certain population levels.

This association between population size and retail provision in smaller enumeration districts is reinforced when we consider the average population size for districts with, respectively, two and three shops. In South Nottinghamshire the average is 332 for districts with two shops with a large jump to an average 1,347 for three shops. In North Norfolk exactly the reverse is true with 463 for two shops and a reduction in average size to 328 for three shops. Consequently, in North Norfolk the average size for districts with three shops is only slightly higher than that for districts with only one shop. The distinction between the two areas can be accounted for by local factors. In South Nottinghamshire

there are only two settlements with three shops, Tollerton and Aslockton, with population sizes at the last census of 1,682 and 1,011 respectively. Both settlements have experienced substantial residential development since the Second World War and in both the provision of new shops has tended to lag well behind new housing. In consequence, there are comparatively few shops in both villages. There is an additional factor to be considered in the case of Tollerton. The settlement is located on the edge of the built up area of Greater Nottingham and is consequently very close to the substantial retail provision in that centre and specifically in the suburb of West Bridgford.

In North Norfolk the small average size for those districts with three shops is partly a function of traditional patterns of retailing in the area and of tourism. Great Ryburgh, Binham and Hindolveston have functioned as local retail centres for smaller surrounding settlements. Consequently, although the population sizes of these centres are relatively small (415, 278 and 346 respectively), they each have three shops. The village of Holkham (272 population) is an important tourist centre for the North Norfolk coast, based on Holkham Hall and park, and the local craft centre. This is also true, albeit in a more limited sense, for Binham which is adjacent to the monastic ruins at Binham Priory. In both of these centres the summer tourist trade seems to maintain a relatively high level of retail provision.

The association between settlement size and number of shops is equally confused for the ten districts in South Nottinghamshire and six in North Norfolk which have more than three shops. For example, in South Nottinghamshire the village of Gotham (1,684 pop-

ulation) has twelve shops whilst East Bridgford, only slightly smaller (1,343), has only five. In North Norfolk the important tourist centre and former market town of Little Walsingham (570 population) has no fewer than sixteen shops whilst Briston (1,137) has only five. This is, however, stating the exceptional examples, and to place the association in perspective we must acknowledge that there is a general relationship between settlement size (measured here by enumeration districts) and the number of retail outlets. This association can be quantitatively expressed by Spearman's rank correlation coefficient, which for North Norfolk is + 0.55 (the association being distorted by the low level of provision in some of the 'armed forces' districts) and in South Nottinghamshire is +0.69 (statistically significant at the 99 per cent confidence interval).

There are two deviations from this statistical association which deserve special comment, both of which relate particularly to selected villages. Figures 11.1 and 11.2 show the high concentration of retail outlets into a small number of centres. The principal centres are selected villages, although one must remember that shopping provision is a consideration in the planning decision to designate such centres as selected villages (as discussed in Chapter Seven). In these settlements the relationship between the population size and number of outlets is of limited value. This is most apparent in South Nottinghamshire. Here the centre with the most shops is Bingham (population 5,053 in 1971) with thirty-eight outlets (Plate 11.1 shows the market square in Bingham). Yet in this study area, Ruddington (population 6,838), Keyworth (5,754), Cotgrave (5,083) and Radcliffe (7,702) are all bigger centres, having twenty-nine, nineteen, fourteen and thirty-four shops respectively. The reasons for this phenomenon are quite involved, but



Plate 11.1    The market square at Bingham

The photograph shows a part of the extensive shopping facilities at this selected centre. In the background the new shopping precinct (shown in more detail in Plate 7.3) can be seen. Whilst the scale of provision in Bingham is atypical of most selected villages, it does indicate that rural retailing facilities are now increasingly concentrated on selected centres, and particularly the principal selected villages such as Bingham.

briefly can be summarised as Bingham's historical advantage in effectively having been a local market centre <sup>5</sup>, in contrast to the geographical disadvantage of Ruddington and Radcliffe, both situated close to the urban periphery of Greater Nottingham, and also the functional disadvantage of Keyworth and Cotgrave, both of which have recently developed from smaller settlements, the provision of retailing facilities lagging behind residential development. This is not a surprising phenomenon, and it is paralleled in the urban context in the development history of the early new towns. Nonetheless, this does show the need for careful phasing of residential development in selected villages in association with the improvement of the retailing facilities of the settlement. This situation in South Nottinghamshire thus highlights the fact that the number of shops in a given settlement is not simply a function of settlement size but also of location, historical tradition and the pattern of residential development. It would be as well for planning departments to bear all of these factors in mind when designating selected villages.

The situation in North Norfolk is similar. The selected centre of Briston/Melton Constable with a combined population of 1,782 has only eleven shops, whilst Wells, with only six hundred more people, has forty-seven shops. In addition, Little Walsingham, with under a third of the Briston/Melton Constable population, has sixteen shops. This situation is brought about partly by historical tradition in Little Walsingham, which was formerly an important market centre <sup>6</sup>, and partly by the importance of tourism to both Wells and Little Walsingham in contrast to Briston and Melton Constable. Nonetheless, in North Norfolk the settlement with the largest number of shops is Fakenham, which is also the largest settle-

ment in the study area with a population of 4,467 in 1971. The dominance of Fakenham is shown in Figure 11.1. The standard of retailing provision in this centre, with seventy-two shops, is much higher than in any comparably sized settlement in South Nottinghamshire. Plates 11.2 (a) and (b) illustrate shopping and service provision in Fakenham. This situation is related to the specific geographical location of the settlement, to the relative remoteness of the area from large shopping centres in towns, and to the historical, and existing, function of Fakenham as a small market centre for the northern half of the county.

An examination of the pattern of retailing in the study areas would not be complete without some discussion of the functional structure of shops in the villages. From the information collected in the field surveys of the villages a number of important features emerge which deserve special attention.

Firstly, in nearly all of the settlements with only one shop, this was found to be a sub-post office combined with a general store. This was true for both of the study areas with only three exceptions in South Nottinghamshire and two in North Norfolk. Most of the general stores concentrate on foodstuffs, although a few also sell an astonishing variety of hardware goods. This trend towards general foodstores as opposed to general stores proper, may be a simple function of rationalisation on the part of the shopkeepers themselves partly in response to general demand patterns. However, conversations with some storekeepers indicate that influences of bulk buying procedures in the grocery co-operatives (*Mace, Vivo*, etc), which are now common aspects of rural retailing, may be important in this process.



Plates 11.2(a) and 11.2(b) Shop and service provision in Fakenham

These two photographs partially show the scale of provision of shops and consumer services in the selected centre of Fakenham. Given the fact that Fakenham is a small market centre and since it is fairly remote from alternative shopping facilities in urban areas, the extensive range of facilities in Fakenham (which includes most of the major 'High Street' chain stores, is not very surprising, but as with Plate 11.1 it reflects the increased focus of facilities on selected centres.



A second feature is that duplication of functions is uncommon in centres with fewer than five shops. Consequently, a settlement with four shops would have, perhaps, a general store (cum-sub-post office), a grocer, a butcher, and a newsagent/confectioner. Green-grocers and specialist bakers were comparatively unknown in centres of this order, due presumably to the 'mass' marketing of these goods and to the influence of daily 'doorstep' deliveries from both mobile shops and milkmen.

More specialised shops such as furniture stores, hardware and DIY shops first appear in centres with between five and twelve shops. The principal exception to this are antique shops which, particularly in North Norfolk, are a feature of some very small settlements. This is presumably because they are so highly specialised that they are afforded a degree of locational freedom. In addition many such shops may be run as hobby or retirement activities by their owners. They may represent a relatively unstable element of the retailing structure of these villages. Duplication also first appears at this order of settlements with four of the seven settlements in this group having two or more general stores.

Another important aspect of retailing in the study areas is the existence of specialised food stores, notably butchers, in small villages. This is an uncommon feature but one of considerable importance to the villages, and perhaps neighbouring villages, involved. Wysall in South Nottinghamshire is such an example. Here a long established family butcher's shop is able to maintain its existence in this small village (207 people in 1971) by deliveries to surrounding settlements. The distinction between this and a mobile shop proper, is a slim one, but it seems to revolve on the more

*Cont. p. 52b*

of these settlements originally had only two or three shops, the influence of closures on the communities must have been considerable. This pattern of closure tends to reinforce the importance of the larger villages as shopping centres.

### 11.3 Consumer behaviour and transport to the shops

In order to examine consumer behaviour in the study villages it was decided to structure the questionnaire so that the appropriate questions related to three orders of goods: goods bought daily or almost daily; more specialised goods bought less frequently but not infrequently; highly specialised goods which were generally bought infrequently. It was felt that the best approach to examine consumer behaviour relating to these orders of goods would be to discuss certain specific goods which were felt to be representative of the three different orders. The following goods were selected:

1. Lower order goods: General groceries (eggs, bread, cheese, etc).
2. Middle order goods: General hardware goods (e.g. DIY materials, gardening equipment, kitchen and basic household utensils).
3. Higher order goods: Expensive household goods (e.g. domestic furniture, kitchen/general domestic expensive equipment, audio-electrical equipment).

The same principal was subsequently applied to the examination of the pattern of use of consumer services in the study areas. It was

*Cont. p. 527*

limited area covered by this butcher's van (six adjoining villages) and by the basis of retailing which is principally by personal order to the butcher/vandriver, or telephone order direct to the shop in Wysall.

The functional structure of retailing in the largest villages differs from that already described in only three principal aspects. Firstly, the coverage of the more specialised functions is more complete. Secondly, the character of the individual units is often rather different. Purpose built units are not uncommon, particularly in the selected villages. Retail floorspace, although this was not measured in the field surveys, seems to be proportionately greater in these villages <sup>7</sup>. Finally, in some of the large selected villages small shopping precincts have been built. There are examples of these in East Leake, Bingham (shown in Plate 7.3) and Cotgrave in South Nottinghamshire and in Wells in Norfolk. Such centres are important in extending both the range and choice of goods in selected villages.

Whilst purpose built shops, shopping precincts and conversion of existing buildings to retailing outlets may be important aspects of the expansion of shopping facilities in large and some selected villages, the pattern in the smaller rural settlements is generally thought of as one of decline. The field survey in North Norfolk revealed eleven closed shops in small and medium sized villages which had stopped trading fairly recently. Such units were less common in South Nottinghamshire. Only in one of these cases did the closure of a shop cause the settlement to be without any retail facilities. The general effect of closure was to reduce the range of shops in the individual villages. However, as many

felt that this more specific look at consumer behaviour might produce a more objective and more accurate picture of the situation.

Tables 11.1 and 11.2 show the locational structure for the consumer behaviour of the sampled populations of North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire. In both areas there was a general trend towards the use of larger, usually urban centres, for more highly specialised goods. However, the patterns for the two study areas were so different that this was the only apparent similarity between the two.

The use of the 'home' village is more important in North Norfolk than in South Nottinghamshire. This observation applies to the three orders of goods but the distinction is more apparent for middle and high order goods. These general tables, however, exaggerate the difference between the two study areas. In practice, the difference is accounted for by the use of the extensive shopping facilities in Fakenham by the resident population. In the four smaller study villages in North Norfolk whilst there is some use of home village shops, where they exist, for low order goods, these are of no value in the pattern of purchasing middle and high order goods. In general, however, the pattern of use of home village shops in South Nottinghamshire is less extensive than in North Norfolk. This seems to be largely caused by the significance of multi-purpose shopping trips to urban centres, notably Greater Nottingham, and to the specific importance of the 'Azda' hyper-market, shown in Plate 11.3, in the suburb of West Bridgford. In the context of this hyper-market, the accessibility of the centre, extensive car parking facilities and 'late-night' shopping are particularly important features of its use. Kivell <sup>8</sup> has previously



Plate 11.3    The "Azda" hypermarket, West Bridgford

This is based in one of the Greater Nottingham suburbs, but it is a very important feature of shopping patterns in the village households of the South Nottinghamshire questionnaire survey. Extensive car parking, cheap petrol (sold as a loss-leader), and late night shopping, seem to be particularly important determinants of the popularity of the centre.

Plate 11.4    A developing housing estate at Kinoulton

The granting of planning permission to this estate was contingent on the provision of water-borne sewerage to the village. This was provided by the local authority in 1974, despite local objections based on the implications for village development. The photograph provides visual evidence for the association between residential estate development in villages, with the distribution and availability of spare capacity in water-borne sewerage systems (see also Plate 7.1).



questioned the validity of the central place concept of the range of a good (see, for example Berry <sup>9</sup>) in the context of rural consumer behaviour. The pattern in South Nottinghamshire seems partially to support this assessment:

"Journeys to shop cannot be resolved simply into single-purpose trips to the nearest centre which stocks the required good. Rural people, especially the more mobile element, will frequently bypass the nearest outlet of a required good because they know the same good or service can be obtained more cheaply at a more distant and usually larger town. In particular it is the multipurpose shopping trip to such larger towns which apparently gives all of the more commonly required goods and services an identical range in practice". 10

The use of selected villages as shopping centres shows a marked difference between the study areas. In North Norfolk about a third of the sample use selected villages and this proportion remains similar for all orders of goods. We should acknowledge that this proportion is also an under-estimate of the real significance of selected villages as shopping centres, since those residents of the selected villages themselves which use the local shops are classified as using 'home' village shops. On this basis, it is obvious that the North Norfolk selected villages are very important centres for shopping provision. The actual centre used by the study villages is largely a function of distance for the lower and middle order goods, but the better facilities for higher order goods in Fakenham seems to dominate the provision in the other two important centres, Wells and Holt.

In South Nottinghamshire selected villages are rather less important, even after allowing for the fact that residents of the selected village of East Leake who use local shops are, as in

Fakenham, classified in the 'home' village category. For lower and middle order goods, only twelve per cent and ten per cent of the sampled population in South Nottinghamshire use the shopping facilities of selected villages. For higher order goods the selected centres are almost unused by the sampled households. The pattern of consumer behaviour in the South Nottinghamshire study villages suggests that this relatively low degree of use of shops in selected villages is caused in part by significant use of 'home' village facilities for lower order goods, but principally because of the general importance of urban shopping centres.

The category of 'other village' use is insignificant in the pattern of consumer behaviour of both study areas. In the individual study villages the only situation in which 'other' villages assumed any importance was in the cases of Brinton in Norfolk and Thoroton in South Nottinghamshire. These were both villages without a shop, and a number of households in each of these village studies (23% and 27%, respectively) depended on one or more of the neighbouring small villages for lower order goods. It is interesting to note that this dependence was apparently independent of household immobility. Whilst some households who were without a car relied on such shops, others with one or more cars also used these facilities. In one case this was due to the daily immobility of the housewife, but in others the cause was not apparent. It could be that these households who used the shops of neighbouring villages were examples of what Stone <sup>11</sup> has termed 'personalising' and 'ethical' shopping behaviour. In most cases the use of 'other village' shops was brought about by grocery deliveries from the relevant shops. This was not classified as using mobile shops, which will be separately discussed in the following section of this chapter.

The pattern of shopping behaviour which has so far been discussed has shown that in South Nottinghamshire the use of urban centres is extensive, whilst in North Norfolk towns are markedly less important as shopping centres for the rural population studied. This difference between the two study areas is highlighted by Tables 11.1 and 11.2. In North Norfolk towns only become important as shopping centres for the study villages for higher order goods, and even here half of the sampled households prefer to use the shops in nearby selected villages, notably Fakenham. It is interesting to note, however, that the use of towns for higher order goods seems to be independent of local facilities. Consequently, the proportions of Fakenham households so using urban centres is forty-eight per cent and in the other study villages forty-nine per cent. This feature is apparently a result of the balance between the facilities for higher order goods in the Fakenham shops and the relatively good accessibility of this settlement to King's Lynn.

In South Nottinghamshire nearly a half of the sampled population use towns for lower order goods (48.5%), with successively higher proportions for middle and higher orders of goods (72.9 and 99.6%, respectively). This rather different pattern to North Norfolk must be due primarily, but not exclusively, to the greater accessibility of urban centres to the study villages in South Nottinghamshire, both in terms of road distance and bus services.

Although the structure of consumer behaviour was not considered in further detail, it is clear from the household interviews that multi-purpose shopping trips are an important feature in the use of urban centres in South Nottinghamshire. There was one other factor which also deserves special consideration. We have so far

been looking at shopping patterns in the locational context, as movement from the home village to a chosen shopping centre. In fact, much of the shopping for lower order goods in the Nottinghamshire urban centres is attributed to housewives and female and occasionally male heads of household, whose place of work is in that town. Such shopping centres are, therefore, to a large degree, 'pre-selected' by other factors. This phenomenon is insignificant in North Norfolk since towns are relatively unimportant as workplaces. Nonetheless, here too, a degree of pre-selection is important, although this time principally in lower and middle order goods, since many households in the Norfolk study villages combine recreational journeys to towns with some shopping. In such households, towns were rarely the principal shopping centres for these goods but this behavioural pattern did supplement their regular use of more local facilities.

This description of consumer behaviour in the two study areas is through necessity based on a composite pattern of the separate study villages. There are, in fact, some pronounced differences between the study settlements, as we would expect in a situation where there was considerable variation between centres in the provision of shopping facilities, and in the accessibility to other shopping centres. The composite pattern nonetheless reveals some interesting features, notably the importance of the selected villages in North Norfolk and their relative unimportance (other than for their own resident populations) in South Nottinghamshire. The significance of urban shops in South Nottinghamshire is similarly important. It is notable, however, for both areas that rural shops outside the home village and selected villages are generally unimportant in the locational structure of consumer behaviour. This

contradicts the findings of Weekly <sup>12</sup> and McLoughlin <sup>13</sup>, and more recently the ideas of Ash <sup>14</sup>, who recognise a system of functional interdependence between local villages of which the use of a large village, with wider shopping and service facilities, forms only a part. The evidence of this study suggests that in the two study areas intra-rural shopping is almost exclusively related to the home village shops or to those in larger, selected villages; the neighbouring villages are unimportant in this situation. This result may have important consequences for the 'alternative' planning philosophy of 'lateral provision of facilities' as outlined by the above authors and more recently advanced by Hancock <sup>15</sup>, and which is discussed in Chapter Three, and Chapter Five.

In the questionnaire survey additional information on consumer behaviour was collected to enhance our knowledge of shopping patterns. This material on frequency of shopping and transport methods is presented in Tables 11.1 and 11.2 but will be only briefly discussed here.

The examination of frequency of shopping journeys for the study households shows few surprises. As might have been expected the number of shopping trips over a given period of time was inversely related to the order of goods to be bought, as shown in Tables 11.1 and 11.2. This was true for both case studies and for all settlements, although there was a slight tendency for shopping frequencies in North Norfolk to be slightly lower than those in the study villages of the other case study area. There was no significant statistical association between shopping frequency for a given order of goods, and the distance of shops from the home village. This seems to be related to the fact that shopping frequencies are largely a function of fam-

ily circumstances rather than simple accessibility. Consequently, a housewife with a second family car, may visit the local village shops two or three times each week, and the shops at an urban centres on a further two or three occasions each week. In contrast, another household in which both household heads were in full-time employment, might make a single multi-purpose trip to one town once a fortnight.

The method of transport to shops is more strongly associated with the distance of facilities from the home. Generally, movement is dominated by the car and by walking (although the latter is exclusively used for home village shopping). The use of bus services for shopping trips is relatively insignificant, accounting for about seven per cent of all trips in North Norfolk and a similar proportion in South Nottinghamshire. There are some individual contrasts to this pattern, notably in East Leake where twenty-two per cent of shopping trips are by bus, and in the Norfolk village of Great Ryburgh where the proportion is thirty per cent. In both these cases this higher use is related to convenient timetabling of a local service, which in Great Ryburgh is only a market day service to Fakenham. This highlights the need not just for buses in rural areas, but for a timetable structure that provides at least one convenient return service for morning or afternoon shopping. It may be, however, that the paucity of services in North Norfolk now makes such provision logistically impossible.

One final notable aspect of transport to shops is the category classified as 'collected or delivered' as shown in Table 11.1 and 11.2. This 'static shopping' may be associated with the delivery of ordered groceries by local shops (not mobile shops, which are con-

sidered separately) or, perhaps, by goods being purchased on behalf of a given household by friends, neighbours or relatives, particularly for elderly or infirm people. Static shopping for middle and higher order goods is almost equally unimportant for both study areas. However, for lower order goods this phenomenon is rather more significant in North Norfolk than in South Nottinghamshire. This distinction is largely related to the village Brinton, where the absence of a shop or of a local bus service at the time of the survey, and a population structure with a high proportion of less mobile elderly people, had resulted in a large number of households being dependent on mobile shops and shop deliveries for lower order goods.

#### 11.4 Mobile shops and patterns of use by the study households

In Table 11.1 we see that a small proportion of the Norfolk sampled population are totally dependent on mobile shops for lower order goods. In fact, each of the three households which make up this small proportion is located in the village of Brinton, as discussed above. In the other eleven study villages no household uses mobile shops exclusively, but they are nonetheless an important supplementary feature of the pattern of rural retailing. We should recognise at the start of the discussion that we are making a distinction between mobile shops proper which travel on routes between villages 'plying' for trade, and local delivery vans which deliver previously ordered goods from shop to the doorstep.

Helle's work on mobile shops in Finland is an interesting study<sup>16</sup>, but there are few works of a similar scale applicable to this country. Wheeler<sup>17</sup> has discussed the retailing pattern of travelling vans and mobile shops in Sutherland but there are no comparable specific studies for an English county. In our two case

study areas, field work and the household interviews have established that mobile shops make weekly visits to each of the study villages, although the number of shops varies from two (Barton) to five (East Leake) in South Nottinghamshire and from one (Stiffkey and Ryburgh) to four (Fakenham) in North Norfolk. The large number serving the two biggest survey villages of East Leake and Fakenham, seems to be a simple product of the concentration of potential customers in these settlements. Since a large proportion of the overall trade of mobile shops is provided by residents of such selected villages, it is fair to say that these selected villages are important to the maintenance of mobile shops in rural areas. Generally, however, there is no direct relationship between the size of a given settlement and the number of mobile shops which visit that centre. Neither is the number of mobile shops a function of the relative isolation of each settlement.

In South Nottinghamshire there is a broader range of mobile shops than in North Norfolk. In South Nottinghamshire travelling bread vans visited all of the study villages, and butchers' and greengrocers' vans visited all but two of the villages. A fishmonger visited the larger villages in the area and some of the smaller settlements en route. In addition, there was a 'general' mobile shop based at Gotham which visited most of the villages in the western part of the study area and which sold a surprisingly diverse range of foodstuffs and various hardware goods. There were also travelling 'fizzy-drinks' vans visiting most of the study villages. These were rather different from the other mobile shops in that they were based in Nottingham, whilst each of the other mobile shops originated from rural centres either in South Nottinghamshire or over the county boundary, in the North and North East

Leicestershire villages. Finally, although this was not examined in the study, one must acknowledge the contribution of the milk-vans. Whilst in some of the more remote villages in the north-east of the study area the frequency of milk deliveries has been cut to four visit per week, the milk-van now offers a far wider range of goods than the basic milk and eggs delivery alone.

Bread vans visited all of the study villages in North Norfolk. In addition, there were mobile butchers, greengrocers and fishmongers visiting some of the study villages. Consequently, although the range of goods available in the North Norfolk villages was less extensive than in South Nottinghamshire, nonetheless all of the basic foodstuffs were represented. We should add, however, that only in the largest settlement, Fakenham, were all of these goods available from mobile vans.

The frequency of visits varied with the type of the van or mobile shop. The most frequent services were the bakers' vans which visited each village three or four times each week. The greengrocers' mobile shop visited villages between one and four times each week, depending on the location of the village in respect of the operating routes, and on the operators themselves. Butchers visited study villages about twice each week, which was the same frequency as the South Nottinghamshire general store. Those villages which were on the fishmonger's routes tended to be visited only once each week.

The pattern of use of the mobile shops in the study villages shows interesting contrasts between the two study areas and between the individual study villages. Table 11.3 shows that the general

pattern is for proportionally fewer households in North Norfolk to use these services, but those which do, tend to use the mobile shops more intensively than the sampled households in South Nottinghamshire. In North Norfolk the composite pattern is for a little under half of the households to use one or more mobile shops (46.6%), but virtually all of these use the services more than once each week. This feature of intensive use amongst relevant households is true for each of the study villages but there are considerable variations between these villages as to the actual proportion of households supporting mobile shops, varying from nearly total support (95.1%) in Brinton to fewer than a quarter of the sampled households (21.5%) in Fakenham. In North Norfolk the degree of use is strongly associated <sup>18</sup> with the level of shopping provision in the respective villages, and this largely explains the considerable differences between the settlements.

In the South Nottinghamshire study villages, the intensity of use of mobile shops seems to be related to the number of travelling vans and shops that visit the individual settlements. Consequently, in Barton, with only two mobile shops, there are more households which use them only once a week or less, than those which use them more than once each week. At the other end of the scale are the villages of East Leake and Kinoulton with five and three mobile shops respectively, and where the intensity of use amongst those households which support these shops is much higher, as shown in Table 11.3. It is worth noting that there is no apparent association between intensity of use and the number of mobile shops in the study villages of North Norfolk, although one would require a larger sample of villages to assess this association fairly.

The degree of use of mobile shops amongst the sampled households is only a little less variable between the South Nottinghamshire study villages and those of North Norfolk. The highest degrees of use are in the smaller villages, notably Barton (75.0%) and Wysall (75.0%). Correspondingly, the lower measures of use are in the larger villages, East Leake (45.5%), East Bridgford (45.3%), and Kinoulton (40.9%). However, whilst there is a general association between settlement size and use of mobile shops this is not statistically significant. The same is true for the relationship between the level of shopping provision and degree of use<sup>19</sup>, in contrast to the result for North Norfolk.

Dependence on mobile shops for foodstuffs is rare and this is limited to the three households in Brinton that we earlier discussed. In the survey as a whole there are many more households which are dependent on 'static shopping' where friends, relatives or neighbours buy all the groceries and basic goods. This low degree of complete dependence on mobile shops is supported by the association between household immobility and use of mobile shops. One would expect that those households without personal transportation would show a very high degree of use of mobile shops and travelling vans. In fact, the difference of use between mobile and immobile households is not great in either study area. In North Norfolk a little over a half of the households classified as immobile (51.7%) use mobile shops, compared to 46.6 per cent of the whole population. In South Nottinghamshire the difference is roughly the same with proportions of 54.1 and 52.6 per cent, respectively. This is not true for all the study villages. We have already noted the dependence of some Brinton households on mobile shops, and in this village and its neighbour, Sharrington, there is a strong association

between mobile shop and use, and immobile households. The same is true for the village of Thoroton in South Nottinghamshire particularly when one also considers those households which are affected by the phenomenon of daily immobility, as discussed in the previous chapter. It is significant, however, that it is in these villages that 'static shopping' for lower order goods is less important. It may be that the degree of use of mobile shops by immobile households is at least partly a function of those social factors which influence the development of 'static shopping' patterns.

The general impression of the significance of mobile shops to the study villages is that they provide an important supplementary source of shopping facilities. However, these shops rarely dominate retailing patterns except perhaps in the case of a few specific goods, notably milk, but also, for many households, bread and related products. There is little doubt from the outcome of these results that use of mobile shops is often partly associated with convenience. This point was strongly reinforced by conversations with housewives during the course of the household interviews. As one respondent commented:

"He (the baker) comes on Tuesdays and Thursdays and the greengrocer also on Tuesday. They are not all that expensive and it saves you a journey into town. The parking in town is very bad now. What I like about them is that they come to your doorstep - well almost - and you can take the time to choose. It's so much easier."

### 11.5 Service provision in the study areas

For the purposes of this discussion we shall separate 'services' into public utilities and community-based services. It is true over a wide part of rural England that the pattern of provision of public

utilities to rural communities has changed dramatically over the last twenty-five years. In 1942 the Scott report <sup>20</sup> recommended that local authorities should encourage the provision of electricity to all settlements and of gas and water-borne sewerage systems to all of the larger villages. This has been achieved throughout much of the countryside, and in many areas this standard of provision in respect of the sewerage recommendations has been exceeded. This has been brought about as many smaller villages have been joined to a water-borne sewerage system, made possible largely through technological changes in both the laying of large-bore pipes and in the development of more compact and efficient treatment plants capable of serving a large village with several adjacent settlements.

The extension of the mains sewerage system in the rural districts of Norfolk illustrates this rapid change. In 1950 there were only twenty parishes in the administrative rural districts of the whole county which were located on the mains sewerage system. By 1971 this had expanded to 160 parishes. In the North Norfolk case study area seventeen of the forty civil parishes now have a water-borne sewerage system. This is a slightly better coverage than for other rural areas in the county, representing a coverage rate of 42.5 per cent, compared to an average for the Norfolk rural districts of 30.0 per cent. In North Norfolk the three largest settlements are all on mains sewerage (Fakenham, Wells and Briston) but below this the provision of this utility bears little relation to settlement size. This is largely due to the use of group systems for providing mains drainage. These are usually based on a single large settlement taking in a small number of smaller surrounding settlements. In addition, some new schemes are based solely on smaller settlements, whose selection is based largely on

cost effectiveness in relation to the cost of provision in other potential group schemes. Consequently, it would seem that for all but the largest rural settlements, for which the provision of mains drainage is a primary requirement for further residential development on even a modest scale, the provision of mains drainage is a function of their geographical location. In addition, Green and Ayton have pointed out that the initiative of the local authority is a critical factor. This is particularly evident when we consider the standard of provision in a given rural district as a whole:

"Despite the large capital expenditure involved, the initiative of the Rural District Councils is a more influential factor than the more logical priorities of the size of village or the public health requirements in the county as a whole." 21

We should acknowledge here that complete coverage of rural settlements by mains drainage systems is not an objective of either planning or public health policies. The policy relating to Norfolk has been conveniently summarised:

"In some small villages and hamlets septic tanks, which are capable of operating hygienically and conveniently in the right conditions, may be considered adequate." 22

In South Nottinghamshire thirty-five of the fifty-eight civil parishes have mains drainage, but schemes in the design phase or currently projected for construction will eventually extend this to forty-seven. As with North Norfolk, all of the larger villages are covered, although the selected village of East Bridgford was only covered by a comprehensive scheme as late as 1974.

The provision of mains drainage is of much more significance to rural development than its function as a convenient public utility may suggest. In Chapters Four and Seven we discussed the significance of mains sewerage facilities in the development control process. In practice, the existence of a mains drainage system with sufficient spare capacity, is probably the single most important factor in the planning decision to permit even moderate amounts of residential development in a given settlement. Without mains sewerage, or without spare capacity in existing plant, development is effectively restricted to minor 'infilling' within the settlement.

The high cost of providing mains sewerage facilities to the smallest settlements might mean that it is economically inevitable that some settlements will always be dependent on septic tanks or other alternative facilities. However, if this is so we must realise that this is institutionalising differential development opportunities for rural settlements. This is probably most important for smaller settlements in remoter rural areas such as North Norfolk. We have seen from Chapter Eight that many of these settlements are experiencing accelerated decline and that the construction of new housing, almost paradoxically, may reverse this trend. In this context we can suggest that the geographical pattern of provision of mains drainage may, in the future, have important consequences for the social and economic viability of many smaller villages in the remoter areas. It is one of the peculiar but nonetheless characteristic contrasts between pressure and remoter rural areas that the opposite phenomenon is largely true for pressure areas. Here the greater demand for existing, and the limited amount of new, housing, means that the absence of mains drainage in a smaller village is often regarded by the residents as a measure of protection

against further development. This is a simple reflection of a different perception of the development situation. In the South Nottinghamshire villages the principal problem of development, as perceived by residents, is not a lack of new housing assisting in the physical and socio-economic decay of the settlements, as in Norfolk, but a surfeit of development causing rapid change in the settlement and a loss of 'character'. Consequently, in at least one South Nottinghamshire village, Kinoulton, the recent introduction of mains drainage to the settlement brought bitter protests from many residents who saw this as 'the thin end of the wedge'. It is an unfortunate testimony to the situation that in the three years since the system was completed, one new estate has been granted planning permission (see Plate 11.4).

The other principal public utility services are gas, water and electricity. In neither study areas was the distribution of the gas mains network studied in detail. Generally, however, most of the large villages were connected to the gas network. It is unlikely, however, that those settlements without gas, experience any hardship or inconvenience due to the general distribution of the electricity supply and to the development of new (fuel oil) and the use of available (for example, coal) alternative fuel sources.

Electricity supply to settlements in both study areas is now universal, although it is possible that some outlying and deserted cottages in North Norfolk are without supplies. This may seem unsurprising when judged by contemporary standards, but to put this in perspective is the fact that as late as 1950 as many as twenty per cent of residential properties in Norfolk were without electricity supply. Since relatively few of these houses were in towns this

points to an even poorer level of provision in the rural parts of the county.

Mains water supply is now piped to all the settlements, irrespective of size, in South Nottinghamshire, and to all except one in North Norfolk. The exception is the small village of Dunton which is still dependent on local wells. Once again, however, a number of deserted un-modernised cottages in this study area are probably without piped supplies. In perspective, however, in 1951 over sixty per cent of the Norfolk parishes were without piped water supplies.

Community Services: Previous work on what we define as 'community services', within the two study areas is limited, although the general work by Green and Ayton<sup>23</sup> and Maxwell<sup>24</sup> of the Norfolk County Planning Department, is useful. Outside the study area probably the most notable study, and certainly one of the most comprehensive, has been that by Bracey<sup>25</sup>. Probably the key feature in the geographical distribution of community services, as discussed in these and other works, has been, and is, reorganisation and rationalisation, notably of educational and health services, but also of a variety of other community services. There is abundant literature on these topics, for example, Martin<sup>26</sup> on village schools, Boston<sup>27</sup> on the public houses and inns of English villages, and Chandler, and Cherry on village churches<sup>28</sup>.

Whilst the processes of rationalisation and reorganisation are largely uncontrolled by planners, since they are outside the statutory function of planning legislation, their consequences have attracted interest amongst 'rural' planners. Concern has tended to

focus on the standard of services that are provided to rural communities. It is clear, however, that there is considerable divergence of opinion. One young planner, for example, has written:

"Most retail functions are now served by the small chain supermarket, which is an improvement and continuation of the old village store concept. There is additionally purchase of goods from delivery vans and increasing use of deep freezers. Most villages can also function without a bank, since those that use this service usually have a car and can thus travel to urban facilities. Libraries may be replaced with mobile services. ... Social organisation may also be substituted by urban facilities where good accessibility to towns is found." 29

This is perhaps an extreme view and in the author's experience is atypical of the attitude of practising planners. In contrast, there is the other viewpoint:

"The basic requirement of a rural community if it is to be viable by modern standards are a primary school, a food shop, a post office, and a village hall and also easy access to a clinic, doctor, a secondary school, and a wider range of shops." 30

We shall see from the subsequent discussion of community services in the two case study areas that even this fairly moderate level of provision is to be found in increasingly fewer smaller villages.

For the purposes of this analysis we shall consider the distribution of community services in the study areas within five functional divisions:

- (a) Health and other services provided by the Regional and Area Health Authorities.

- (b) Education and other community services provided by the local authorities.
- (c) Ecclesiastical facilities.
- (d) Dispersed services, i.e. community services, which may adopt a more dispersed locational distribution, such as blacksmiths, garages and filling stations, and sub-post offices.
- (e) Other community services.

Health Services: The distribution of health services is shown in Figure 11.3. With the exception of three regional psychiatric facilities, the South Nottinghamshire health services are confined to primary facilities. In North Norfolk services are confined totally to the primary facilities. In the following discussion we will see that community services as a whole are concentrated to a high degree on six selected villages, Bingham, Cotgrave, East Leake, Keyworth, Radcliffe on Trent and Ruddington, in South Nottinghamshire, and on two in North Norfolk, Fakenham and Wells. This pattern is certainly true for health services in both of the study areas. In North Norfolk all of the full-time facilities are concentrated on the two centres with the exception of a district nurse based in the village of Binham. There is also a part-time surgery at Gt. Ryburgh, shown in Plate 11.5. In South Nottinghamshire there is a part-time doctors' surgery in Orston and district nurses in Aslockton and Clipston. Otherwise, all of the health facilities are located in the six key centres, although one of the regional psychiatric units is based on the edge of Radcliffe, in the parish of Saxondale.



Plate 11.5 Doctors' clinic at Great Ryburgh

Part time surgeries and clinics are an increasingly uncommon element of primary health care facilities in both study areas, but this small hut in Great Ryburgh is the exception that proves the rule.

Plate 11.6 The Boar Inn at Great Ryburgh

The Boar Inn was re-opened as a 'free-house' (i.e. independent of the major breweries) in 1977 after several years closure. This provides an unfortunately rare example of how entrepreneurial initiative may locally reverse a process of service rationalisation (in this case by the major brewery combines). It is probably significant, however, that this has occurred in a village where development control policies have permitted a significant amount of residential development since the early 'seventies.



In both areas this concentration of facilities for primary health care in these centres, is partly a function of traditional patterns of servicing the rural communities, and partly a result of financing new health centres. The selected village development policy of both planning authorities and broader area health authority policies has resulted in the new health centres being built in these selected villages. In addition, we can hardly ignore the influence of locational inertia since most of these new health centres were built to replace or consolidate facilities that already existed in these settlements.

It is not the purpose of this analysis to assess the standards of primary health care in the study areas. Nonetheless, there is a particular issue which should be highlighted. In South Nottinghamshire, there are five health centres and additional surgeries for four doctors and two dentists. In contrast, North Norfolk has one health centre with additional surgeries for two dentists and one doctor. Even allowing for the greater population of the South Nottinghamshire area (three times the size of North Norfolk), this points to poorer provision of health facilities in the remoter areas. This difference is intensified when we consider that many households in the South Nottinghamshire study villages tended to use Greater Nottingham, not only for the more specialised health facilities but also for primary health care. This pattern of use obviously reduces the pressure on the facilities within the study area.

Education and other local government services: Figure 11.4 shows selected local government services in the study areas. This is the service sector which we would expect to show the most marked concentration on the selected villages, since it is this sector over which

local authorities must have the most direct control in the location of new facilities and the reorganisation of existing services. Figure 11.4 indicates that this is indeed the case. With the exception of primary schools, the only facility to be located outside the six Nottinghamshire villages which we shall refer to as the principal selected villages, is the Catholic secondary school at Tollerton. Not only is this a long established school, pre-dating contemporary planning policy, but it is also, significantly, a semi-independent school. In North Norfolk there is also only one facility located outside the two principal centres of Fakenham and Wells. This is the secondary school at Briston. It is significant, however, that the school is located at Briston since this village, like Tollerton, is a smaller selected centre.

The distribution of primary schools is rather different. This is due largely to historical patterns in the foundation of village schools and in particular to the early political organisation of schools. Many village schools were established by church or related organisations which were very active in nineteenth century education, or by local school boards which under the Elementary Education Act of 1870 had responsibility for providing elementary education for all children. The subsequent less autonomous organisation by local authorities was not established until the Education Act of 1903. In South Nottinghamshire there are thirty existing primary schools, of which eighteen were built before 1903. The proportion of older established schools in North Norfolk is even higher, with seventeen out of the twenty-one existing schools.

The size of the schools shows very different patterns for the two study areas. In South Nottinghamshire only six of the primary

schools have fewer than fifty pupils, whilst in North Norfolk this rises to fourteen. In fact, in North Norfolk only two of the schools that are located outside the selected villages have more than fifty pupils.

The fact that many rural schools are in buildings established before 1903<sup>31</sup> and have fewer than fifty pupils, particularly in North Norfolk, means that the distribution of primary facilities is likely to continue to be rationalised. This is because national government has made it an educational priority for local government to replace old, inadequate primary schools, with 1903 being established as a guide line. In addition, schools with fewer than fifty pupils are increasingly seen as economically inefficient, although the practical minimum size is considerably lower at about thirty pupils. It seems inevitable that many of the smaller primary schools in the non-selected villages of North Norfolk are faced with closure. This may not be so, due to the increased costs of 'busing' school children to other schools, which is an inevitable result of the closure of established schools. Martin has studied this phenomenon in more detail<sup>32</sup>. More recently in Norfolk the threat to small village schools has been intensified by the decision of the County Council to restructure primary education by creating 'middle schools' for children between eight and twelve years old. In this context it seems that the process of rationalisation of primary facilities in North Norfolk is far from completed.

An additional feature which Figure 11.4 does not show, but which is an important aspect of the distribution of primary facilities, is the concentration of capital investment in the construction of new schools. In North Norfolk there have been two new

primary schools built since the Second World War, both of these are located in selected villages, and both have over two hundred pupils. The location of these schools is partly a reflection of the policy of concentration of capital investment in these villages, but also partly a consequence of the greater demand for primary school facilities in these large villages. In South Nottinghamshire there are twelve new primary schools of which nine have been built in selected villages. The three schools built in non-selected centres have been developed to replace overcrowded and inadequate older schools both in the 'home' village, but also, by enlarging the catchment area of the new schools, in a few surrounding settlements. In this way the construction of new primary schools in rural areas is often part of a process of rationalising educational facilities.

Ecclesiastical facilities: Ecclesiastical facilities are shown in Figure 11.5. This shows a very much more dispersed pattern of provision, with apparently few aspects of nucleation, in complete contrast to the provision of health, education and other local government facilities as previously studied. The cause of this distribution, as with primary schools, is essentially one of historical legacy but also of social patterns of worship in respect of individual communities.

When analysed in detail, the location of ecclesiastical facilities shows some interesting features which might be missed by a more casual examination. Firstly, there is a distinction between the distribution of Anglican churches and those of other denominations. In South Nottinghamshire there are fifty-one Anglican churches of which nine are located in selected villages. In contrast, ten

of the nineteen 'other' churches are located in selected villages. The same distinction is apparent in North Norfolk with ratios of four out of thirty-seven Anglican churches and five out of fourteen 'other' churches in selected centres. The locational pattern, however, suggests that this increased concentration of non-Anglican churches on selected centres is not associated with the planning status of these settlements but more with their population size, since several medium sized non-selected centres in both study areas, for example Gotham in South Nottinghamshire and Blakeney in Norfolk, also have churches of other denominations.

Figure 11.5 also shows the distribution of settlements in the study area with no active church or chapel. Some of these parishes have never had a church, for example the small hamlet of Craymere Beck, near Briston, in Norfolk, or the dispersed settlement in the parish of Thorpe in South Nottinghamshire. In many cases, however, these settlements do have a church or chapel which through physical decay or reorganisation processes has been 'closed' by the church authorities. In South Nottinghamshire there are three settlements in the latter category, whilst in North Norfolk there are no fewer than fifteen. Furthermore, this does not completely describe the pattern of church and chapel closures in the study areas since many settlements which do have an Anglican church also contain a chapel of one of the other denominations which is now closed. This is particularly true for South Nottinghamshire where there are a large number of closed Methodist chapels.

We can see, therefore, that there is reorganisation of church distribution in both study areas, although there is no evidence to suggest that this is concentrating facilities on selected centres,

as seems to be occurring for other community services. This reorganisation has been facilitated by the development of 'combined' parishes by the church authorities. This is most apparent for the Anglican churches in North Norfolk, where each rural vicar has a small catchment area of parishes and responsibility for perhaps three or four churches. This is also a feature of reorganisation in South Nottinghamshire, although it is less extensive here. In North Norfolk the whole of the study area is covered by eleven combined parishes, with some overlap with adjacent parishes outside the study area. This indicates a considerable degree of rationalisation of church facilities.

Dispersed Services: Figure 11.6 indicates 'dispersed' services in the study areas. Having examined in detail the distribution of health, educational and other local authority services, and ecclesiastical facilities, it was considered useful to evaluate the distribution of a group of services whose locational characteristics may be thought of as relatively dispersed. For the purposes of this analysis this group included public houses, post office and sub-post office facilities, garages and associated automobile and agricultural machinery repairers, agricultural contractors, blacksmiths, and both sub-divisional and local police stations. For the most part the information on the location of these services was obtained by field work, as with the other examinations of service provision, but as some of these facilities were difficult to identify in the field (notably agricultural contractors) these data were supplemented by reference to the most up to date 'commercial' directory that we could find (albeit not a comprehensive one), the 'yellow pages' supplement to the telephone directory. In the case of the location of police facilities the relevant infor-

mation was supplied by the Nottinghamshire Combined Constabulary and by the Norfolk Police Authority.

In this examination the degree of concentration of these services in the selected villages, is assessed by a crude index of the number of units in the defined selected villages divided by the total number of units in the study area. This is an elementary technique and although it does give a guide to the degree of concentration in these centres it does mean that the relevant indexes for the two study areas are not directly comparable.

There are sixty-one public houses in South Nottinghamshire and twenty-eight in North Norfolk, which are located in thirty-four and twenty-one different settlements, respectively. Consequently, in the Nottinghamshire study area a little under a half of all the settlements are without a village pub, whilst the same proportion in North Norfolk rises to nearly two-thirds. We can see, therefore, that village pubs are rather less common than a popular image of rural life might suggest. It is certainly true that at one stage in fairly recent history public houses were more widely distributed in rural areas, but as with many other services there has been an erosion of this distribution brought about by rationalisation of the pattern. The cause of this rationalisation has recently been attributed to the large brewery combines<sup>33</sup> which have taken over small and medium sized local breweries and subsequently reorganised their distribution of public houses so as to avoid overlapping facilities where demand, either in the village or from customers coming from other villages and towns, cannot support two or more pubs. Whilst other factors are important in the decay of the distribution of village pubs this is undoubtedly a major factor in one of the study areas, North Norfolk, where

Watneys have recently reorganised the distribution of public houses following the take-over of local breweries. It is significant that where new rural pubs are established or occasionally reopened in Norfolk they tend to be independent concerns i.e. 'free houses'. There is one such example in North Norfolk at Gt. Ryburgh, shown in Plate 11.6.

Figure 11.6 shows that there is some degree of concentration of pubs into a few centres. This is partly a legacy, once again, of a traditional and long established pattern with public houses being grouped on the market centres of the areas. This may explain why, for example, Little Walsingham, the former Norfolk market centre, has two pubs whilst other settlements such as Sculthorpe, of a similar size, have none. This also partly explains the remarkable concentration of pubs in Fakenham which has one in six of all the North Norfolk pubs, five in all. In contrast, similarly sized centres in the other study area, for example East Leake and Cotgrave, have only three and two pubs respectively. The degree of concentration of this service in the selected villages in South Nottinghamshire is 0.45 (where 1.00 would be complete concentration) and in North Norfolk, 0.36.

The locational pattern of post office facilities is more highly dispersed than that for public houses. In South Nottinghamshire there are thirty-three post offices and sub-post offices with no settlement having more than one unit. The same is true in North Norfolk where there are twenty-eight post offices. Consequently, in South Nottinghamshire a little over half of all villages have a post office (53%) and in North Norfolk a little under a half (45%). This wide distribution of post office facilities is almost totally a function

of the role of many village shops as a general store cum-sub-post office. In South Nottinghamshire there is an effective threshold for settlement size of about two hundred population for the provision of this service, although some villages with a sub-post office are less than this size, for example, Hawksworth (population 134 in 1971). In North Norfolk the threshold is slightly higher at two hundred and fifty population <sup>34</sup>.

As a result of this dispersed pattern the concentration index for post office facilities is relatively low for both areas, with 0.27 in South Nottinghamshire and 0.14 in North Norfolk. This is one of the few services the distribution of which, particularly in respect of smaller and medium sized villages, has not notably decayed in recent years. To a large extent, however, the fortunes of the village post office are bound together with that of the village store, where they exist, and if there is any widespread concentration of retailing outlets on larger villages at the expense of smaller settlements, it seems almost inevitable that postal services as provided by the village store, would also decay.

The distribution of garages in the two study areas is an unusual pattern. In South Nottinghamshire there are twenty-seven garages located in seventeen settlements, and in the other study area twenty-three in thirteen settlements. Clearly this is a less dispersed service than either pubs or post offices. The actual locational pattern of garages in both study areas seems to be a function of two factors. Firstly, the size of the settlement is important. The indexes of concentration on the selected centres of both areas, which are all larger villages, are fairly high with 0.59 in South Nottinghamshire and 0.52 in North Norfolk. In addition

many of the garages located outside selected centres are associated with medium sized villages. For example, in South Nottinghamshire there are eleven garages in non-selected settlements, and six of these are located in settlements with over 1,000 people.

The second factor is the distribution of garages in respect of the principal traffic routes of the two areas. This is not immediately apparent from Figure 11.6 but a more detailed study of the location of garages and also of their individual sites, shows that there is an association between garages and certain routes. In South Nottinghamshire the A.60 Nottingham to Loughborough road and the A.52 Nottingham to Grantham road are particularly significant, although the major trunk road, the A.46(T), surprisingly is not important in this association. In Norfolk the A.1065 Fakenham to Norwich road and the A.149 coast road, which are summer tourist routes, are significant.

It would be misleading to suggest that those garages located in the larger villages were based principally on automobile repair and thus were 'population' related services, whilst those in smaller settlements were located on major routes and functioned largely as filling stations for through traffic. Nonetheless, to some extent this distinction is reflected in the field. There are now relatively few village garages located in smaller settlements off major routes. Equally the traditional rural phenomenon of the village blacksmith or store selling petrol is now comparatively rare in the study areas.

The distribution of police services, along with many other public services, has been affected by reorganisation. This was

caused principally by a manpower crisis in the early 'sixties which tended to focus limited resources on the urban 'problem' areas, at the expense, albeit indirectly, of rural policing. In addition, the concept of 'Unit Beat' policing was developed in this period, partly as a response to the manpower problems. This basically took the policeman off the 'beat' and put him into a vehicle, which increased his mobility. This concept greatly affected the distribution of police resources in rural areas, firstly by increasing the number of parishes that a given policeman could cover, and secondly by reducing the number of policeman needed at a given point since cover for an 'off-duty' policeman could be provided by a single larger station often many miles away and usually in an adjacent town.

The outcome of these changes was that most of the different Police Authorities of the respective English counties adopted a system of rural policing which was rather more dependent on the resources of any adjacent urban areas. The rural unit was usually at sub-divisional level, covering a large area. The sub-divisional headquarters would be a medium sized station located in a geographically convenient large village or small town, usually with existing police facilities. In addition, there were a number of small police stations which were generally single police houses with a small office added to the building.

In South Nottinghamshire the sub-divisional headquarters are located in the selected village of Bingham. Whilst this is not central to the study area, it is so for the sub-divisional area, which does not coincide with the local government boundaries. In North Norfolk the headquarters is located in Fakenham. In addition,

there are twelve minor stations in South Nottinghamshire and six in North Norfolk. These minor stations are mostly police houses as already described (see Plate 11.7), although there are two exceptions of purpose built stations in the selected villages of Ruddington and East Leake in South Nottinghamshire, and in Wells in Norfolk. Although there has never been a time when every village had a resident policeman, the present pattern represents a considerable reduction in the distribution of police services in the study areas. It is clear from the existing pattern that facilities have also been concentrated on the larger villages and in particular those amongst them which are selected villages. Consequently, the concentration index for South Nottinghamshire is 0.69 and for North Norfolk 0.43.

The two remaining 'dispersed' services are blacksmiths and agricultural contractors. We should bear in mind that the farrier based 'service' aspects of the blacksmith may be subservient to the 'non-service' workshop. Figure 11.6 shows that these two rural services are the only ones which have a genuinely dispersed distribution. There are only two blacksmiths now operating in South Nottinghamshire and there are none at all located in North Norfolk. In South Nottinghamshire the blacksmiths are located in the small villages of Scarrington and Colston Bassett.

There are five agricultural contractors in South Nottinghamshire and six in North Norfolk. In fact, two of the South Nottinghamshire contractors and two in North Norfolk are located in selected villages. This means very little, however, since unlike the agricultural machinery repairers and dealers who are mostly found in the large villages or in the towns, the agricultural contractors



Plate 11.7    The police house at Great Ryburgh

This is an example of the small rural police station, usually consisting of a single police house and a one room office (often converted from a pre-existing police house and rarely purpose built), that is integral to the re-organised distribution of police services in rural areas.

are often farm based. Presumably this is related to the high capital investment of many contemporary farming enterprises in specialised mobile machinery and equipment, which encourages some farmers to contract out this equipment formally. In many cases these agricultural contractors are highly specialised services.

Other services: Figure 11.7 shows the distribution of other services which have not been included in the previous four sections on community services. We do not attempt to distinguish between the services involved here, since a very broad functional range is involved including commercial services such as banks, domestic services such as plumbers, professional services (including estate agents, solicitors and insurance brokers), and simple 'High Street' retail services such as dispensing chemists and hairdressers. Whilst each of these services will tend to have individual locational requirements, we can see that the composite distribution shows a remarkably simple pattern which is highly concentrated on the principal selected villages of the two study areas.

In South Nottinghamshire there are 115 'other' services of which 99 are located in the six principal selected villages. It is worth noting, however, that only four units are located in the most recently established of these settlements, the village of Cotgrave. In North Norfolk there are fifty-eight units of which forty-seven are located in Fakenham and Wells. In North Norfolk the supplementary facilities outside the two principal selected centres are principally associated with tourism, for example the two restaurants at Blakeney. It is also worth commenting on the much lower density of 'other' service provision in the smaller selected villages of East Bridgford, Tollerton, and Cropwell Bishop in South Nottingham-

shire with three, two and no units respectively, and Briston/Melton Constable in North Norfolk which has none.

All Services: Figures 11.8 and 11.9 show the composite pattern for service provision in the two study areas. As might have been expected following the previous discussions, we can see that this pattern shows a significant degree of concentration of services on the selected villages and in particular on the 'principal' selected centres. In elementary terms, there are 372 service units in South Nottinghamshire as defined on Figure 11.9 of which 241 are located in the nine selected villages (209 in the six principal centres). This represents an index of concentration of 0.65 (where 1.00 is total concentration). In North Norfolk there are 241 units of which 111 are located in the selected centres (ninety-four in the principal centres) representing an index of 0.46. Although the indexes for the two areas are not strictly comparable (as discussed earlier), this nonetheless points to a significant difference between the two study areas, with service provision in the Norfolk case study being more dispersed. We should note, however, that this is not due to relatively better provision in the small and medium sized non-selected villages in North Norfolk. Indeed, the evidence of this analysis is that standards of provision are remarkably similar for these villages in both areas. The difference is largely accounted for by the different density of selected villages in the two areas, with nine selected centres in South Nottinghamshire and only three in North Norfolk. The same situation is true when we consider the principal selected centres in which most of the selected village services are focussed, with six in South Nottinghamshire and two in North Norfolk.

It is interesting to contrast this distribution of services in the study areas to that for retail facilities (diagrams 11.1 and 11.2). In South Nottinghamshire the concentration of shops in selected villages is represented by an index of 0.78 and in North Norfolk 0.67. We can see, therefore, that although various processes of rationalisation are increasingly concentrating service provision on selected villages, and in particular the 'principal' selected centres, the actual degree of concentration is significantly less than for retail provision. This is true for both study areas although more markedly so for the remoter case study.

Finally, it is worth noting that in some rural areas there are moves towards limiting the extent of concentration of service provision on selected centres. For example, in South Nottinghamshire many of the surviving village pubs have received considerable impetus from an outspill of urban residents from Nottingham and its suburbs and from Loughborough, to countryside pubs. This may affect any future plans of the local and national breweries for rationalisation of services. There are also significant developments in the field of public services. We discussed in Chapter Three the conceptual contribution of Henry Morris's idea of village colleges to the development of the principle of selected village development. Morris's ideas have recently received a boost as more village colleges have been established by the Cambridgeshire Education Authority. In addition, the policy towards rural education employed in Northumberland seems to owe much to Morris's ideas. This authority is not developing village colleges as such but it does ensure a continuity of function with the closure of some small village schools by retaining the building and maintaining it for alternative educational uses such as field study centres <sup>35</sup>.

### 11.6 Patterns of use of community services in the study villages

This section attempts to examine some aspects of the pattern of use of community services by the respondents in the sampled population of the twelve study villages. As with the similar section for the use of shopping facilities, we are concentrating attention on the three specific examples, one of each of lower, middle and higher order services. These are:

- (a) Lower order services: Post office and sub-post office facilities.
- (b) Middle order services: Use of banking facilities (this need not necessarily be the location of the branch holding the respondent's account, but is defined as the location of the branch or branches whose facilities are most frequently used).
- (c) Higher order services: Use of primary dental care facilities.

The principal concern of this section is to examine the geographical component of the pattern of use of these services, with supplementary analysis of frequency of use and the method of transport to the specific location(s).

Tables 11.4 and 11.5 show the locational structure of the pattern of use of the sampled population of, respectively, North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire. The use of postal services indicates a very strong association with facilities in the home village. This

is true for both study areas with proportional rates of 77.8 per cent and 71.2 per cent respectively in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire. Two of the study villages had no post office or sub-post office in the village itself. It is notable for both of these settlements that there was considerable use of the facilities in neighbouring settlements (56% and 54% respectively of use of postal facilities). It is clear then that the use of this lower order good is strongly related to local facilities. This is much more strongly so than for lower order shopping goods as shown by Tables 11.1 and 11.2.

The remaining use of postal facilities in the study villages shows a rather different pattern for the two study areas. In North Norfolk most of the remainder of post office use is associated with facilities in the selected villages of Fakenham, Holt and Wells. Post offices in towns are not used at all, and the use of other non-selected settlements outside the home villages is limited to the village of Brinton which does not have its own sub-post office. In South Nottinghamshire the principal focus of use of postal facilities outside the home villages is in the towns. This seems to be a function partly of the workplaces of some heads of households and of married women in particular, who use convenient day time facilities near their workplace. In addition, in some households the use of post offices was part of a multi-purpose journey to town, principally for shopping. The use of selected villages in South Nottinghamshire for this lower order good is very limited (excluding the resident population of such villages, whose use of local facilities is classified as 'home' village use).

The use of middle order services as represented by banking facilities, shows a very different pattern between the two study areas.

In South Nottinghamshire use is strongly associated with urban sources. This, once again, is partly a function of the location of workplace of many heads of household. Remaining use is almost totally related to banks in selected villages although the system of classification used for Table 11.5 means that residents of the selected village of East Leake who use village banks, are classed as using 'home' village facilities and not selected village banks. There are two interesting cases, however, of housewives in East Bridgford who relied respectively on a local publican and the village butcher for cashing personal cheques.

In contrast to the South Nottinghamshire pattern, the use of banks in North Norfolk is almost totally related to selected villages, although for the same reason as in Table 11.5, residents of the selected centre of Fakenham using local banks are classified as 'home village' use. This distortion totally accounts for 'home village' use of banks. Use of urban banks was important for only one household, where significantly the household head worked in Kings Lynn.

In North Norfolk the use of urban centres for community services is important only for higher order services, in this case dentists, if the three service examples are representative of all community service use. Even here the proportion of urban users is less than a quarter of all the respondents (22.8%). Most of the use of dental facilities is associated with selected villages. If we include the residents of Fakenham that use their local surgery, this proportion accounts for over three-quarters of all use (76.9%). The actual selected centres used bears little association with geographical proximity. The surgery in Fakenham is now turning

away most new applicants to its list. Consequently, many of the newer residents both in Fakenham and in the other study villages must travel some distance to the nearest alternative surgery in Sherringham. Others use urban-based surgeries in either Cromer or King's Lynn.

In contrast, in South Nottinghamshire use of dental facilities is largely related to the towns. Selected villages account for only 14.8 per cent of all use, including residents of East Leake using their local surgery and which are classified as 'home' village users. It is interesting to note that in East Leake a similar situation has arisen as that in Fakenham, with new residents not being able to obtain a place on the list of the local surgery. In East Leake this seems to have been precipitated by the movement of one of the partners of the existing surgery to new facilities in Loughborough. Since most of this dentist's patients transferred to his new location, it may be that this figure under-represents the normal use of selected villages for this service.

An interesting feature can be seen by contrasting the patterns of use of shopping and service facilities in the study areas, Tables 11.1 and 11.4 for North Norfolk and Tables 11.2 and 11.5 for South Nottinghamshire. This shows that for both areas the use of urban facilities is more apparent for all orders of goods/services in shopping than for the use of community services. From this analysis it is difficult to say whether this is cause or effect of the distribution of facilities. It would seem that for lower order services the apparently reduced significance of urban centres is associated with the wide distribution of the test service, postal facilities, whereas for middle and higher order services this feature is related to increased importance in the use of selected villages.

The frequency of journey's to use these community services broadly follows the expected pattern, so that frequency is inversely related to the order of the service. Both of the case study samples indicate that there is no direct relationship between the distance travelled to a 'service centre' for one or more of the test services, and the frequency with which that service is used. This would be expected for the higher order service of dentists since constraints on use of this facility are both behavioural and physiological. However, for banks and post offices we might expect households that are near to such services to use them with consistently higher frequencies than households which were more distant from them. In fact, this was not the case, which reflects the findings of the pattern of frequencies for different orders of shopping goods. The cause for this is similar to that for the frequency of visiting shopping centres. The frequency of use of services is related more to household circumstances, and is not a simple function of distance to service centres.

The method of transport to services shows some significant differences between the two study areas, although these are largely accounted for by the different locational structure of service use in the two areas. There are also major distinctions between the method of transport for shopping and for service use. In both North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire more respondents walk to their post office than would do so to purchase the comparable lower order commodity, general groceries. In North Norfolk this is also true for respondents visiting their dentists. This increased significance of walking is largely at the expense of using cars. This tends to suggest that the simple reason for this rather different pattern is that centres used for postal services are more accessible

than those commonly used for general groceries. This is testified to by the proportions of respondents using 'home village' facilities for lower order goods and services. The difference for the higher order service of dentists is principally accounted for by those respondents in Fakenham who use the local surgery, most of whom walk to that location. There are also some minor differences between the patterns of transport to service centres in the other transport codes; buses, motor cycles, push cycles and similar. However, given the comparatively small samples of respondents in these codes we cannot attach statistical significance to these differences.

#### 11.7 Recreational facilities in the case study areas

The distribution of recreational facilities within the case study areas is shown in Figure 11.10. We should realise, however, that any picture of recreational facilities in rural areas would be incomplete without acknowledging the contribution of adjacent urban centres in terms of basic and more specialised facilities. This description, however, is only of facilities which are provided in the study areas. For most settlements the only facility that is provided for 'organised' recreation is the village or parish hall. In some of the larger settlements other facilities may include community centres which have the facilities for a much larger range of activities than simple village halls, swimming pools, sports centres and golf courses. This is not an exhaustive list of recreational facilities provided in the two study areas. There are other 'facilities' for angling, sailing, walking, riding, etc., but we are here focussing on organised recreation for which specific facilities, even if it is only the village hall, are needed.

The pattern of distribution shown in the two study areas is broadly similar. The only facility for which the pattern is comparatively dispersed is the humble village hall. Even here, however, the dispersal is far from complete. In South Nottinghamshire twenty-one of the sixty-two settlements in the study area have no place of assembly, but this rises to thirty-one of the settlements in North Norfolk, exactly a half of all the villages and hamlets. The difference between the two areas is largely related to contrasting settlement patterns. We have earlier commented that there are proportionately more very small villages and hamlets in North Norfolk than in South Nottinghamshire, and the field survey conclusively shows that it is these settlements that are least likely to have a village or parish hall.

The distribution of settlements with two or more places of assembly is strongly related to the larger villages in the study areas. This is also true for the other recreational facilities shown on Figure 11.10. An interesting exception to this general rule is the community centre located in the village of Field Dalling in Norfolk. This is a fairly small centre compared to those at Fakenham and Wells, but it does have a wider range of facilities than is seen in the other village halls. This centre is shared with the neighbouring village of Saxlingham. It is a new building provided apparently through the generosity of a local benefactor. The other two community centres in the Norfolk study area are located in the selected villages of Fakenham, shown in Plate 11.8, and Wells. The smaller selected centre of Briston/Melton Constable, however, does not have a community centre as such although the two settlements jointly share four places of assembly. In South Nottinghamshire there are eight community centres, seven of which are located



Plate 11.8    The community centre at Fakenham

This is one of a number of places of assembly in this selected centre, although the facilities it offers are more extensive than those of a simple village hall. Such centres are almost exclusively located in the selected villages, in both study areas, and provide another example of the concentration of capital investment by local authorities, in the selected centres. This photograph provides an interesting contrast to the village hall at Stiffkey, shown in Plate 11.10.

Plate 11.9    The sports centre at Bingham

This sports centre incorporates an indoor swimming pool, and is part of the capital investment programme for this selected village. The centre has been built adjacent to the secondary school (to the right of the photograph) and consequently functions as both a school and a community facility. The swimming pool in particular, is very popular in survey households of neighbouring villages.



in selected centres. The exception is the British Legion centre in the village of Gotham. Whilst Gotham is not a selected village it is nonetheless a large settlement with a population of 1,684 at the 1971 census. Only two of the selected centres in South Nottinghamshire do not have community centres. These are the villages of Ruddington and Tollerton which respectively have three and one places of assembly. These are the selected villages located closest to Greater Nottingham, a factor which may have some bearing on the lack of a community centre in these settlements. This certainly seems to be true in Ruddington where proposals to extend and convert the present village hall into a community centre were met with some opposition in the village, particularly from some older residents who considered that younger residents and teenagers from the village could continue going to dances and other activities in Nottingham. There was also a more widespread concern that a community centre with licensed premises might attract 'undesirable attention' from the nearby Nottingham suburb of Clifton.

The location of golf courses is something of a surprise. These represent the facility in Figure 11.10 which should be the least tied to the large or selected villages and yet each of the three courses in South Nottinghamshire and the one in North Norfolk are located within or adjacent to a selected village. The location of the North Norfolk course at Fakenham is even more surprising since golf facilities must be a tourist resource, yet Fakenham is about ten miles away from the focus of tourist interest, the North Norfolk coast. Since most of these courses are old established and certainly pre-date the designation of these settlements as selected centres then the association becomes even more mysterious. If

this distribution of golf courses is not atypical we can only conclude that although courses need not be locationally tied to centres of population, they nonetheless closely follow this association between the greatest density of demand for use and site.

There are two sports centres in South Nottinghamshire, at Bingham and East Leake, and one in Fakenham in North Norfolk. The location of these centres, not surprisingly, is tied to selected centres. This is partly a reflection of local authority policies for the concentration of investment and capital expenditure on selected centres, since each of the centres has been fairly recently built. Equally fundamental has been the association between these centres and one of the principal components of demand for them, the local secondary schools, as indicated by Plate 11.9. The sports complex at Bingham also contains an indoor swimming pool, the only public indoor pool in the study area. Together, the sports centre, swimming pool and community centre make Bingham something of a recreational centre for the settlements in this study area. The same is even more true of Fakenham in North Norfolk. There are two indoor swimming pools in Fakenham, although one in the grammar school has only very limited public access and is consequently not represented on Figure 11.10. The other is privately owned but is open for general public use on at least three nights each week.

Fakenham is also unique amongst the settlements of the study areas in that it retains a cinema. Until recently there was also another in Wells which was kept open largely by the summer tourist trade, but this has recently been converted to a bingo hall. The Fakenham cinema apparently remains relatively popular since it is the only one within a reasonable travelling distance of most villages

in central North Norfolk.

In the following section we shall discuss at some length the pattern of recreational activity in the study areas. In this context the distribution of places of assembly is probably the most important feature of the location of recreational facilities in the study areas. The Scott report of 1942 acknowledged the importance of a social centre for a village community. Nonetheless, since then the only new centres to have been built in the case study areas, other than the centre in Field Dalling, have been located in the selected villages. Figure 11.10 shows that many settlements in the study areas, and most villages with less than two hundred population, have no place of assembly. Furthermore, Figure 11.10 tends to exaggerate the provision of places of assembly because in many cases this is represented only by the occasional use of the local primary school, if one exists (or of a specialist hall such as the St. John's Ambulance halls which seem to be widespread in North Norfolk). This might be interpreted as a move towards Henry Morris's concept of 'village colleges' as discussed in Chapter Three. In practice, however, this does not reflect a formal approach towards the joint use of limited facilities from local authorities but an ad hoc use of the only available place of assembly which is totally at the discretion of the local headmaster or headmistress. Furthermore, the use of these alternative facilities, where purpose built facilities are not available, is strongly related to the initiative of local leadership in the communities.

Finally, we should comment that in some villages which do have a purpose built village or parish hall the actual facilities are almost archaic. The village hall in the study village of

Stiffkey, for example, is a wooden building with one function room of approximately thirty-five feet by twenty feet, with a roof that is leaking, no effective space heating and no internal toilet facilities. This is shown in Plate 11.10. It is hardly surprising that one of the villagers commented:

"I don't go to anything in the village. I don't think there is anything. Have you seen the village hall ... it was built for the home guard or the women's institute? I don't think anyone's used it since. There aren't any toilets so I suppose that you wouldn't be able to if you wanted to organise a dance. Anyhow it would be too small."

The field survey of North Norfolk indicated that there were other halls in a similar or worse state of repair. The situation in South Nottinghamshire was probably a little better, although it is difficult to assess this by a quick external examination in the field, but even here it is clear that the facilities of several village halls were quite outdated and often inconvenient.

#### 11.8 Patterns of use of recreational facilities in the study villages

The information for this analysis was collected via the questionnaire in the household interview surveys, and the examination is thus restricted to the twelve study villages. The data collected provided for a very detailed look at the pattern of recreational behaviour in the studied communities but we are restricting this analysis, for the time being, principally to the locational aspect of this activity because in the context of this thesis we are concerned less with the social details of what people do, than with the geographical aspect of where they do it. Nonetheless, this relatively detailed behavioural approach is justified in obtaining a



Plate 11.10    The village hall at Stiffkey

The photograph illustrates the rather decrepit state of the village hall in Stiffkey. This is not characteristic of the standard of the places of assembly of those villages which have such facilities in North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire, but it does indicate the archaic form of many of these halls.

Plate 11.11    The former 'Wheelwrights Arms' at Stiffkey

This former public house is one of many 'victims' of service rationalisation following the take-over of local brewers by one of the large brewery combines (in this case Watneys). It is now converted to a private house, although its previous function is betrayed by the Inn post on the left of the photograph. Such pubs were an important focus of community activity and interaction and as a result their closure has an effect on the local society above and beyond that of the loss of the only licensed premises in the village.



comprehensive and objective picture of recreational activity in the study villages. Molyneux has summarised the reason for this type of approach:

"It is impossible to understand the origins and maintenance of service and amenity patterns without examining in detail the communities on which they operate. The community is both a generator and consumer of services and amenities." 36

It was obvious whilst the information was being collected that we would need to devise some simple but effective way of quantifying recreational activity in the study villages. Eventually it was decided that the most flexible approach would be to introduce a scoring system at the level of each activity within each household. Furthermore, this also had to account for the numbers of household members being involved in different activities. In order to do this a score of one point was given for each household member taking part in each mentioned activity. This formed the data based for subsequent quantitative evaluations. This is an elementary technique and therefore one which has faults. Principal amongst these is the fact that this system of scoring does not take into account variations in the frequency with which activities take place. Consequently, a household member going swimming once a month was scored the same as another person going to a social club regularly three or four times each week. This is a significant omission from the quantification but one that is necessary in order to retain both the simplicity of the technique and its flexibility. In addition, by leaving out consideration of frequency we overcome a principal problem in data quality which was evident in the survey. Many households were able to describe infrequent recreation only in qualitative terms ("rarely", "only occasionally", etc.), being unable

to put a quantitative 'tag' ("monthly", "once in every two months", etc.), on what was often irregular activity. This scoring method enabled quantitative evaluation of the three components of this analysis:

- (a) The use of recreation centres.
- (b) The use of recreational activities.
- (c) Variations in the activity rates of different households and different sub-groups of the sample populations.

Each of these components will be considered separately.

#### The centres of recreation : use of the 'home' village

The number of different centres used by the sampled populations for recreation seems to be largely a function of the size of the 'home' settlement and of its geographical location. This is most clearly shown in South Nottinghamshire. Table 11.6 shows that the largest settlement, East Leake, records the use of twenty different centres, whilst three of the smaller settlements, Barton, Normanton and Wysall, record seven, eleven and seven respectively. This is not a very surprising phenomenon although to explain it we must examine the pattern of use of the different centres. Generally, activity in the study villages was focussed on just three or four centres. Consequently, Table 11.6 shows that in six of the seven South Nottinghamshire villages over three-quarters of formal activity is concentrated on the three principal centres for each settlement (from 75.4% in Normanton to 87.2% in Barton). The exception is Thoroton, with only 48.6 per cent in the three principal recreational centres. This is a special case which will be considered separately later in this section.

Recreational activity in settlements other than the three principal centres for each village is usually of minority appeal. The use of these supplementary centres seems to be related to a wide variety of social factors rather than to simple geographical or economic constraints. For example, one respondent in East Leake regularly went small bore shooting with the rifle club of Sutton Bonnington, because that was the club to which his brother belonged. A widow in the village of Normanton never went to the Women's Institute meetings in that village but regularly travelled to the meetings in Kinoulton, because she had been born in that village and liked to preserve her contacts with that community. Such cases were commonplace in the recreation survey and it follows that the larger the settlement then the more cases there are likely to be, and therefore the more supplementary centres of recreation that are used.

There are two exceptions to this general principle in South Nottinghamshire. The first is the village of Thoroton which we have already distinguished from the other study villages. Thoroton is the smallest of the study villages with a population of ninety at the last census. Yet this village records the second highest number of recreation centres (eighteen). There are no formal recreational activities in the village and the resident households tend to use several of the neighbouring settlements in various combinations to compensate for the inadequacies of their own settlement. Consequently, the number of centres used by the Thoroton respondents is relatively large. The second exception is East Bridgford which records the use of only nine centres. This is in contrast to Normanton and Kinoulton which are both much smaller villages yet both record eleven recreational centres. This contrast

is largely due to comparatively little use of local villages, which seems to be associated with the concentration of activity external to the community in the large selected village of Bingham, which, as Figure 11.10 shows, is an important site for recreational facilities in South Nottinghamshire.

The association between the number of recreational centres and the size of the settlement is broadly true in North Norfolk. Here the exception is the village of Stiffkey which records more centres than the selected village of Fakenham, as shown in Table 11.6, which is a much larger settlement. This is related to the similar situation in Thoroton, with the Stiffkey households apparently making up for the inadequacy of formal activity in their own settlement by using a variety of local villages.

This same association between the number of centres and settlement size is also distorting the results shown in Table 11.6 which may give the impression that the most intensive use of different recreational centres is shown by the large, selected villages of East Leake and Fakenham. However, if we allow for the influence of the larger sample sizes in these settlements by calculating the mean number of centres used per household, we find that the reverse is the case. The results of this analysis are also shown in Table 11.6. There is a marked difference between the intensity of use of different centres in the South Nottinghamshire study villages and those in North Norfolk, but in both areas the lowest intensity is found in the large selected villages, East Leake with 1.6 and Fakenham with 1.3. The highest intensity is found, as we might have expected, in the two villages of Thoroton and Stiffkey, whose situations we have already discussed.

Table 11.7 breaks down the pattern of use of different centres into: the 'home' village, which includes the activities of selected village residents which take place within their home community; selected villages; other villages; and urban centres. We should note, however, that the specialised use of urban centres for recreation is examined more thoroughly in the following section of this chapter.

In eight of the study villages the most important centre of recreation is the home village itself. The four exceptions are Brinton and Stiffkey in Norfolk and Thoroton and Wysall in South Nottinghamshire. In Brinton and Thoroton, this is simply because the village does not support any formal activities. In Thoroton the only activity classified as based in the home village, refers to three households who keep their own horses and exercise them locally. In Brinton no activities are based in the village. In Stiffkey, as we have already noted, there are very few formal activities taking place within the village, due partly to the complete inadequacy of the only meeting place in the village, the village hall. The recent closure of the public house in Stiffkey, which had supported some local activities, has also had some influence. The pub was sold by the brewery and converted to a private house as shown in Plate 11.11. The situation in Wysall is rather different. Here the low 'home' village share of the activity score (25.9%) seems to be largely a result of the isolation of the newcomers to the village from community life. It was common in the other study villages, in both study areas, for long established residents to comment that newcomers either did not 'fit in' with the village organisations or that they made less attempt to take part in village based activities. For the most part this study found little evidence to support this judgement. The village of Wysall, however,

was a notable exception. Certainly, the incidence of people saying that newcomers made no attempt to join in with village activities, was much higher in Wysall. More important, however, the quantitative evidence from the household activity scores supports this. Eight of the ten newcomer households in Wysall had no recreation within the village, in contrast to only four of the ten established households (three of which were elderly households who had no activities anywhere).

The cause of this apparent isolation of the newcomer households from village activities in Wysall is partly self-imposed, since most of these newcomers are members of relatively affluent professional households whose established recreation patterns are partly urban based, and partly associated with a wide geographical distribution of professional and social contacts. As such this phenomenon seems to be related to the process of social polarisation which is taking place in this village and which was discussed in Chapter Nine. Paradoxically, however, in the neighbouring village of Widmerpool where the process of social polarisation has gone even further, quite the opposite seems to be true <sup>37</sup> since there is a very strong involvement of newcomers in this village's activities. The difference seems to be related to the social cohesiveness of the two villages (this will be discussed in the following chapter), and to the leadership of village organisations and their function. In Wysall the village based activities are supported and run by the established residents. Whilst these residents do seem to be keen to attract newcomers to the village clubs and organisations there is an acknowledged desire to keep the running of the clubs to themselves. In addition, the organisation of the only meeting place in the village, the hut of the bowls club, is controlled by the established

residents and consequently newcomers may be actively discouraged from organising alternative formal activities which would need to use this hut.

For those settlements in which the home village is the chief source of recreation the actual share of the villages' activity score varies from 40.0 per cent in Sharrington to 75.8 per cent in Fakenham. With the exception of Sharrington, all of these settlements have over half of their total activity scores associated with the home village. Table 11.7 suggests that the actual importance of these settlements as a source of recreation for their resident populations is largely, but not completely, independent of the size of the settlement. This is perhaps a little surprising since, as we shall later discuss, the range of activities available in the larger villages and particularly in the large selected settlements, is far greater than that available in smaller villages. In North Norfolk the settlement which is most self sufficient in recreation, Fakenham with 75.8 per cent of its total score, is also the largest. In contrast, in South Nottinghamshire the largest study village, East Leake (64.9%) is only the third most 'self sufficient' with two much smaller settlements, Kinoulton and Barton having higher proportional scores with 72.7 and 69.1 per cent respectively. Kinoulton's high proportion is due partly to its greater isolation from towns and selected villages. This may have had the effect of concentrating recreational activity on the village. Whether this is the case or not, the village does have a high degree of involvement in the limited local recreational activities. The role of the village primary school seems to be particularly important to recreation in this village. The school has come to act as a mother institution to a number of activities, due largely

to the vigorous leadership of the parent teachers association. The PTA runs a range of support activities that would do justice to a school many times the size of that at Kinoulton. In addition, this association has developed a popular village sports club which uses the fairly limited school facilities and also those at the sports centre in the selected village of Bingham, through the use of the school mini-bus. Most important of all, however, the PTA has developed a very high degree of support amongst village families. This fosters a community interest long after the children of some households have left the village school, and is an important factor in the concentration of activity on the village.

In Barton also, the principal cause of the concentration of activity on the 'home' village is an imaginative and vigorous leadership. In this case it is the result of what has been observed as one of the traditional sources of leadership in the English village, the vicar and his wife. In Barton the vicar has come to the village quite recently, but in a short time he and his wife have encouraged the revitalisation of old village activities and also established new ones. As with the PTA in Kinoulton this local initiative has been critical in developing a high degree of involvement in a fairly limited range of village recreational activities.

This elementary analysis indicates that in the study villages two factors are of critical importance in the development of a well supported recreation pattern within the home village. Firstly, a convenient meeting place is essential, whether this be a village hall as in Barton, a community centre as in Fakenham, or the use of the local school as in Kinoulton. Secondly, even with a meeting place the contribution of local leadership and initiative is especially

important as the examples of Barton and Kinoulton suggest (and also, in a negative sense, the situation in Wysall). Molyneux's recent study<sup>38</sup> has examined the importance of leadership in village activities in more detail.

Use of urban centres: Towns are generally not very important as centres for recreation for the study villages in either case study area. In North Norfolk they contribute 8.6 per cent of the recreation score and in South Nottinghamshire 16.7 per cent. There is, however, considerable variation between the settlements as to the recreational role of urban centres. In three of the study villages, Fakenham (5.1%), Great Ryburgh (1.6%) and Kinoulton (2.3%) their significance is slight, whilst in complete contrast in Brinton (35.5%) and Wysall (46.6%), towns are, collectively, the principal sources of recreation. The significance of urban centres does not seem to be associated with geographical proximity. Barton, for example, is situated on the edge of Greater Nottingham and yet has proportionally less of its recreation in urban centres (11.5%) than the average for the South Nottinghamshire study villages. In contrast, Wysall, which has a much more intensive use of urban recreation, is twice the distance from the nearest urban centre than is Barton.

This is not to suggest that towns are generally unimportant to rural recreational, for they do satisfy a rather different recreational demand than other centres. Urban centres are more important as sources of specialised recreation. These are mostly sport facilities, but include other specialised activities such as going to the theatre, or concerts. Unlike the use of rural centres, there appears to be no locational tie to particular urban centres,

except possibly in the case of self-styled patrons of particular theatres. This is highlighted by the recent development of a sports centre in the selected village of Bingham in South Nottinghamshire. Four of the study villages are closer to this centre than to similar facilities in the nearest town, and in each case Bingham has become the principal focus of sports activities for these settlements.

Use of selected villages: In North Norfolk the evidence from the study villages suggests that selected villages are an important source of recreation for the rural population. The actual degree of use, as measured by proportion of total recreational activity score, is remarkably even between the four non-selected study villages, varying from 30.0 per cent in Sharrington to 38.8 per cent in Stiffkey.

In the South Nottinghamshire study villages there is a far greater variation, with a range of between 4.5 per cent in Barton to 38.6 per cent in Thoroton. Recreation based in selected villages is important only to three South Nottinghamshire villages, East Bridgford (14.1%), which is itself a minor selected village, Kinoulton (17.8%) and Thoroton (38.6%). In each of these study villages the selected centre which is most important is Bingham. With East Bridgford and Thoroton this is the only selected village to be used for formal recreation. These three study villages are the most accessible to Bingham. The use of Bingham is largely, but not exclusively, associated with the recently developed sports complex and swimming pool, which have previously been mentioned and are shown in Plate 11.9. At the time of the survey this was the only rural sports centres to be developed in South Nottinghamshire.

although since then the development of another, although smaller, centre has commenced at East Leake, as shown in Figure 11.10. It would seem from this evidence that the use of selected villages as recreation centres is dependent largely on reasonable accessibility from surrounding villages, and on the provision of adequate facilities.

The importance of adequate provision of facilities in selected centres is highlighted by the situation in the selected village of East Leake. Table 11.7 shows that there is a high degree of use of home village facilities by residents of this village. There is also considerable use of facilities in Loughborough and to a limited extent in the neighbouring small villages of Costock, Bunny, and also Gotham. The use of these other centres is associated with a process of recreational overspill. This is particularly true for many of the youth facilities in East Leake, including the youth club, the scout packs and brownie's group. Here the rather rapid development of East Leake since the mid-'sixties (the settlement increased its population by over two-thirds between 1961 and 1971 alone) has been an important factor. The incoming households have mostly been young middle class families, often with children, which have placed considerable pressure on many of the formal leisure activities and organisations in the village. Consequently, there are now long waiting lists for the scout and brownie groups. This has resulted in an overspill of recreational demand to some of the surrounding villages, but particularly to Loughborough. The same process can also be observed, to a more limited extent, in East Bridgford. This overspill is often an important element in preserving some recreational activities in smaller villages. For example, the scout pack in Newton seems to have been in some

danger of being disbanded through lack of support, but the overspill demand from East Bridgford has fostered its survival.

The overspill of recreational demand from East Bridgford and East Leake is not necessarily a characteristic of all selected villages. There is no suggestion that this is occurring in Fakenham, and this may explain why this selected centre has a significantly higher proportion of 'home village' recreation than either East Leake or East Bridgford. The difference between these centres is accounted for by the very different rates of growth, with development in East Leake and East Bridgford having been at such a rate that it has outstripped the provision of local recreational facilities<sup>39</sup>.

Given this phenomenon occurring in some rapidly developing selected villages, we can see they are ill-prepared to act as foci for the provision of recreational facilities for smaller settlements. This is not the case in North Norfolk where the provision of recreational and leisure facilities has not lagged behind residential development, largely due to a rather more moderate growth rate (Fakenham, for example, expanded its population by 19.0 per cent between 1961 and 1971), and where, presumably, there is spare capacity in selected village facilities and organisations which can be, and is, used by the rural population of the surrounding non-selected study villages. Bingham, in South Nottinghamshire, fills a similar role, although the growth rate in this selected village between 1961 and 1971 was very high (71.1%). Nonetheless, the development of the sports centre complex and swimming pool and supplementary recreational facilities has meant that despite this growth rate Bingham too has maintained some spare

capacity in its facilities and organisations. The same is not true for East Leake and East Bridgford, as we have seen, and this largely accounts for the differential rate of use of selected villages as recreational centres in South Nottinghamshire.

Use of Other villages: In most of the study villages, with the exception of Great Ryburgh in Norfolk and Kinoulton in Nottinghamshire, the use of 'other' villages is of some significance to the recreational pattern of the sample households. This supports MacGregor's<sup>40</sup> analysis of rural recreational patterns in contemporary England, which has underlined the significance of inter-village links and sharing of facilities. In this way the fund raising dance held by one village is supported by households from surrounding settlements, and the darts team of one village public house may draw upon several local villages for its membership. Consequently, there is a degree of functional interdependence in the use of recreational facilities between villages, that is certainly not important in the patterns of use of shopping and community service facilities. Material written about social activity in rural areas of the period before the rapid post-1945 changes, indicates that many village social and leisure contacts were characterised by petty local rivalry<sup>41</sup>. Despite this it seems likely that a degree of functional interdependence has always characterised twentieth century rural recreational patterns.

In three study villages, Brinton, Stiffkey and Thoroton, the use of villages other than selected centres as recreation centres, is much more extensive, with respective rates of 29.4, 27.8 and 45.6 per cent. In each of these three villages the extent of use of recreational facilities and organisations in the home village is much smaller than for the other study villages, particularly for

Brinton (0.0%) and Thoroton (4.3%). We have already discussed the situation in these villages and have noted that the sampled population of these centres seems to look towards the organisations and facilities of neighbouring villages to compensate for the inadequacy of their 'home' villages. In perspective, it is worth noting that it is only in these villages where there is little or no development of recreational activities, that functional interdependence with other non-selected villages, becomes of considerable importance.

#### The use of recreational activities

The number of different recreational activities mentioned in the village surveys varied from fifty-nine in East Leake, to sixteen in both Brinton and Sharrington. Although this describes the breadth of activity in the sample populations, it does underestimate the extent of activity since often the same recreation was carried out in more than one centre; this was particularly true for members of the survey households going to dances and those which regularly visited public houses. Consequently, a further statistic was calculated, which is shown in the sixth column of Table 11.8. This represents the total number of recreational activities mentioned by sampled households in the respective study villages, and this double counts, or triple counts, as relevant, those activities which are duplicated between two, three or more centres. The contrast between this statistic and that representing the number of different activities, which excludes duplication between centres (as shown in the first column of Table 11.8) indicates an interesting difference between the two case study areas.

In North Norfolk there is very little duplication of activities indicated by the five village studies. In contrast, in five of the

South Nottinghamshire study villages there is evidence of considerable duplication, particularly in East Leake. This is probably related to the situation in this selected village, as discussed earlier where rapid residential development has 'swamped' some of the recreational organisations and facilities in the settlement causing some residents to look to neighbouring settlements for alternative facilities.

Obviously, the actual patterns of recreation are very complex since they are both extensive and overlapping different centres; nonetheless, some general observations can be made.

There is a strong positive correlation between the size of study villages and the number of recreational activities mentioned in the survey. (Spearman's rank correlation coefficient for North Norfolk is +0.95 and for South Nottinghamshire + 0.96). This is to be expected since we would anticipate that the larger the population of a given community, then the larger the number of activities that are likely to be manifested. Nonetheless, this has considerable implications for the pattern of recreation in the study villages. Only in the largest settlements, in this case the two biggest selected villages, can the 'home' village provide the facilities or organisations for well over a half of all recreational activities mentioned by the sampled populations of those settlements. East Leake provides facilities for over two-thirds (69.5%) of its mentioned activities, and Fakenham slightly more than seventy per cent (72.4%). In a second group of medium sized villages, including the smaller selected village of East Bridgford (50.0%), together with Great Ryburgh (45.5%) and Kinoulton (52.9%), the provision is for about a half of the mentioned activities. In all of the other study villages this

proportion is much smaller as can be seen from Table 11.8. This indicates that there is a very intensive use of the limited facilities in some of the smaller study villages, since, despite providing facilities for a more limited proportion of residents' activities, some communities, notably Barton in South Nottinghamshire, still exhibit a high proportion of 'home' village based recreation (see Table 11.7).

Activities that take place outside the home village are usually of minority appeal. We have discussed this briefly earlier in this chapter but a case study may help us to examine this phenomenon in more detail. In the village of Kinoulton, in South Nottinghamshire, there are nine activities within the village and only three of these are used by fewer than three of the interviewed households. Two of the 'internal' activities, the village sports club and regular dances, are mentioned by over a third of the village respondents. Another thirteen activities take place outside the village, including five which duplicate internal activities. Only one of these 'external' activities, the visits of the sports club to the swimming pool at Bingham, is mentioned by more than one respondents. This phenomenon is most apparent in the large and medium sized settlements. In the smaller study villages the more limited range of internal facilities results in a greater degree of dependence on other centres to increase the breadth of available activities, and consequently minority use of external activities becomes less distinct in these villages.

It is interesting to note that external activities were very often sports based, the actual proportion varying from 31.0 per cent of all external activities in Barton to 74.4 per cent in Wysall.

This variation was a reflection partly of the age structure of the samples and, in the case of the two largest selected villages, also of locally provided facilities.

In most of the study villages there was a general concentration of activity on a few principal recreations. This is illustrated in the last column of Table 11.8 by the proportion of the total village score accounted for by the five principal activities. This proportion seems to be independent of the number of activities mentioned by respondents, although one might have expected that in the larger settlements with a more diverse range of facilities and organisations this proportion would be less than in smaller villages. This is clearly shown in the North Norfolk study villages where, with the single exception of Sharrington, this proportion is fairly even despite considerable differences in the number of activities mentioned by respondents in these villages.

The nature of these principal activities suggests that some are of recurrent importance in the different villages. The Women's Institute is a principal activity in six of the nine study villages in which it exists. Dances are equally important. These are regularly held in nine of the villages, the exceptions being Thoroton, Brinton and Stiffkey which lack facilities to accommodate dances, and are principal activities in six of these settlements. Evening classes are of similar importance to five of the study villages although there is some difference between the case study areas, since four of these villages are in South Nottinghamshire. This may reflect a different policy on the part of the local education authority in respect of adult education, since in South Nottinghamshire there does seem to be more extensive provision of evening

classes at village primary schools. Finally, the local public house and swimming pool are each principal recreations to five of the study villages.

In the selected villages virtually all of the principal activities take place within the village itself. In the smaller villages the extent to which principal activities are focussed on the village is much more variable. This seems to be a function of the development of organisations in the villages, the provision and use of facilities and, of course, of the significance of leadership within the recreational and social structure of the villages.

#### Variations in the activity rates of households in the study villages

A useful measure of the level of activity of households in a given village is the mean household activity score. In addition, one can assess the variation of households around this mean by calculating the standard deviation for the same group of households. Both of these statistics for each of the study villages, are shown in Table 11.9.

The mean household score varies from only 1.00 in Brinton to 4.85 in Barton. There is a significant difference between the two study areas, with a tendency for a higher level of activity in the sampled households of South Nottinghamshire (composite mean = 3.52) than in North Norfolk (2.47). In fact, the village with the highest activity rate in North Norfolk, Great Ryburgh with a mean score of 3.15, is exceeded by all but two of the South Nottinghamshire study villages.

Within the two study areas there is little association between the level of activity as measured by the mean household score, and the size of the village, except in the special cases of Brinton and Thoroton which are the smallest study villages in the respective case study areas, and which do not support their own formal organisations or activities.

There is some evidence of an association between the level of activity and the leadership within a village. Leadership is not an easily measured feature, and its influence on individual communities can best be studied by detailed village studies of greater depth than those in this analysis. Molyneux's research in Kesteven illustrates this approach<sup>42</sup>. Our analysis has indicated that two villages in this study are particularly influenced by vigorous and imaginative leadership, Barton and Kinoufton, and it is these two villages which have the highest mean household scores. At the other end of the scale, both Thoroton and Brinton are obvious examples of villages which are lacking leadership and these, respectively, have the lowest scores for the two study areas. We have looked at leadership in the village of Wysall. In this settlement no single person or group of people have succeeded in gaining the support of all the conflicting social groups in the village. We have seen this in the context of the newcomers and old established residents, but there is also a more sectional conflict between the Methodist and Anglican groups in the settlement. Consequently the village of Wysall lacks a common leadership and it is notable that this village exhibits the second lowest mean household score of the South Nottinghamshire study villages.

The standard deviation of household scores from the mean, which is also shown in Table 11.9, is very high. In most of the study villages this statistic is nearly as large as the mean itself, which reflects the quite considerable differences between individual households in the intensity of their recreational behaviour.

We can look at the two extremes of activity by examining those households in which there is no formal recreation outside the home, where the score is nil, and those where there is a high level of activity as indicated by those with scores of ten or above. The last two columns of Table 11.9 indicate the proportion of village households which fall within these two groups.

In the North Norfolk study villages nearly thirty per cent (28.7%) of the sampled households said they had no recreation outside the home, compared to under sixteen per cent in South Nottinghamshire. In the South Nottinghamshire study villages there was less variation around this mean, with a range of from 9.1 per cent (East Bridgford) to 23.1 per cent (Thoroton), than in North Norfolk where the proportion of households with no activity scores ranged from 15.0 per cent in Great Ryburgh to 58.8 per cent in Brinton.

Households with no recreation outside the home were often elderly respondents living on their own. Nonetheless, there was no measurable tendency for study villages with a high proportion of elderly households, to have higher 'no activity' rates. In fact, in Great Ryburgh quite the opposite is the case. In this village nearly twenty per cent of the population were sixty-five years of age or more (18.8%), but the density of the elderly population here has supported the development of a limited range of activities and

organisations within the village of particular appeal to these households. More important, these activities are well attended by the elderly households and this is a contributory factor to the relatively low 'no activity' rate in the village.

At the other end of the adult age range it was quite common to find young married couples with young children with little or no recreational activity outside the home. Such couples often commented in the surveys that their children restricted their activity to home based leisure pursuits. Yet in several situations it was found that neighbouring households in, apparently, exactly the same situation, had comparatively active social lives, although they too would often comment on the constraints placed upon their social life by their family circumstances. This brief examination suggests that the degree of activity of a given household is a product, principally, of the social values of that household and not of any single factor such as age, family structure, or length of residence in the village.

In South Nottinghamshire there were only ten households (4.1 per cent of the sample) with activity rates represented by scores of ten or more. In North Norfolk the number was even smaller with only one such high activity household (0.8 per cent of the sample). This suggests that either the supply and organisation of recreational activities in both study areas is so inadequate that it is curtailing the activity of many households, or that most households manifest fairly limited recreational needs. As there was no <sup>43</sup> widespread dissatisfaction expressed in the village surveys with the provision of formal organisations and facilities for recreation,

we must support the latter conclusion. One notable feature of these higher activity households is that seven of the eleven are living in non-selected villages. One would have thought that there was more opportunity for high scores in the selected villages with their more abundant home village facilities. This situation may be a simple reflection of the more intense community involvement in smaller villages, a factor which we have previously commented on.

A number of supplementary variables were tested to assess their significance in the individual household activity scores. These variables included length of residence and social class. Length of residence, as determined by the newcomer and old established groups, as previously defined, had no complementary relationship between the study villages. Social class may have a more positive association with recreational activity since in each of the study villages the middle class households had a higher average activity than their working class counterparts in the village. However, it is difficult to attach much significance to this relationship since we cannot determine cause and effect within this association. A third variable tested was mobility and this indicated a more definite association with recreational activity. In all of the villages, households with either one or more cars or a motor cycle, had higher mean scores than households without either. The results for this are shown in Table 11.9. In most of the study villages the difference between the mobile and 'immobile' groups is fairly pronounced, with the possible exception of East Bridgford. As with social class, the difference is more pronounced in the smaller villages than it is in the larger, selected centres. This is probably a simple reflection of the range of community activities in the villages. In the selected centres there is a broader range

of recreational activities and organisations, and consequently an immobile household may have a reasonable level of activity without needing to travel outside the village. This is usually not the case in the smaller study villages despite the often greater intensity of use of facilities within these settlements.

It is interesting to look at dependence on personal transportation for those activities that take place outside the home villages. Table 11.10 indicates there is a very high degree of dependence on the private car. We should note here that all movement of any member of the household within that household's private car is classified as transport by car. For example, the household head ferrying his/her son to the youth club in a neighbouring village is classed as transport by car rather than as a 'lift'. This dependence on cars is apparent in each of the village studies, although the degree of dependence is from 80.7 per cent of all recreational journeys outside the village in East Bridgford, to 98.0 per cent in Wysall. This feature is similar for both study areas, although the figures shown in Table 11.10 indicate that the dominance of the car in North Norfolk is a little more intensive. This is partly associated with the poorer public transport facilities in this study area, reflected in the minimal use of bus services for transport to 'external' recreation.

In South Nottinghamshire public transport is used for recreational journeys in only three of the village samples, East Leake (9.5%), East Bridgford (6.1%), and Normanton (3.0%). In North Norfolk it is used in only one village, Great Ryburgh, and there only to a minimal extent (4.0%). This generally low degree of use is as much a reflection of very limited or non-existent evening

services as of restricted routes. The only other means of transport to activities outside the village which is worth separate mention, is lifts. These are mentioned in ten of the villages, and this reinforces the general importance of the motor car.

Considering the relative inadequacy of rural bus services, particularly in North Norfolk, in terms of convenience and the very limited evening bus services, it is clear that for many households, whose recreational needs cannot totally be supplied within the 'home' village, a car is a basic necessity. Immobility tends to affect certain sectors of the village population more than others, particularly within the elderly and teenage population, as discussed in Chapter Ten. The village studies show that elderly households are often able to satisfy some or all of their recreational needs by using existing facilities and organisations within the home villages. This is apparent in all of the study settlements with the important exception of the very smallest villages, Thoroton and Brinton, where there are no formal 'internal' activities of any kind. It would be quite wrong to give the impression that as a result of internal village activities the elderly households which are immobile are not particularly disadvantaged, because it is clear that some elderly respondents experience difficulty, whether the village hall and the whist drive or old age pensioners club, are 800 yards or eight miles away. Nonetheless, this problem is very different to that of the other major disadvantaged group, the teenagers, who are often isolated and physically remote from their potential sources of recreation.

Formal recreational facilities for children (other than the very young) and young adults, were only available in the three selected

villages and also in Kinoulton, whose situation we have earlier discussed. Even in these settlements provision for the teenage group was very limited, with the possible exception of Fakenham. Consequently, teenagers were generally relatively deprived of home village recreational facilities which results, in each of the village studies, in a high degree of dependence on being ferried to activities outside the village via the household car (where the parents are willing and able to do this). Inevitably, the overall result is for the recreational opportunities for that sector of the population which has possibly the highest recreational aspirations and needs, to be severely limited.

One of the respondents in the village of Kinoulton was the local authority social worker whose case responsibility involved her home and neighbouring villages. Her experience of this situation for rural recreation for the young was most interesting and is worth considering briefly here. It was her opinion that paucity of village facilities in particular for the teenage group, and the very restricted bus services during the evenings, was often the cause, albeit indirect, of children becoming involved in a variety of social problems. Furthermore, she noted that her casebook revealed only the 'tip of the iceberg' in this context. It is perhaps a dramatic irony that only nine months after the author had interviewed this social worker, a teenage girl from that same village was found to have been murdered whilst 'hitching' a lift back from a late evening dance in Nottingham.

#### 11.9 Urban based recreation: The example of cinema and theatre going

At the design stage of the survey it was felt that urban recre-

ation might present special patterns of use which would contrast to activities and organised recreation taking place in rural centres. Consequently, we included a special section in the questionnaire to examine the use of a single, specialised recreation with a predominantly urban base. The example chosen was cinema/theatre going.

Table 11.11 summarises the use of cinemas and theatres by the sampled population. This indicates a significant difference between the rate of cinema/theatre going in the two study areas, and this is one of the important major differences between the patterns of recreation in these two areas. In South Nottinghamshire, the proportion of village households which do use a cinema or theatre is over half in all the villages except Thoroton (46.2%) and Barton (40.0%). In four of the study villages the rate is over sixty per cent. In contrast, in North Norfolk this rate exceeds fifty per cent only in Fakenham (56.9%), and in the remaining study villages varies from 29.4 per cent in Brinton to 38.5 per cent in Sharrington. This contrast is intensified when we consider that Fakenham is the only settlement in both study areas to have its own cinema, and yet the proportion of use is lower in this settlement than in four of the seven South Nottinghamshire study villages.

The contrasting rates of use of cinemas and theatres in the two study areas may be a response to the relative remoteness of facilities. We have already noted that there is a cinema within the Norfolk study area, at Fakenham, but this is only a 'single screen' facility in contrast to many urban cinemas which are multi-screen designs, which obviously offer a greater choice for users. There is no theatre within either study area, as such, although there is

a small but established amateur theatre group with permanent facilities, at Sherringham only a few miles outside the Norfolk study area. Otherwise, in both areas facilities are concentrated in the towns, and this is where the significant contrast between the two areas is most apparent. Many individuals or families going to the cinema from the South Nottinghamshire study villages, with the single exception of Thoroton, have about twelve miles or less to travel to the nearest cinema or theatre in the major urban areas of Nottingham or Loughborough. In North Norfolk the distance from comparable facilities in King's Lynn or Norwich is roughly double this.

It was thought that the rather more aged population of the Norfolk study area might significantly affect either the frequency of attendance at cinemas and theatres or the overall user rate. This hypothesis, tested by cross-tabulation, was found to be invalid for all except the most elderly age group, those sixty-five years of age or over. The rate of use for this elderly age group fell to 23.4 per cent in the South Nottinghamshire study villages and 18.4 per cent in North Norfolk. This may be as much due to the higher immobility rate in these age groups, as measured by car ownership, as due to a genuine reduction in demand for this recreation with age.

In all, six centres of local cinema/theatre going were mentioned in the South Nottinghamshire survey, and five in North Norfolk. We were able to assess the relative importance of these centres by calculating two statistics. Firstly, the proportions of all 'mentions' in the study area, and also the proportion of specified principal centres. This distinction was necessary because the sample households in both study areas, but particularly in South Nottinghamshire often gave several centres in answer to the question regarding

the location of the cinemas and theatres which they visited. In such cases respondents were asked to identify the centre which they most often used, the 'principal' centres. In South Nottinghamshire two centres accounted for over three-quarters of all use; Nottingham with 59.7 per cent and Loughborough with 21.6 per cent. These were even more important when we consider the use of principal centres alone, with respective proportions of 70.2 per cent and 18.0 per cent. In North Norfolk use was again concentrated on two centres, in this case Norwich (48.0%) and Fakenham (37.2%). Once again, the significance of these centres rises when considering the location of principal centres only with respective proportions of 51.8 and 41.1 per cent. It is interesting that in North Norfolk the local cinema in Fakenham is subsidiary to the facilities in Norwich. The evidence of the household interviews suggests that this is related to the greater range of choice in the Norwich cinemas and theatres.

The principal means of transport to the cinema or theatre, as with other 'external village' recreation, was the private car. In South Nottinghamshire 85.3 per cent of all journeys to the cinema were made by private car, and only 7.7 per cent by bus. In North Norfolk the dependence on the car is marginally less, 78.0 per cent, due in part to the 15.3 per cent of visits which are accounted for walking (this is related exclusively to the use of the Fakenham cinema by Fakenham residents). Only 1.7 per cent of journeys to the cinema and theatre are made by bus in the Norfolk sample. This again underlines the extreme importance of the private car in the pattern of recreational activity outside the home villages in both study areas.

### 11.10 Summary

This chapter is the second part of the examination of selected social and economic facilities in the case study areas, and is specifically concerned with the distribution and use of shops, services and recreational facilities.

The pattern of distribution of shops indicates that in terms of the number of shopping outlets per unit population, North Norfolk is better provided for than South Nottinghamshire. Nonetheless, there are more settlements in North Norfolk without any shopping facilities than in South Nottinghamshire. The distribution of shops indicates a general association between settlement size and the number of outlets in a given village. Even so, there are many exceptions to this general association, notably in the selected villages, where the number of shops in a given settlement seems to be as much a product of the geographical location of that settlement in respect of urban areas, and of the historical background of the settlement.

Selected villages, and in particular the large, established centres which we term the 'principal' selected centres, are the foci of shopping facilities in the study areas. In addition, the more specialised retail functions are almost exclusively located in these principal centres.

This study examines the use of shops and services in the study villages by looking specifically at three 'test' functions, which are respectively representative of lower, middle, and higher order goods and services. The general pattern of consumer behaviour indi-

cates that in North Norfolk the selected villages are very important shopping centres, with towns only being significant for higher order goods. The pattern is very different in South Nottinghamshire where towns are important for lower and middle order goods, and are virtually exclusively used for purchasing higher order goods. The use of towns in South Nottinghamshire is partly related to the association with workplace, and also to a common household phenomenon of multi-purpose journeys to urban centres. The relative accessibility of the study villages in South Nottinghamshire to towns is a critical determinant of this contrasting pattern.

As an additional component of retailing in rural areas this study also examines the use of mobile shops. Mobile shops visited each of the study villages although their number and function varied from one settlement to the next. Dependence on mobile shops was unknown in the South Nottinghamshire study villages, and focussed in only one of the Norfolk study villages. Use of mobile shops varied between settlements but generally the rate of use in North Norfolk is slightly lower than in South Nottinghamshire although the intensity of use, as measured by frequency of purchasing goods from mobile shops, was greater in North Norfolk. The general observation is that mobile shops are an important supplement to the static provision of shopping facilities in both study areas.

The examination of services in the study areas is divided into public utilities and community services. The basic utilities of electricity and piped water-borne sewerage systems are less comprehensive but nonetheless widespread. We note that the current and proposed pattern of provision of mains sewerage is an important

determinant of the distribution of future residential development in the study areas. The geographical distribution of mains sewerage is strongly associated with the largest villages and all of the selected centres, but in other villages the provision seems to be related not to settlement size but to location, and to the initiative of the local authorities.

Community services are considered separately as: health services; education and other local authority services; ecclesiastical; dispersed; and other services. The composite pattern is also considered to give a general view of the distribution. This shows a pattern which is concentrated to a considerable degree on the selected villages and particularly the 'principal' selected centres, as identified in the discussion of retailing facilities. The degree of concentration is greater in South Nottinghamshire than in North Norfolk, although in both study areas the intensity of concentration on selected centres is not as great as for retail facilities. The study indicates that an important feature of the various processes of rationalisation and reorganisation of community services in rural areas, is the growing importance of the principal selected centres as locations for service provision.

The use of community services in the study villages is examined by looking at three 'test' services. The overall pattern of use bears some similarity to that for retail facilities, with selected villages being particularly important in North Norfolk and of limited significance in South Nottinghamshire where towns are more important. In both areas, however, there is a strong association between the lower order service, postal services, and the home village. This is partially a response to the wide dis-

tribution of post offices and sub-post offices throughout both the study areas.

The pattern of distribution of recreational facilities indicates that for most villages the only 'facility' is a place of assembly. In some villages this may be a purpose built village or parish hall or converted school or chapel; in others it is represented by the evening and weekend use of the local school. In many settlements there is no place of assembly at all. Larger community centres, like a range of other recreational facilities, are associated with the selected villages.

Recreational activity in the study villages is examined in some detail. The patterns are obviously very different between the villages but some general observations can be made. Overall, the pattern of use of recreational facilities is very different to that for shops and services, since for those villages with a place of assembly, household activity patterns are generally dominated by 'home' village based activity. The degree of activity varies from one village to the next, but is strongly related to a number of local factors of which local initiative and leadership are the most important. In this way the intensity of home village based activities can be greater in smaller settlements with a limited range of facilities and activities than in the selected centres with a much wider range of social organisations and recreational facilities.

Selected villages are important foci for recreational activity in both study areas, although in South Nottinghamshire the use of some selected centres by neighbouring villages is restricted by considerable internal pressure. This feature is essentially a product

of the provision of recreational facilities lagging behind residential development. A similar phenomenon was observed in the provision of retailing outlets to selected centres. This facility lag may severely compromise the actual socio-economic role of selected villages.

The use of rural centres other than the home village and selected villages, assumes a significant role in the pattern of recreational activity. This is generally associated with using facilities in neighbouring villages. Consequently, there is a degree of 'functional interdependence' in the recreational activity of the sample population, although this is only of considerable importance to those villages without any, or only very limited home village facilities.

The importance of urban centres to recreational activity in both study areas is limited, and is principally associated with more specialised recreations.

This study indicates that there is a strong positive correlation between the number of recreational activities generated within a given settlement and its population size.

There is considerable variation in the activity rates of different households. This seems to be associated with the social value of a given household rather than to a single factor such as the age of the household head(s), the family structure, or length of residence in the village. Mobility does exert a more positive influence on individual household activity rates which is a reflection of the almost total dependence on the private car for transport to recreation which is 'external' to the home village. Gener-

ally, activity rates are lower in North Norfolk than South Nottinghamshire.

Finally, this study examines in detail the pattern of use of cinemas and theatres, as an example of a more specialised, usually urban based recreational facility. There is a higher rate of use in South Nottinghamshire than in North Norfolk, although village rates vary quite considerably within the study areas. Use is strongly linked to urban centres, and this is apparent even for North Norfolk where the selected centre of Fakenham has a cinema. This seems to be associated with the range of choice available in towns. As with 'external' recreation in the study villages, the pattern of transport to cinemas and theatres is strongly associated with the private car. Immobility may be a real constraint on the recreational activity of rural households, and particularly for the teenage members of many households.

FOOTNOTES

1. H.E. Bracey, *Social provision in rural Wiltshire* (1952).
2. J. A. Giggs, 'Retail change and decentralisation in the Nottingham metropolitan community', *Geographia Polonica* (1972) pp. 173 -183.
3. R.J. Green and J.B. Ayton, *Changes in the pattern of rural settlement*. Paper presented to the Town Planning Institute conference on Planning for the changing countryside (1967).
4. We should note that this does not necessarily mean that the overall pattern of retail provision is proportionately better in North Norfolk, since we are measuring only the number of retail outlets and do not take account of other critical factors in the quality of provision, such as floorspace, or the function of outlets.
5. See for example,
 

M. Hill, *The geography of twenty-five market places in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire from 1861 - 1969*.  
M.A. Thesis University of Nottingham (1972).
6. Little Walsingham is now a small tourist and ecclesiastical centre, but as late as the middle of the last century the settlement was an important market centre. Subsequent changes in the popularity of the settlement as a pilgrimage and tourist centre together with the transfer of its quasi-urban functions to Fakenham, have since caused an accelerated decline.
7. Increased floorspace does not necessarily mean increased

provision. This is particularly true within the context of rural retailing. The modern 'open plan' purpose built store, often a small supermarket, is designed to improve the display and marketability of goods. Consequently, the traditional form of village store with great use of vertical storage and limited priority placed on display, may offer a similar standard of provision with a greatly reduced floorspace area.

8. P.T. Kivell, 'Hinterlands or rural-urban interaction with special reference to the North-West Midlands of England' *Geographia Polonica* (1972) pp. 189 - 200.

9. B.J.L. Berry, *Geography of market centres and retail distribution* (1967) p. 64.

10. P.T. Kivell, op cit (footnote 47) p. 196.

11. G.P. Stone, 'City shoppers and urban identification : Observations on the social psychology of city life'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (1954), pp. 36 - 45.

12. I.G. Weekly, *The vicinal population : A study of the structure of village economies*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London (1974).

13. B. McLoughlin, 'Rural settlement planning : A new approach' *Town and Country Planning* 44 (1976), pp.156-160.

14. M. Ash, 'Time for a change in rural settlement policy' *Town and Country Planning*, 45 (1977), pp. 528 - 531.

15. T. Hancock, 'Planning in rural settlement', *Town and Country Planning* 44 (1977) pp. 620 - 623.
16. R. Helle, 'Retailing in rural North Finland : particularly by mobile shops'. *Fennia* 91 (1964) pp. 58 - 113.
17. P.T. Wheeler, 'Travelling vans and mobile shops in Sutherland' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 76 (1960) pp. 147 - 155.
18. Using Spearman's coefficient and ranking the inadequacies of the shopping facilities of each village by a crude index of the number of individual retail outlets, we find that there is a positive association of 0.95 with the proportion of households using mobile shops. This is statistically significant at the 99% confidence interval.
19. Measured as recorded previously (see footnote 18) the correlation coefficient is +0.69, which is not statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval.
20. HMSO, *Report of the committee on Land Utilisation in rural areas*. Cmnd. 6378. (1942).
21. R.J. Green and J.B. Ayton, op cit (footnote 3), p. 5.
22. Norfolk Joint Structure Plan Steering Committee, *Norfolk Joint Structure Plan - A Survey*. (1974). p. 78.
- 23, R.J. Green and J.B. Ayton, op cit (footnote 3).

24. R. Maxwell, *The dying village : A report to the Norfolk County Countryside Sub-Committee.* (1973).
25. H.E. Bracey, op cit (footnote 1).
26. I. Martin, 'Rural communities', pp. 49 - 83 in G. Cherry (Ed) *Rural planning problems* (1976).
27. R. Boston, 'On a village's way of death' *The Guardian.* June 14th, 1975.
28. P.J. Chandler, 'Country churches need state support' *Town and Country Planning* 43 (1975), p. 25.
- see also,  
G. Cherry, *Rural planning problems* (1976), pp. 279 - 280.
29. D.A. Taylor, *Rural settlement planning : The problems of rural settlement - a suggested planning method.* M.A. Dissertation, University of Nottingham (1971).
30. Nottinghamshire County Council, *Nottinghamshire county development plan* (1952).
31. This is the guideline for priorities of reorganisation as established by the Department of Education and Science.
32. I. Martin, op cit (footnote 26).
33. R. Boston, op cit (footnote 27).

34. It is much more difficult to assess the threshold in North Norfolk due to the structure of enumeration districts in the study area. As we have noted before this means that we have no contemporary population record for many individual settlements.

35. This development has been examined in more detail by:

I. Martin, *op cit* (footnote 26).

36. J.K. Molyneux, *Changing Service and Amenity Patterns in an Area of South Lincolnshire*, Ph.D. Thesis. University of Nottingham, 1975.

37. Widmerpool is not one of the South Nottinghamshire 'study' villages, and consequently this judgement is a qualitative assessment.

38. J.K. Molyneux, *op cit* (footnote 36).

39. Since the questionnaire survey, however, the construction of new facilities has started in East Leake. These include a small sports centre, as noted earlier.

40. M. MacGregor, 'The rural culture' *New Society* 19 (1972), pp. 486 - 489.

41. *Agricultural Economics Research Institute*, 'Social activity in a rural area' Chapter 12 in *Country Planning* (1944).

42. J.K. Molyneux, *op cit* (footnote 36).

43. It may be misleading to give the impression that no households were dissatisfied with the provision of recreation in their respective communities. Many households did express some criticism during the questionnaire survey. Such criticism tended to fall into two established groups. The first group, and the more numerous, were related to the lack of a particular facility or activity. For example, an elderly widow in the village of Brinton, who commented:

"I wish they held whist drives here - in the village, perhaps in the village school. They've started again in Sharrington, but it isn't so easy to get there."

This group included respondents who criticised the closure of a village public house or the run down of a particular village club or organisation. The second group consisted of those with wider criticism of the provision for recreational activity in the villages. These households were very few and, surprisingly were largely restricted to residents of selected villages. Generally such respondents seemed to want a very high standard of recreational provision, that might be better equated with an urban environment.

Table 11.1 Consumer behaviour in the North Norfolk study area

(a) SHOPPING CENTRES: measured by the principal centres cited by respondents (%)

	General groceries	General Hardware goods	Expensive Household goods
Use of urban centres .....	4.4	19.7	49.4
Use of home village <sup>1</sup> .....	55.3	41.5	18.4
Use of selected villages .....	35.2	38.1	31.6
Use of other villages .....	2.5	0.7	0.6
Exclusive use of mobile shops ...	2.5	0	0
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(b) SHOPPING FREQUENCIES (%)

More than two times per week ....	24.4	0	0
About twice each week .....	24.4	0	0
About once each week .....	49.6	0.7	0
Less than once each week but more than once per month .....	1.5	3.8	0
Less than once each month but more than once in three months ..	0	87.0	0
Less than once in three months ..	0	8.4	100.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(c) TRANSPORT TO PRINCIPAL SHOPPING CENTRES (%)

Household car .....	37.7	57.1	72.8
Walking .....	38.4	28.6	12.7
Pedal cycle .....	1.9	0	0
Motor cycle .....	0	0	0
Bus service .....	6.9	6.8	7.0
Collected/Delivered .....	12.0	3.4	1.3
On site .....	0.6	0.7	0
Lift (from a friend or relative)	2.5	3.4	6.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Including residents of selected villages using local facilities.

Source : Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.2 Consumer behaviour in the South Nottinghamshire study area

(a) SHOPPING CENTRES: Measured by the principal centres cited by respondents (%)

	General groceries	General Hardware goods	Expensive Household goods
Use of urban centres .....	48.5	72.9	99.6
Use of home village <sup>1</sup> .....	35.5	16.1	0.4
Use of selected villages .....	12.0	10.0	0
Use of other villages .....	4.0	0.9	0
Exclusive use of mobile shops	0	0	0
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(b) SHOPPING FREQUENCIES (%)

More than two times per week ..	18.7	0	0
About twice each week .....	17.5	0	0
About once each week .....	52.4	0	0
Less than once per week but more than once per month .....	10.6	23.6	0
Less than once per month but more than once in three months	0.4	58.1	0
Less than once in three months	0.4	18.3	100.0
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(c) TRANSPORT TO PRINCIPAL SHOPPING CENTRES (%)

Household car .....	60.8	75.7	86.2
Walking .....	25.0	11.9	0
Pedal cycle .....	0.4	0	0
Motor cycle .....	0.4	0.7	0.8
Public bus .....	5.4	7.1	8.3
Collected /Delivered .....	3.9	2.1	0.8
On site .....	0.4	0	0
Lift (from a friend or relative)	3.6	2.5	3.9
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Including residents of selected villages using local facilities.

Source : Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.3 Use of mobile shops in the study villages

Village	Households using mobile shops (%)				Households which never use mobile shops (%)
	More than once each week	About once each week	Less than once each week	Rarely	
Brinton	95.1	0	0	0	5.9
Fakenham	21.5	0	0	0	78.5
Great Ryburgh	45.0	0	0	0	55.0
Sharrington	76.9	7.7	0	0	15.4
Stiffkey	68.7	0	0	0	31.3
NORTH NORFOLK	45.8	0.8	0	0	53.4
Barton in Fabis	25.0	30.0	10.0	10.0	25.0
East Bridgford	33.3	6.1	3.0	3.0	54.5
East Leake	36.8	3.8	3.8	0.9	54.7
Kinoulton	40.9	0	0	0	59.1
Normanton on Soar	35.0	15.0	5.0	10.0	35.0
Thoroton	50.0	3.8	3.8	0	42.3
Wysall	60.0	10.0	0	5.0	25.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	38.9	7.3	3.6	2.8	47.4

Source : Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.4 Use of selected consumer services in the study area of North Norfolk

(a) SERVICE CENTRES: Measured by the principal centres cited by respondents (%)

	Post Office	Bank	Dentist
Use of urban centres .....	0	0.9	22.8
Use of home village <sup>1</sup> .....	77.8	50.9	43.1
Use of selected villages .....	20.0	48.2	33.8
Use of other villages .....	2.2	0	0.2
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(b) FREQUENCY OF USE (%)

More than two times per week ...	1.5	1.8	0
About twice each week .....	11.5	1.8	0
About once each week .....	70.9	42.0	0
Less than once each week but more than once per month .....	14.5	34.5	0
Less than once each month but more than once in three months	1.5	2.7	0
Less than once in three months	0	17.0	100.0
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(c) TRANSPORT TO PRINCIPAL SERVICE CENTRES (%)

Household car .....	25.9	51.8	53.7
Walking .....	65.2	35.7	35.8
Pedal cycle .....	3.0	1.8	0
Motor cycle .....	0	0	0
Public bus .....	0	6.3	6.5
Collected/Delivered .....	3.7	1.8	0
On site .....	0.7	0	0
Lift (from a friend or relative)	1.5	2.7	4.1
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Including residents of selected villages using local facilities

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.5 Use of selected consumer services in the study area of South Nottinghamshire

(a) SERVICE CENTRES: Measured by the principal centres cited by respondents (%)

	Post Office	Bank	Dentist
Use of urban centres .....	14.8	56.8	85.2
Use of home villages <sup>1</sup> .....	71.2	29.0	8.4
Use of selected villages .....	5.2	14.1	6.4
Use of other villages .....	8.8	0	0
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(b) FREQUENCY OF USE (%)

More than twice each week ....	3.2	1.3	0
About twice each week .....	17.7	4.3	0
About once each week .....	51.0	50.8	0
Less than once each week but more than once per month .....	25.7	34.0	0
Less than once each month but more than once in three months	2.4	4.0	0
Less than once in three months	0	5.6	100.0
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

(c) TRANSPORT TO PRINCIPAL CENTRES (%)

Household car .....	39.3	68.2	87.0
Walking .....	51.9	21.3	2.1
Pedal cycle .....	1.6	0	0
Motor cycle .....	0.8	1.7	0.4
Public bus .....	2.0	5.0	6.3
Collected/Delivered .....	1.6	0.8	0
On site .....	0	0	0
Lift (from friend or relative)	2.8	2.9	4.1
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Including residents of selected villages using local facilities

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.6 Centres of recreation used by the sample populations

		Number of recreation centres mentioned	Mean number of recreation centres per household	Proportion of total activity concentrated in the three most important centres
NORTH NORFOLK	Brinton	7	1.3	58.8
	Fakenham	11	1.3	82.6
	Great Ryburgh	7	1.5	87.3
	Stiffkey	13	1.8	47.2
	Sharrington	7	1.4	73.3
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	Barton in Fabis	7	2.2	87.2
	East Bridgford	9	1.8	87.0
	East Leake	20	1.6	87.1
	Kinoulton	11	1.8	80.7
	Normanton on Soar	11	2.0	75.4
	Thoroton	18	2.2	48.6
	Wysall	7	2.1	75.9

This is a descriptive mean obtained by:

$$I = \left( \frac{\sum N^1 + N^2 \dots\dots N^n}{n} \right)$$

Where I is the index representing the mean number of centres used per household,  $N^1$  is the number of different centres used by the first household,  $N^2$  the number used by the second etc., n represents the number of responding households (including those with no formal recreation outside the home).

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.7 Centres of recreation

	By percentage of total village activity score				
	Urban centres	Home village <sup>1</sup>	Selected village	Other village	Total
Brinton	35.3	0	35.3	29.4	100.0
Fakenham	5.1	75.8	5.6	14.5	100.0
Great Ryburgh	1.6	60.3	30.2	7.9	100.0
Stiffkey	22.2	11.1	38.8	27.8	100.0
Sharrington	13.3	40.0	30.0	16.7	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	8.6	58.3	17.9	15.1	100.0
<hr/>					
Barton in Fabis	11.5	69.1	4.5	14.9	100.0
East Bridgford	13.3	56.3	14.1	16.3	100.0
East Leake	22.0	64.9	4.9	8.2	100.0
Kinoulton	2.3	72.7	17.8	7.2	100.0
Normanton on Soar	18.3	58.5	9.2	14.0	100.0
Thoroton	11.5	4.3	38.6	45.6	100.0
Wysall	46.6	25.9	9.3	18.2	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	16.7	62.5	9.1	11.7	100.0

1. Including activities of selected village residents carried out within their home village.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.8 Recreational activities in the study villages: Structure and spatial pattern

	No. of different activities between centres <sup>1</sup>	DISTRIBUTION OF RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES				Total number <sup>2</sup> of activities (A+B+C+D)	Proportion of total score contributed by the 5 principal activities (%)
		A No. in home village	B No. in selected villages	C No. in other villages and rural locations	D No. in urban centres		
NORTH							
Brinton	16	0	6	5	5	16	35.3
Fakenham	58	42	5	8	4	59	36.5
Great Ryburgh	33	15	14	4	1	34	36.5
Sharrington	16	3	8	2	3	16	60.0
Stiffkey	24	3	11	7	4	24	27.8
SOUTH							
Barton in Fabis	21	8	3	6	5	22	57.4
East Bridgford	36	18	7	9	8	42	37.5
East Leake	59	41	6	9	25	81	41.0
Kinoulton	17	9	8	3	2	22	69.3
Normanton on Soar	37	10	8	10	9	37	44.4
Thoroton	27	1	14	12	7	34	35.7
Wysall	18	5	4	6	6	21	48.3

1. This excludes duplication of activities between households and between recreational centres.

2. This excludes only duplication of activities between households.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.9 Variations in the household activity scores between the study villages

	HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITY SCORES (index)					(Percentage)	
	Mean score	Standard deviation	Mean score of mobile households <sup>1</sup>	Mean score of immobile households		Proportion of households with no formal recreation	Proportion of households with high rates of activity <sup>2</sup>
Brinton	1.00	1.16	1.30	0.30		58.8	0
Fakenham	2.74	2.49	3.02	2.10		16.7	0
Great Ryburgh	3.15	2.90	3.39	2.30		15.0	0
Sharrington	2.31	1.98	3.00	1.56		46.2	8.3
Stiffkey	2.25	1.80	2.87	1.51		25.0	0
NORTH NORFOLK	2.47	2.39	2.81	1.80		28.7	0.8
<hr/>							
Barton in Fabis	4.85	4.16	5.16	3.00		10.0	15.0
East Bridgford	3.38	2.12	3.48	2.75		9.1	0
East Leake	3.29	2.91	3.51	1.94		18.1	1.8
Kinoulton	4.00	3.19	4.10	3.00		18.2	9.1
Normanton on Soar	3.95	2.85	4.29	3.33		10.0	10.0
Thoroton	2.69	2.49	2.95	1.25		23.1	0
Wysall	2.90	2.69	3.00	1.00		15.0	0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	3.52	3.23	3.69	2.23		15.9	4.1

1. Households with one or more cars or motor cycles

2. Households with scores of ten or more

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.10 Means of transport to recreation outside the home village

Study village	Household Car 1	Public Bus	Lift	Other method of transport	Total
Brinton	94.1	-	5.9	-	100.0
Fakenham	97.7	-	2.3	-	100.0
Great Ryburgh	96.0	4.0	-	-	100.0
Sharrington	94.4	-	5.6	-	100.0
Stiffkey	90.6	-	6.4	3.0	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	95.6	0.7	3.3	0.4	100.0
Barton in Fabis	89.7	-	10.3	-	100.0
East Bridgford	80.7	6.1	10.2	3.0	100.0
East Leake	83.2	9.5	3.5	3.7	100.0
Kinoulton	95.8	-	4.2	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	90.9	3.0	6.1	-	100.0
Thoroton	90.2	-	7.1	2.7	100.0
Wysall	98.0	-	-	2.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	88.1	5.0	4.1	2.8	100.0

1. Including lifts to household members in the household vehicle.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 11.11    The use of cinemas and theatres by the study villages

% of all households in survey			
Study villages	Using cinemas or theatres	Never using cinemas or theatres	Total
Brinton	29.4	70.6	100.0
Fakenham	56.9	43.1	100.0
Great Ryburgh	35.0	65.0	100.0
Sharrington	38.5	61.5	100.0
Stiffkey	31.3	68.7	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	45.0	55.0	100.0
Barton in Fabis	40.0	60.0	100.0
East Bridgford	60.6	39.4	100.0
East Leake	59.4	40.6	100.0
Kinoulton	63.6	36.4	100.0
Normanton	60.0	40.0	100.0
Thoroton	46.2	53.8	100.0
Wysall	65.0	35.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	57.5	42.5	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

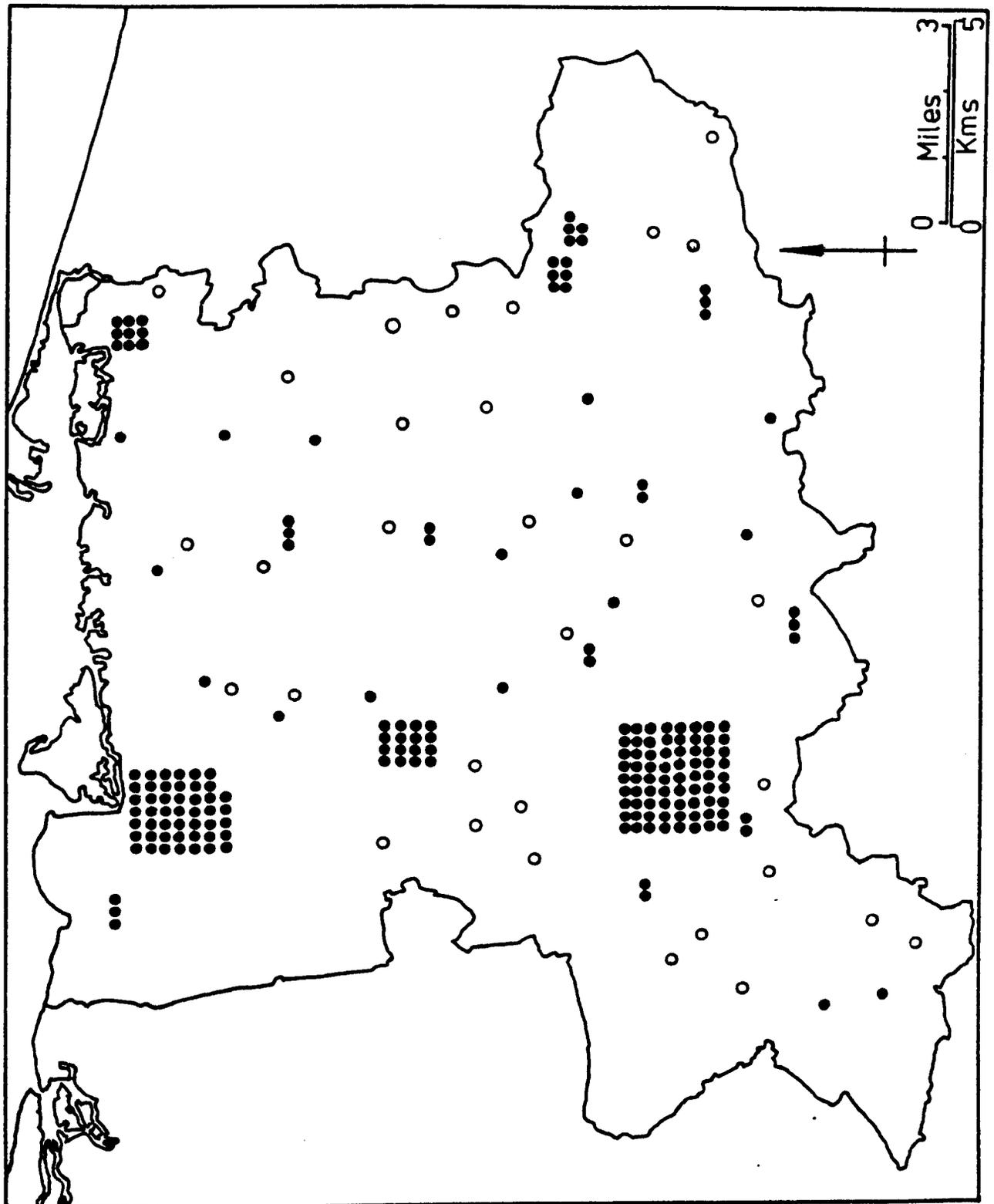


Figure 11.1 The  
distribution of shops  
in the North Norfolk  
study area

Key to  
symbols

- One retail unit
- No retail units in settlement

Source: Fieldwork, 1975

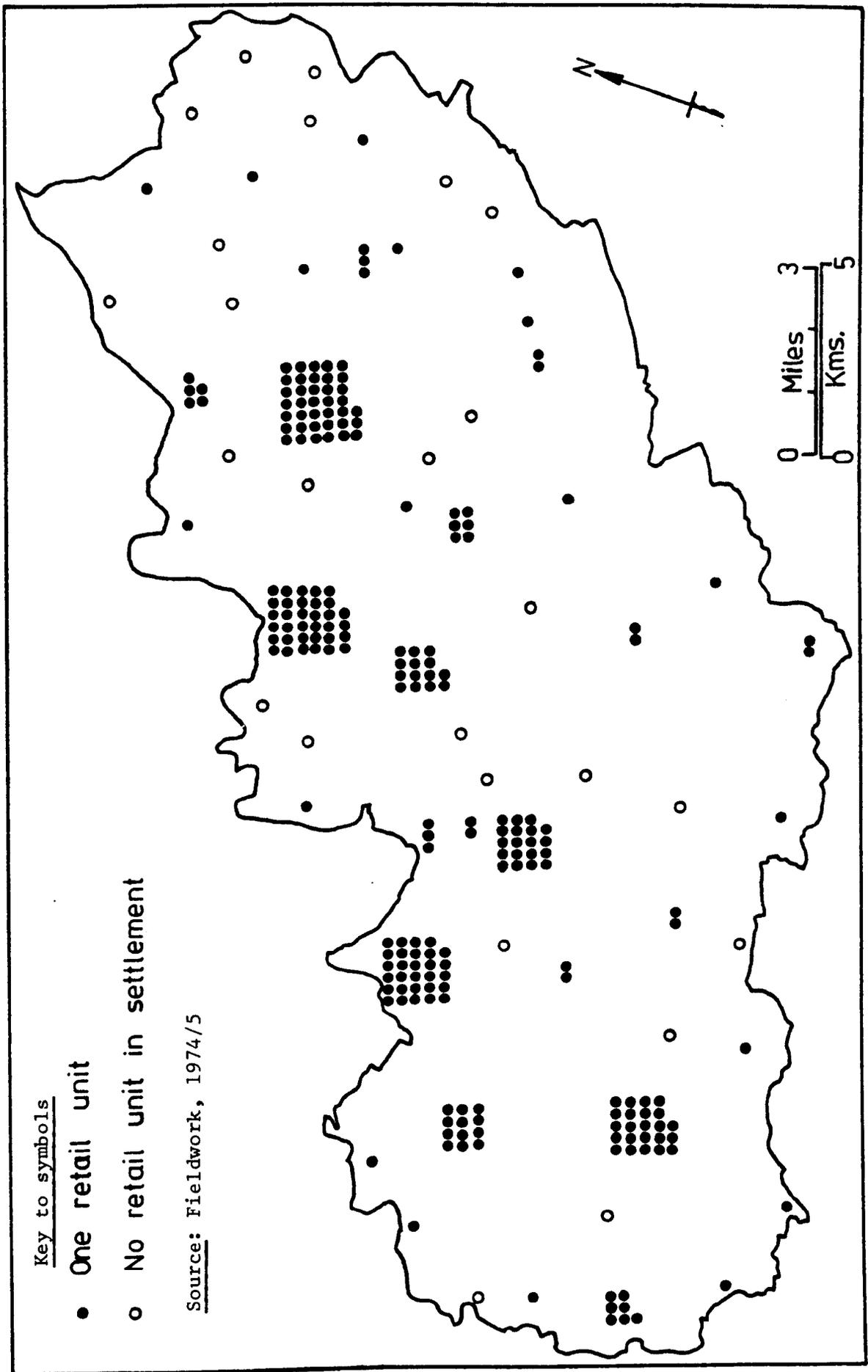
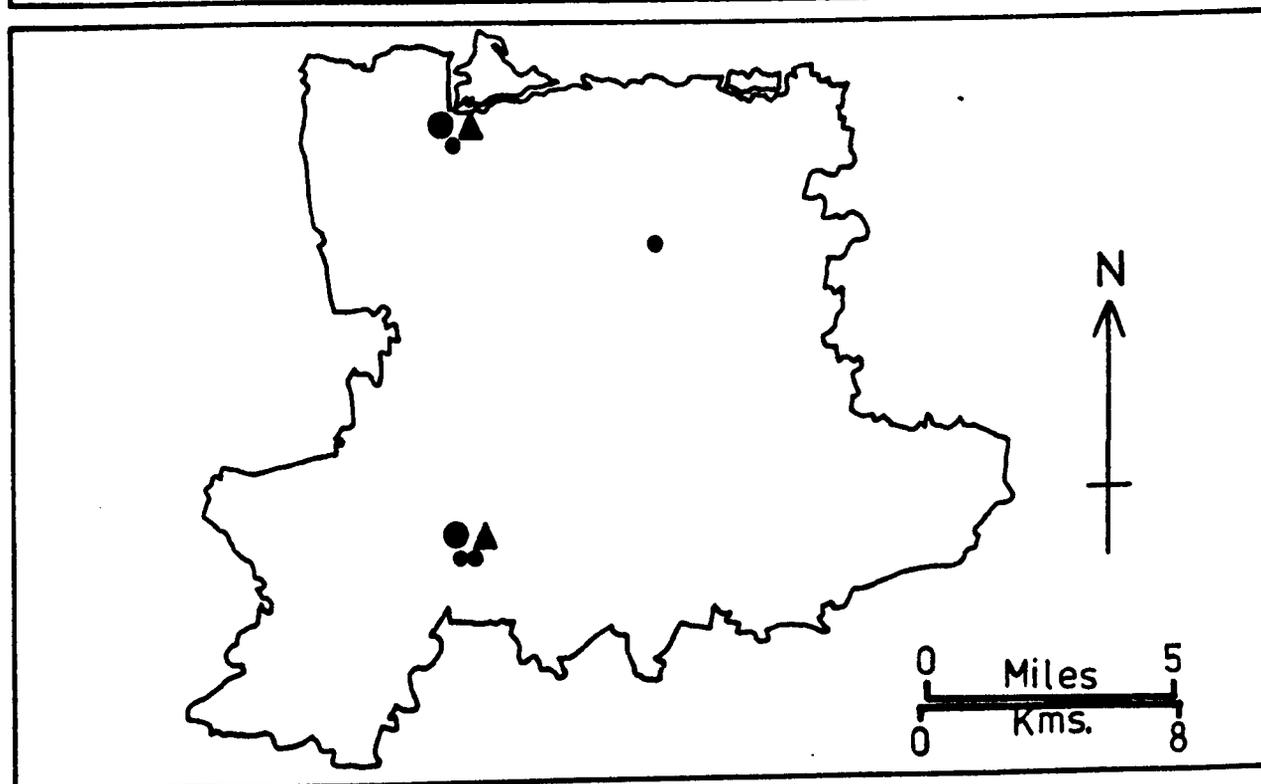
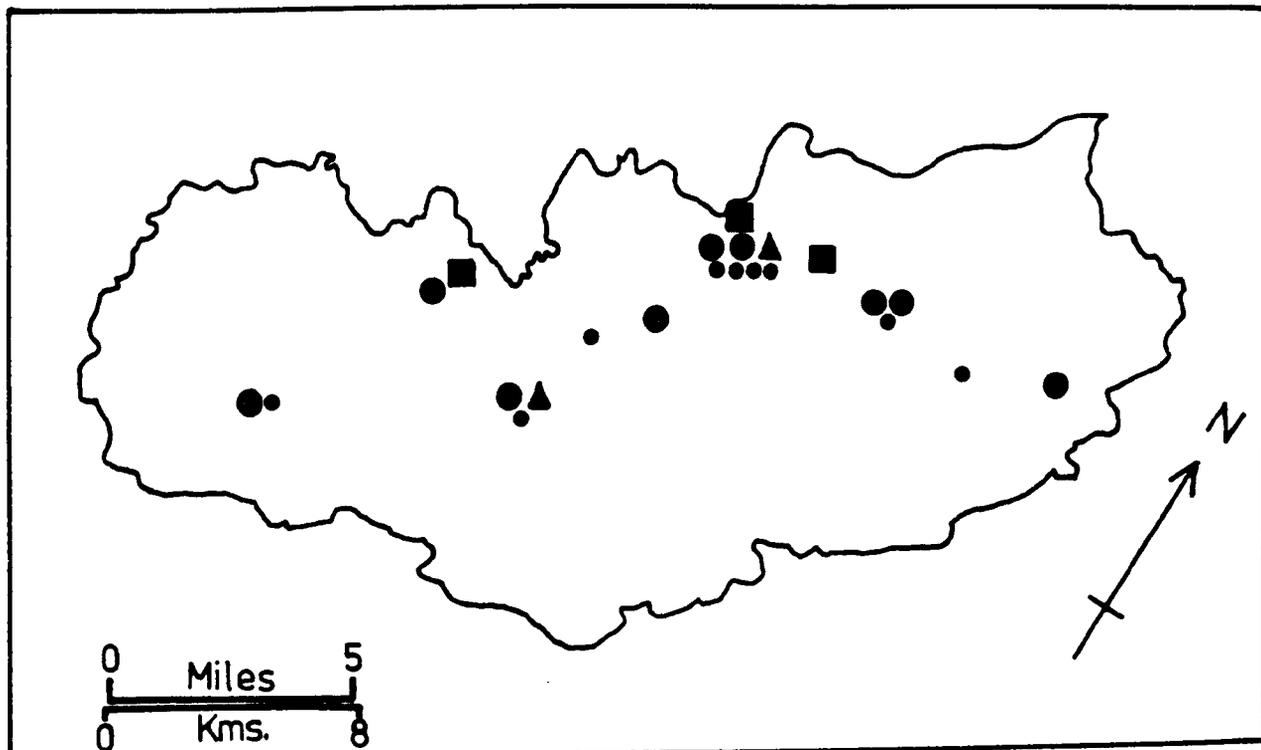


Figure 11.2 The distribution of shops in the South Nottinghamshire study area

Figure 11.3 The distribution of health services in the study areas

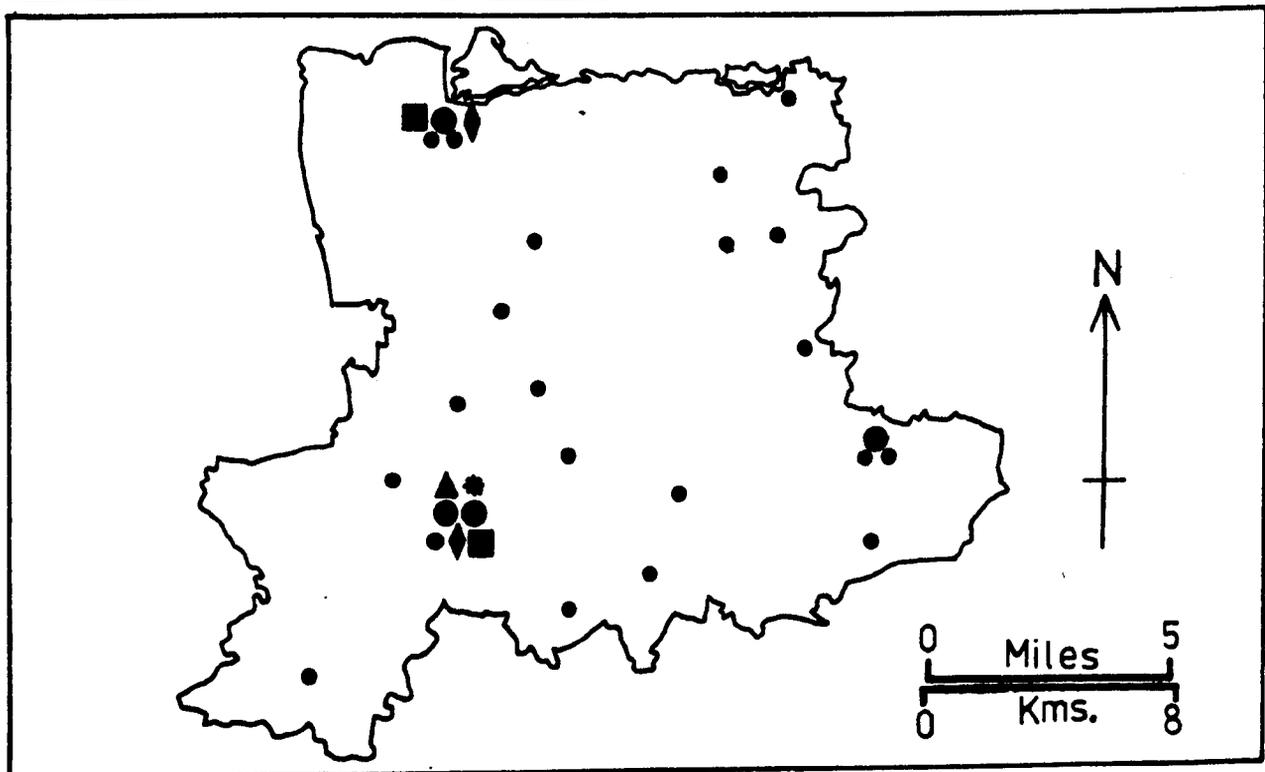
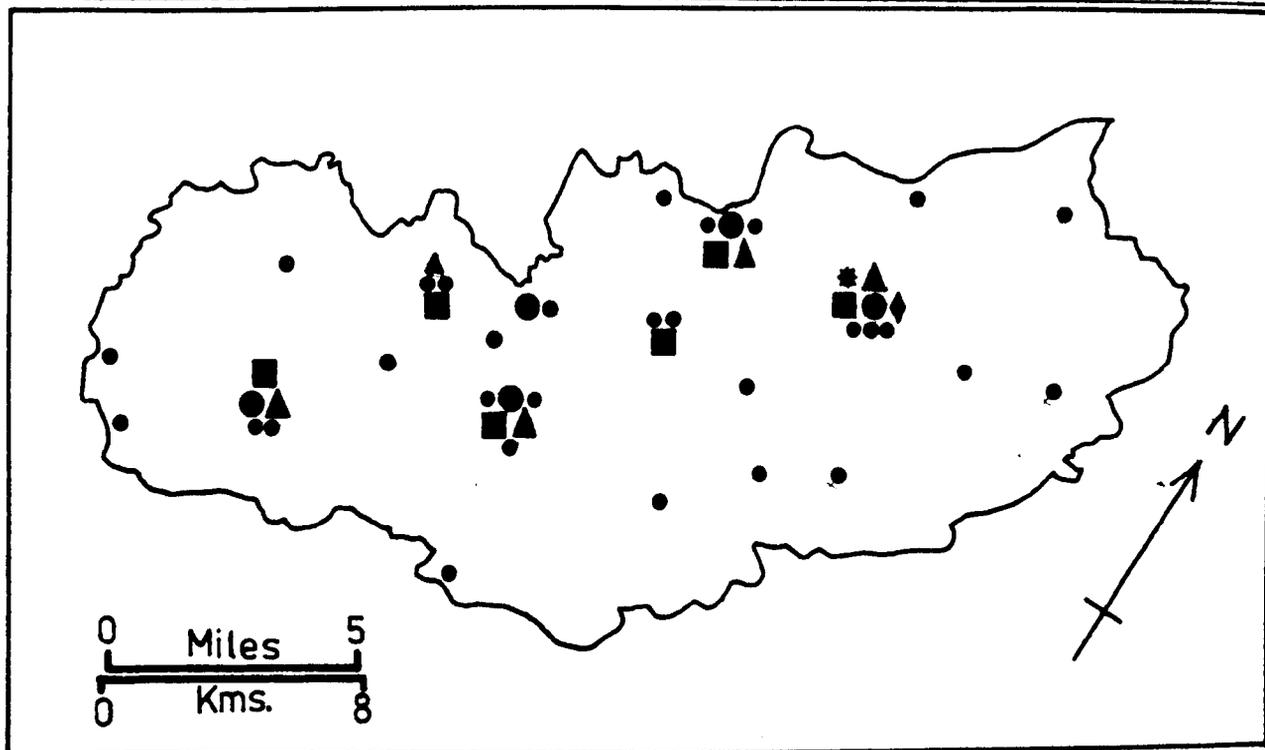


Key to symbols

- Doctors' surgery
- ▲ Dentists' "
- Resident district nurse and/or midwife
- Special health (psychiatric units etc.)

Source: Fieldwork, 1974/5 and personal communication with respective Area Health Authorities

Figure 11.4 Education and other local authority services in the study areas

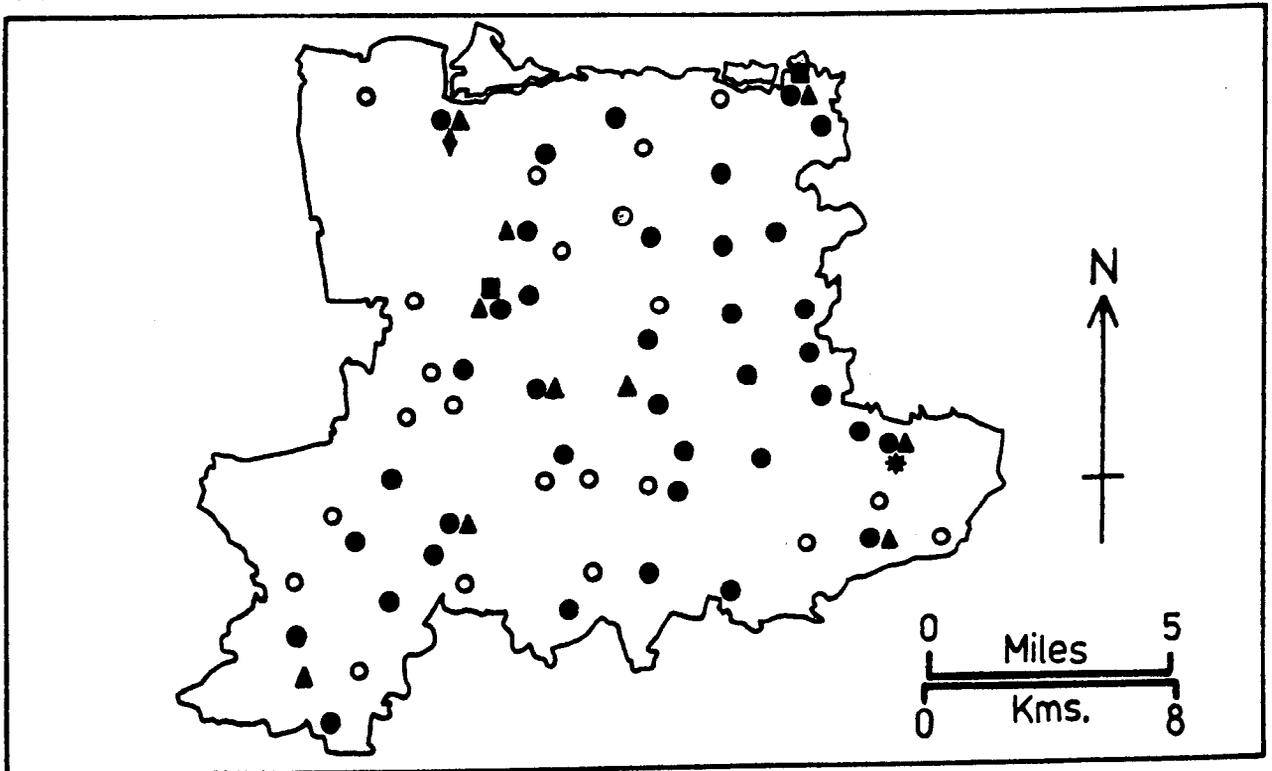
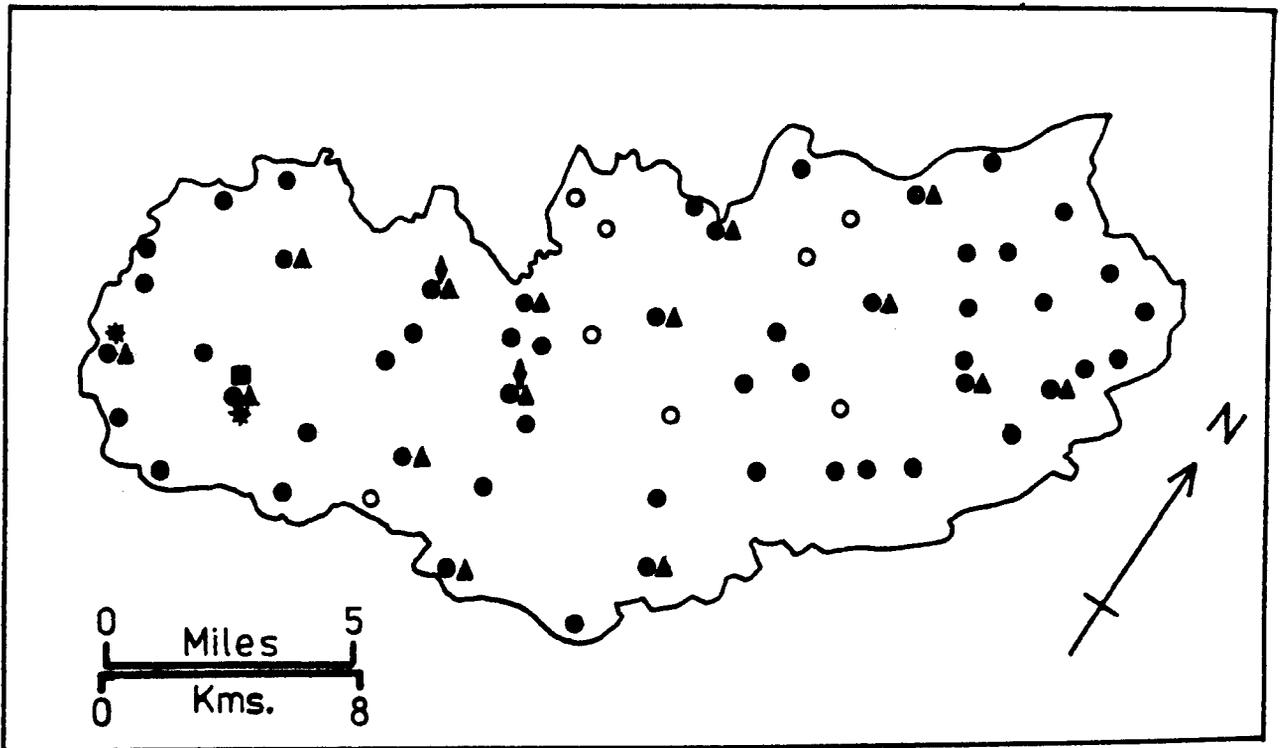


Key to symbols

- Secondary schools
- Sub-secondary schools : primary, junior, infant
- ▲ Nursery schools
- ▲ Adult education centre
- ◆ Fire station
- Library
- ★ Old people's home

Source: Fieldwork, 1874/5 and personal communication with the respective Local Education Authorities

Figure 11.5 The distribution of ecclesiastical facilities in the study areas

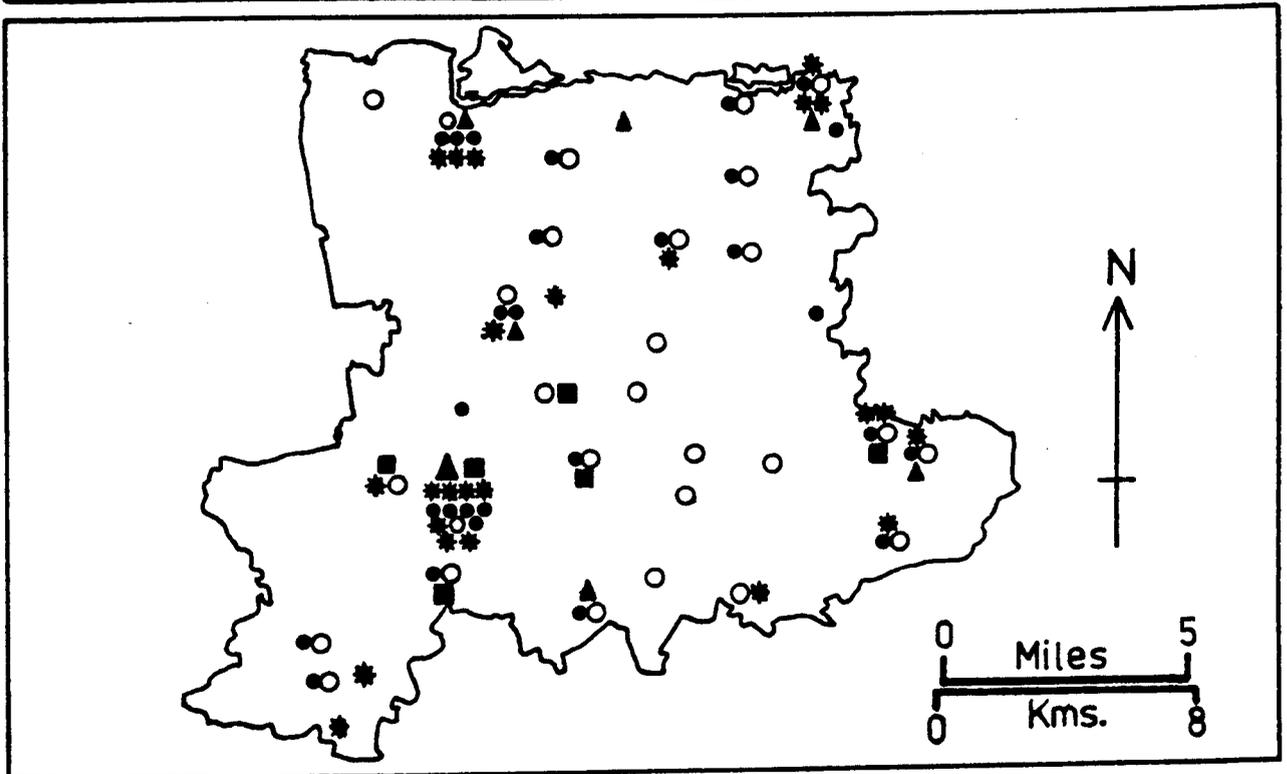
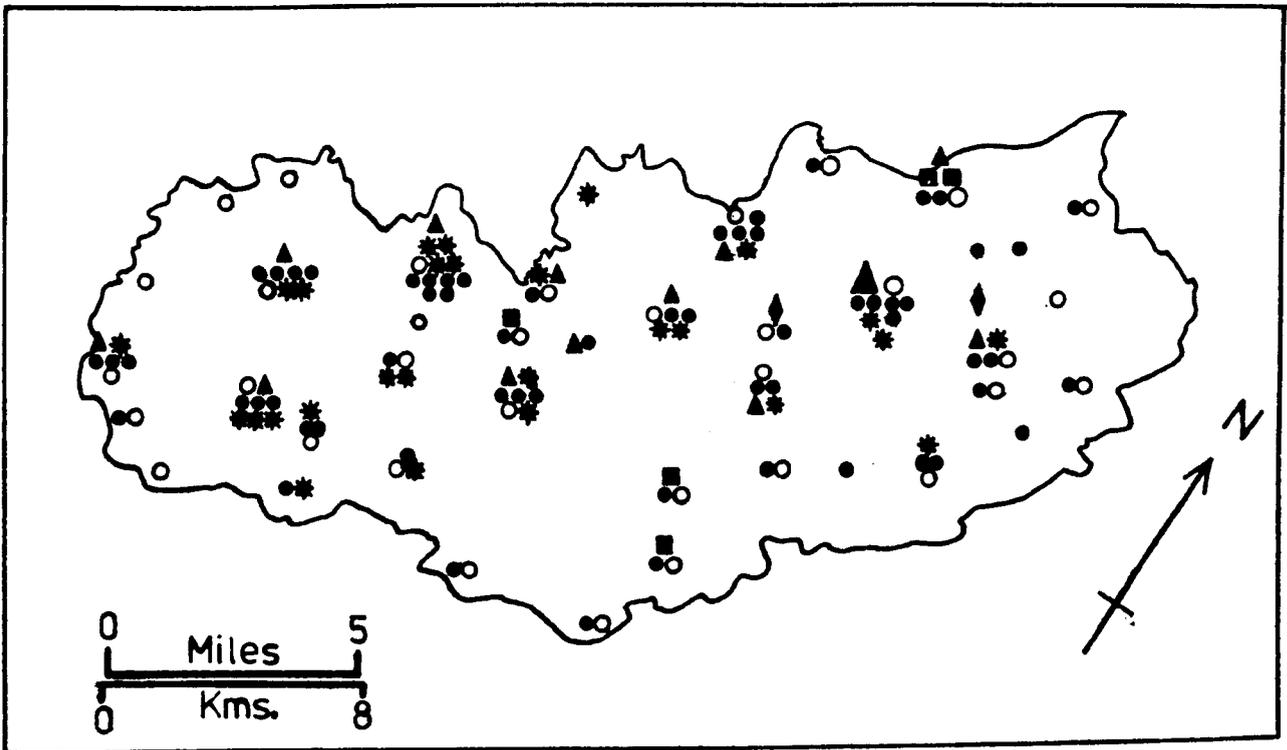


Key to symbols

- Settlement with Anglican church or chapel
- ▲ " " Methodist " "
- ◆ " " Baptist " "
- " " Catholic " "
- ◇ " " Other " "
- Settlement with no active church or chapel

Source: Field-work, 1974/5

Figure 11.6 The distribution of dispersed services in the study areas

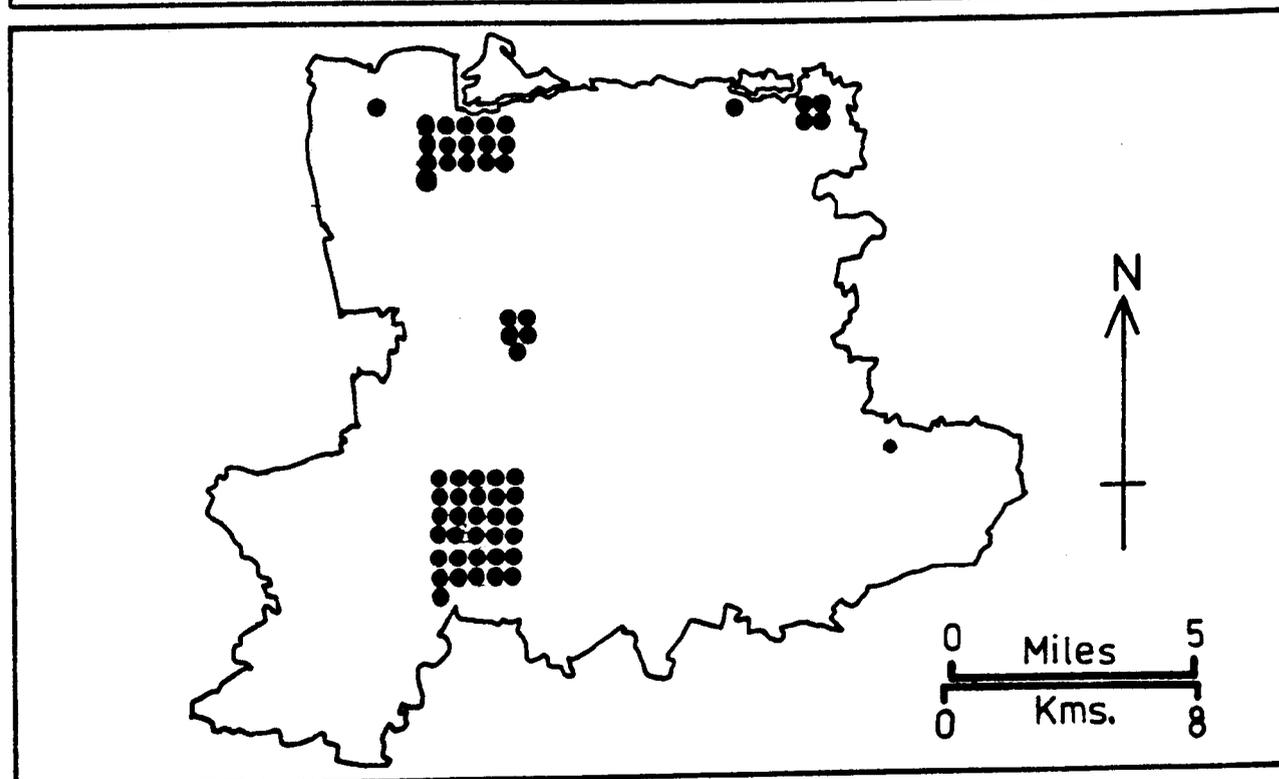
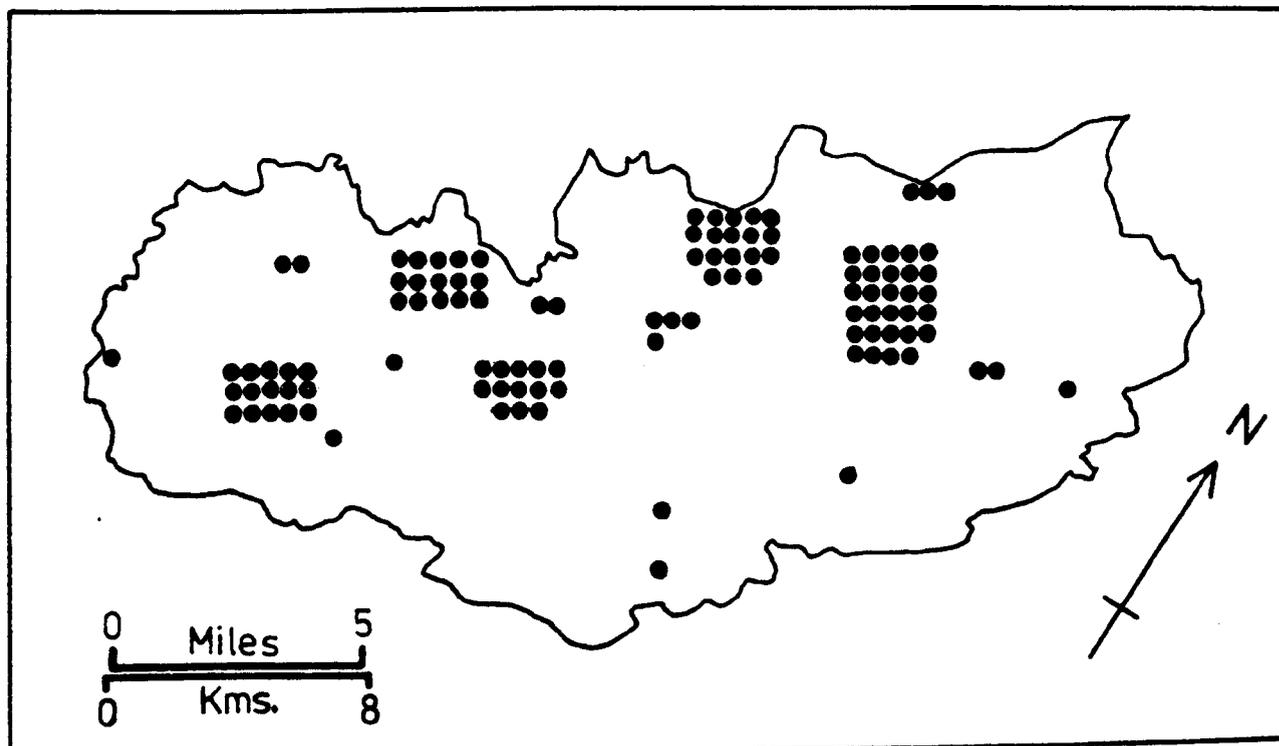


Key to symbols

- Public house
- Post office or sub-post office
- \* Garage, agricultural machinery repairer, etc.
- Agricultural contractor
- ◆ Blacksmith
- ▲ Sub-divisional police station
- ▲ Local police station

Source: Fieldwork, 1974/5 and personal communication with the respective Police Authorities

Figure 11.7 The distribution of 'other' services in the study areas



Key to symbols

- 'Other' service (dispensing chemist, bank, etc. and domestic trade services).

Source: Fieldwork, 1974/5 and directories (see text for explanation)

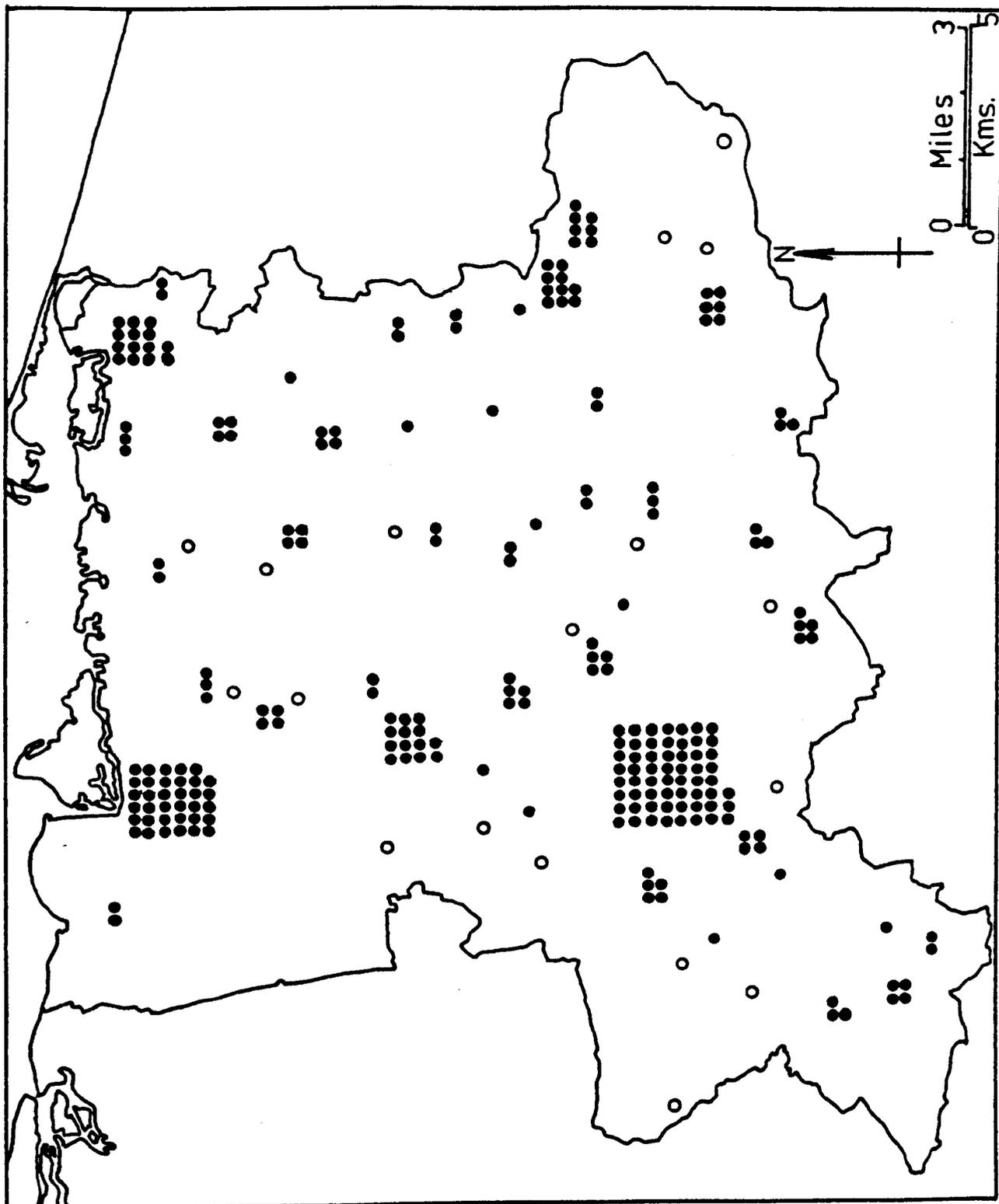


Figure 11.8 The distribution of community service facilities in the North Norfolk study area

Key to symbols

- One service unit
- No service unit in settlement

Source: Fieldwork, 1975 and personal communication to relevant authorities

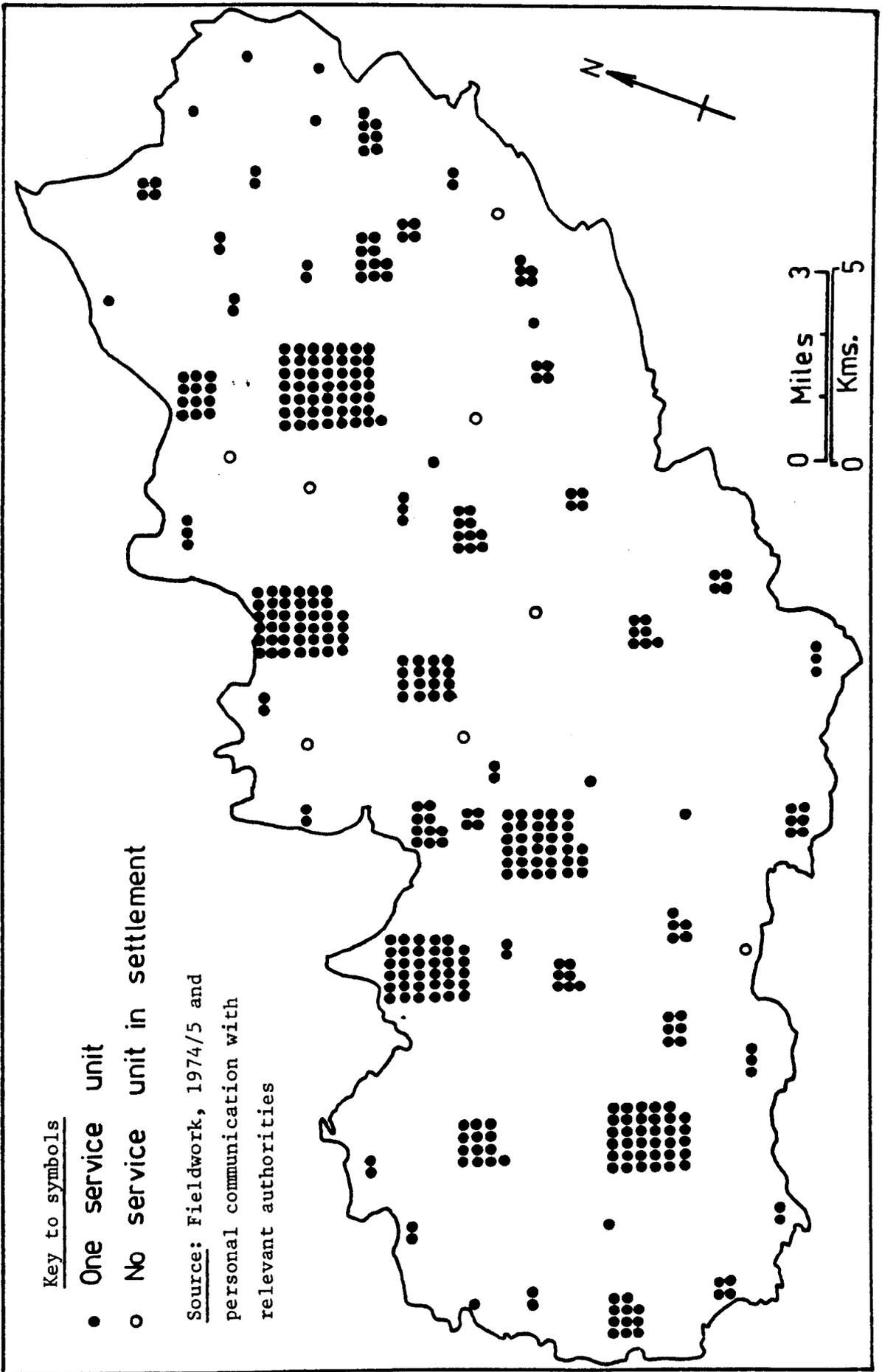
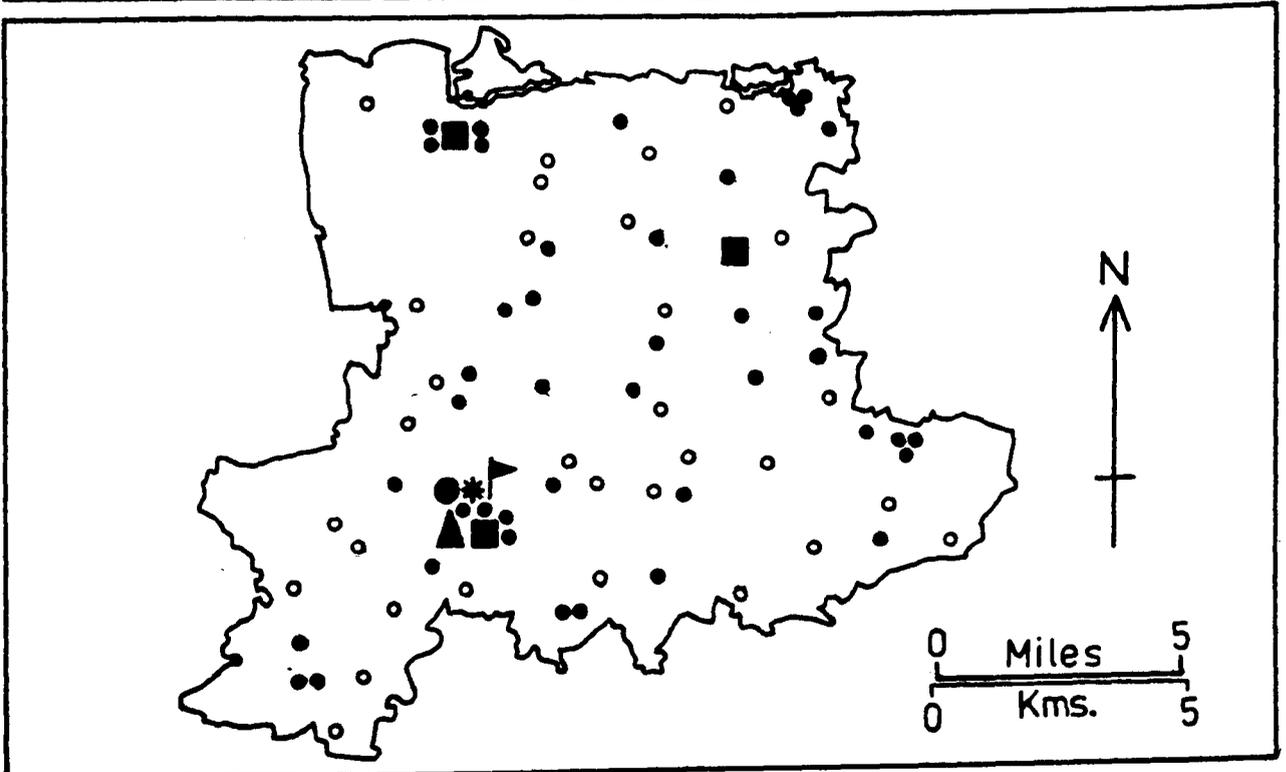
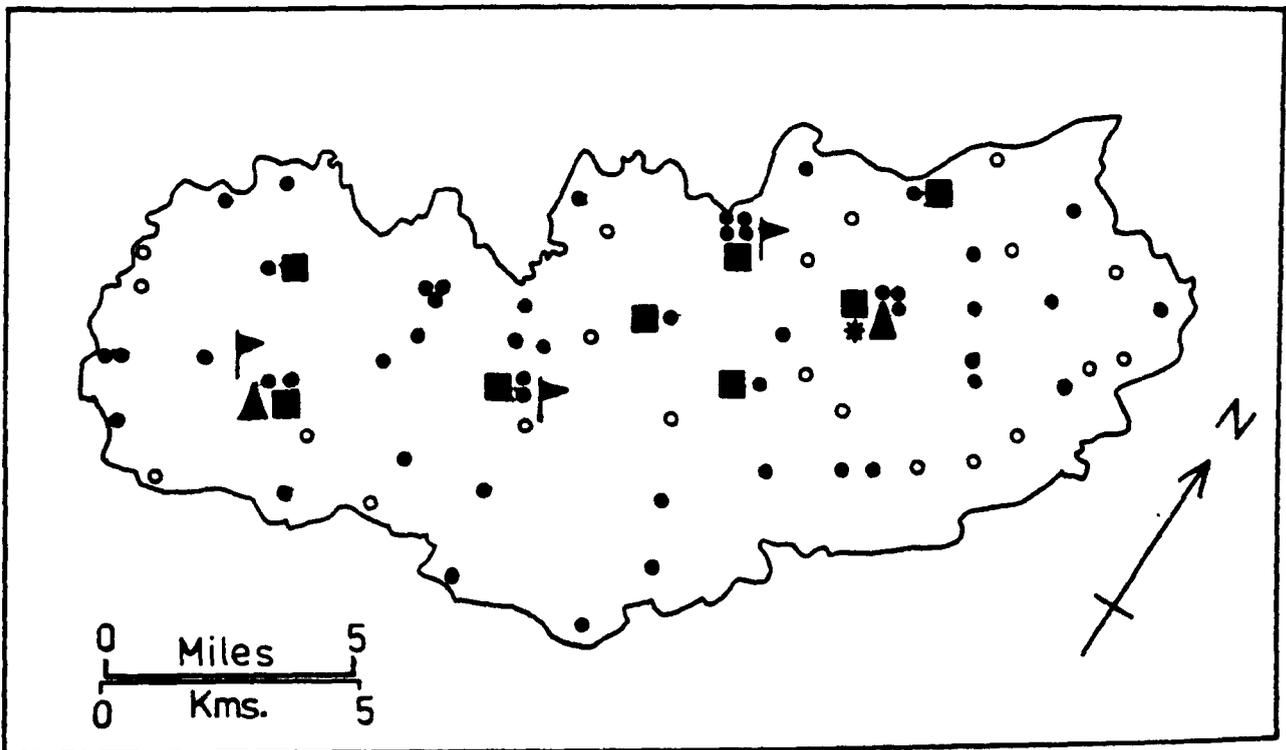


Figure 11.9 The distribution of community service facilities in the South Nottinghamshire study area

Figure 11.10 The distribution of recreational facilities in the study areas



Key to symbols

- \* 'Public' swimming pool
- ▲ Sports centre
- ▶ Golf course
- Community centre
- Village hall and other places of assembly
- Settlements with no village hall (or similar)
- Cinema

CHAPTER TWELVETHE RURAL COMMUNITIES: SOCIAL INTER-  
ACTION AND ATTITUDES TO CHANGE AND  
GROWTH WITHIN THE STUDY VILLAGES12.1 Introduction

It is commonly stated in planning and related literature that the rate of growth of a given rural settlement, may, if it is too fast, adversely affect social interaction within that village.

Martin has affectively summarised this:

"To avoid social divisions and to allow newcomers and established residents time to adjust to a new situation, the allowable rate and scale of growth should be related to the size of the village and to its social characteristics." 1

This chapter seeks to examine both social interaction within the study villages and also the attitudes of respondents to growth in the village, as an attempt to analyse aspects of the relationship between residential growth and social development in rural communities in the study areas.

We are broadly concerned with five aspects of social interaction in the respective study villages: the general friendliness of the villages; conflict within the villages; perceived 'social fit' of households; the social interaction of newcomer households; and the degree to which household heads draw on the home village for friends. This may not give us a complete picture of interaction in the villages but does enable us to examine some of the

principle aspects. When considering social interaction we are necessarily drawn to the use of the term 'community'. Unfortunately, this term, which is widely used in relevant social science and planning literature, seems to lack a commonly accepted meaning. As Pahl <sup>2</sup> has noted, community is a concept with has a high level of use but a low level of meaning. Consequently, it is necessary for us to examine in some detail the range of meaning of 'community' as interpreted from other literature, and also to establish the context within which the term is used in this research. The need to look at the concept of 'community' underlies the whole of this chapter, but is further justified by its use in planning policies relating to rural settlement. As Martin has commented:

"Certainly as a weapon in the planning armoury, it [community] ranks second only to 'amenity' in terms of imprecision and, with very little effort devoted to the choice of supporting words, 'community' can be guaranteed to draw nods of approval from directly opposed interests." <sup>3</sup>

Attitudes to growth and change in the village as studied here, were concerned with residential development in two contexts. Firstly, the provision of new housing, together with the modernisation of older village property which represents an important aspect of village development, particularly in the smaller villages where opportunities for building new housing are more limited. Secondly, the questionnaire survey assessed the attitudes of respondents to the possibility of further residential development in their villages.

## 12.2 The concept of 'community' as applied to English rural settlement

In an attempt to identify aspects of a common definition of 'community', Hillery <sup>4</sup> examined no fewer than ninety-four separate

definitions as used by sociologists. This highlights the apparent divergence of opinion on what community means. Hillery concluded:

"Beyond the concept that people are involved in community there is no complete agreement as to the nature of community." <sup>5</sup>

This may have over-emphasised the lack of common agreements, since Bell and Newby <sup>6</sup> in a re-analysis of Hillery's data, have established that approaching three-quarters of the ninety-four definitions incorporate three major elements:

- (a) A common geographical area within which social processes take place.
- (b) A sense of social identity, reflected by ties and bonds between members of the group.
- (c) A group of people inter-acting.

These three common features are probably a better guide to the nature of 'community' than any one individual definition. This synthesis also overcomes the need for students of rural communities to review a very extensive literature. Furthermore, many of the individual definitions assessed in the context of a single quotation from the appropriate source are very misleading. For example, Konig <sup>7</sup> has defined community as:

"A more or less large local and social unit in which men co-operate to live their economic, social and cultural lives together."

This may be seen to suggest a degree of self-sufficiency and autonomy which was more characteristic of villages at the beginning of this century. Yet Konig later clarifies this:

"In highly developed societies there is no such thing as an autonomous community which is in any way self-sufficient and autarchical." <sup>8</sup>

If we accept the three common features as outlined above, then that which must be of most interest to geographers is the spatial element: 'A common geographical area'. In the context of modern rural communities there seem to be some considerable differences of opinion as to the interpretation of this feature.

In most planning literature and virtually all written planning policies, the community is equated with the individual rural settlement. In fact, in such literature the terms 'settlement', 'village' and 'community' are inter-changeable. This, then, is one perception of the spatial context of rural communities. It is probably accurate to say that this attitude is not confined to planning officers but is widespread within the rural population itself.

Pahl <sup>9</sup>, and Martin <sup>10</sup> have recently discussed the existence of social divisions within established settlements, which are referred to as 'communities within communities'. This introduces a further dimension in the spatial structure of rural communities in that the physical boundary of the village may contain more than one community. This is a direct parallel to the urban situation although, as Pahl has pointed out, this does not mean that this phenomenon is confined to very large, quasi-urban villages. <sup>11</sup>

Another aspect of this discussion is provided by Morris's <sup>12</sup> concept of the 'regional community', as discussed in Chapter Three. This suggests that the geographical coverage of a community is not confined to the built-up area of a given village and its immediate hinterland, but may also encompass several adjacent settlements. This idea can be traced back as far as Peake's work during and shortly after the First World War <sup>13</sup>, although the term 'regional community' and a fuller exploration of the concept was uniquely Morris's contribution. This idea that a number of rural settlements may compose a single community has recently received renewed interest through the idea of functional inter-dependence of villages, as discussed in Chapter Four, and more specifically with MacGregor's analysis of social inter-action in West Country villages <sup>14</sup>.

We therefore have three very different concepts of the spatial structure of rural communities, although, as we shall later discuss, these definitions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This is, nonetheless, a very complex situation and one which can only be interpreted by looking briefly at the nature of the English village community.

The concept which seems to dominate the layman's perception of the rural community, and, perhaps equally important, that of the mass media, is of the 'traditional' village community. This has been described in a variety of works but notably, in the academic context by Williams <sup>15</sup>, Littlejohn <sup>16</sup>, and Harris <sup>17</sup>. These works describe closely knit local societies based on individual villages, which have a complex network of kinship and social ties between resident households. Although these are mostly contemporary

studies they are based on settlements in remoter rural areas. In the wider body of non-academic literature, a valuable illustrative study is that by Laurie Lee in 'Cider with Rosie' <sup>18</sup> describing a Gloucestershire village in the 1920's. We might even see the popular radio serial 'The Archers' as a contemporary representation of this view of rural society. In perspective, these works are describing an archaic form of rural society which is restricted to a few remoter English villages. Elsewhere in rural England, the dramatic social and economic changes which have characterised village social development in the twentieth century, and which have been collectively termed the 'quiet revolution' by Ambrose <sup>19</sup>, have permanently altered the nature of village communities. These changes in the nature of rural communities have, perhaps rather emotively, been interpreted by a variety of sources as the 'decay' of the English village community. For example, Boston <sup>20</sup> has observed,

"The order with which these things [social and economic changes] are done is not important. The result will be just the same. A self reliant and living community becomes a disconnected collection of dwellings dependent on the nearest urban conglomeration for its economy and social amenities."

This perception of the impact of social and economic changes in English villages seem to be heavily influenced by value judgements relating to the type of community which is being changed by these processes. The term 'decay' is itself a value judgement since it implies a movement from a better to a worse situation. This may or may not be true but an analysis of the contemporary structure of rural communities should be independent of such judgements. The English rural community is changing, not decaying. Having established this, we must immediately point out that the sur-

vival of village societies in some of the smallest rural settlements may indeed be in doubt. Thoroton, the smallest of the study villages in South Nottinghamshire, seems to be an example of this phenomenon. Whilst there is social inter-action between many of the resident households, there is no evidence of a sense of identity within the village. Consequently, in the terms of the three elements of 'community' outlined earlier, this means that Thoroton is not a distinct community. In contrast, Brinton in North Norfolk is roughly the same size as Thoroton<sup>21</sup> but the evidence of the questionnaire survey and associated household interviews is that there is a definite sense of identity within this settlement. In Brinton this identity may be related to the enthusiasm in the village over the organisation of a community bus service scheme (as discussed in Appendix Seven). Certainly there are no other major differences between the two settlements. Neither have formal organisations or activities within the village, or a formal meeting place or hall. There is no evidence that any person acts in a leadership role in either of the villages. Nonetheless, there is a profound contrast between the two settlements: Thoroton is not a distinct community but Brinton is. There is no obvious explanation for this difference but the respective village studies do suggest one factor which may be of considerable importance: in Brinton nearly two-thirds of all the village households are classified as retired (64.7%). Many of these households are immigrants of professional or managerial status, and there is evidence for a considerable degree of informal social interaction between these households, and to a more limited extent with some of the more established village residents. This may be a root cause of the 'sense of identity' in the village. In contrast, Thoroton is essentially an economically active village with only

15.3 per cent of households being retired. As the heads of most of the working households commute to work in Nottingham or Newark, there is rather less opportunity for social interaction between the households. In addition many wives in Thoroton work full-time outside the village which, like their husbands, constrains leisure time within the village. Furthermore, all children go on to either primary school in Aslockton or the secondary school in Bingham, and many of their social links are with those communities.

The English village community is changing. The differences are too widespread to catalogue here, but in this context we should note that the characteristic contemporary village indicates a lower level of social inter-action than might be expected of the 'traditional' village structure. There is also a lower level of self-sufficiency in economic terms. The situation in the study villages shows quite clearly that there still is social interaction in the village and, generally, there is also a sense of identity. As such, and on the basis of the definition of community outlined earlier, the rural community is still based on the individual village. The important exceptions to this principle are some smaller settlements, such as Thoroton, in which there is no apparent sense of identity.

The community we are referring to is rather different to that associated with the 'traditional' village community. One important aspect of this difference is the changed basis of social stratification in the villages. Pahl <sup>22</sup> has discussed the change from a social system based on status, to the contemporary rural community in which social stratification is more closely allied with the urban dimensions of social class. Pahl has also shown that a class-based system of stratification seems to promote division within the

local social system. In the study villages there is some evidence to support this assessment. In the selected village of East Leake much of the local authority housing in the village is concentrated on a large estate on the Northern edge of the village. Whilst this estate is not an autonomous social unit, there is considerable evidence to suggest that it is a separate community. The estate occupies a clearly defined geographical area, and there is a considerable degree of social inter-action between residents, although this seems to be essentially informal in nature and often allied to kinship links between estate families. Finally, and perhaps most important, there is a sense of identity within this community. Significantly, the estate has a collective identity, being referred to by residents, and by some middle class established residents living outside the estate, as 'tin town' after the corrugated building material used in the construction of parts of the estate. "Tin town" is an example of a community within a community and the estate consists almost exclusively of working class households. This may seem to indicate that East Leake is two communities and not one, but there is little evidence for a collective sense of identity in the remainder of the village, which consists principally of middle class households and one smaller local authority estate. Furthermore, the existence of this social grouping in the larger of the local authority estates does not detract from the perception of the whole of East Leake as a single community. This goes to underline the suitability of the term 'a community within a community'.

In the other study villages there was no such distinctive example of social division in the communities. This may be associated with the generally smaller size of most of the settlements, which might mean that there are too few households in some of the settlements to provide meaningful social groupings within the

communities. However, this was not true of East Bridgford in South Nottinghamshire or of Fakenham in Norfolk, which are comparatively large settlements. Yet in neither of these villages is there firm evidence for a community within a community. In the author's opinion, this seems to be largely associated with the relative fragmentation of working class housing in both villages, in contrast to the greater nucleation in East Leake. Clearly, a relatively large and nucleated collection of houses occupied by social peers would tend to encourage the formation of a community within a community, although other factors such as the impact of social division, perhaps between newcomer and established households, may strongly influence the actual development of a social group with a common sense of identity.

We have established that in most of the study settlements the village society is still a real social unit, and in one of the villages there is strong evidence to suggest that communities within communities may develop. The other geographical feature of the rural community, as referred to earlier, is the 'regional community'. We cannot analyse the significance of this concept in the social geography of the study areas, since our research focussed on the detailed study of twelve individual communities and not on groups of neighbouring villages. Nonetheless, our experience in the study areas does provide us with some information on which we can make some selected observations about the value of the 'regional community' idea.

In Chapter Eleven we established that groups of neighbouring villages often shared recreational facilities and activities with each other. In addition, in Chapter Ten we examined the relative

importance of local villages and other rural employment centres in the structure of the local labour market. These features suggest that there are social and economic links between neighbouring villages, although unless they involve selected villages, these links are rarely of importance in the provision of shopping facilities and consumer services. Probably where evidence for the 'regional community' is most apparent is in formal recreational activity between villages. In most of the study villages it was common to find a village dance or another social event which attempted to draw support from neighbouring settlements, or, more occasionally, joint village organisations, for example, the Gotham and District branch of the British Legion, the East Bridgford and Shelford Scout Pack. The rationalisation of church facilities creating shared or collaborative ministries may also have an important influence on 'regional communities'. For example, the villages of Normanton on Soar and the neighbouring Sutton Bonnington were jointly served by a vicar who lived in Sutton Bonnington, who had encouraged the development of joint village organisations and who also prepared and circulated an inter-village magazine. Such magazines are not uncommon in rural parishes and may act as an important agent in integrating groups of villages.

We can see that there is a significant amount of functional inter-action between study villages and their neighbours. This examination suggests, however, that it would be a mistake to take these inter-relationships as evidence of the existence of 'regional communities' (i.e. spatially distinct groups of villages, which are inter-acting, and where there is a sense of identity of the group within its constituent settlements). The degree of inter-action in the study areas is limited and this research, although

admittedly considering this at an elementary level, can provide no tangible evidence for a sense of identity of such 'regional communities' within any of the study villages. This is even true for the villages of Thoroton and Brinton which are the settlements with the greatest degree of dependence on neighbouring villages. It may be that social inter-action with neighbouring villages is better seen as an aspect of the 'extended community' through which individual households in villages may have social associations with organisations or individuals in centres outside the home village itself.

This discussion has focussed on the geographical aspects of rural communities with specific reference to the two case study areas. We can see that the structure of rural communities is a very complex subject. Few planning studies and policies attach sufficient weight to this complexity and others give the impression of a complete lack of appreciation of this. In either case there is a need for planning officers to be more precise in the way they look at rural communities. This is especially true if they are to continue regarding the maintenance of village communities as an important planning goal. Ironically, a recent movement towards a revision of these planning values seems to have been negative. Thorburn, now the County Planning Officer for East Sussex, has stated:

"The maintenance of a vigorous community as a rural planning goal is misfounded. ... Meanwhile I shall continue to plan villages on the basis of physical and economic criteria alone, and challenge anyone to show that this approach is socially harmful." 23

### 12.3 The 'friendliness' of the study villages

The question on village friendliness was included in the interview schedule partly as a design mechanism, so as to give respondents a simple question on which they were likely to have clearly defined views, before the more testing questions on the village communities which were to follow. The question also had a more direct application to the community study, as a general perception of an important aspect of the social life of the study villages.

The methodological approach to this question, and to the other questions in the 'community' section of the questionnaire, deserves special comment. It is obviously difficult to measure aspects of communities, such as village friendliness, in a completely objective manner. This survey adopts an analytical approach which uses the individual perceptions of household heads, as selected in the village samples, as an assessment technique. This has the obvious advantage of being a simple and convenient approach to use, in the context of the questionnaire survey to which the study was already committed. In addition, the method allows us to measure these factors in a simplistic, but efficient, quantitative manner, specifically the proportions of households in certain response categories. However, there are disadvantages to this approach, notably that we cannot assume that what a given respondent says about, for example, the friendliness of the village, is necessarily correct. In a purely scientific approach we can see each household head as an active or passive member of the respective village communities. As such, he or she may have attitudes and opinions about the village community which cloud an objective assessment of the situation. There were indeed some interesting examples of this process at

work in the village surveys, but one will serve as an illustration.

In the village of Thoroton one head of household expressed her belief that there were clear signs of social conflict in the village. The remaining respondents in this village all said that there were no apparent signs of conflict or tension. It subsequently emerged that some months before the questionnaire study one local resident had complained of noxious smells from the pig sty's of a village farm. The farmer had replied that such smells were inevitable on hot summer days when the wind was in a certain direction. Apparently other households in the village had either accepted this explanation or were apathetic about the situation, since the attempts of the objector to organise a petition to send to the local authority were met with very little support. This was a petty affair, perhaps to be expected in any working farming community, and one which had essentially been forgotten in the village outside the objector's household and that of the farmer. Not surprisingly, the household head who had detected signs of conflict in the village and the objector of the previous summer, were one and the same person. Consequently, one may doubt the objectivity with which some respondents assess signs of conflict, or other perceived social factors, in the villages.

Thus, there is bias in respondents' assessments of the village communities. It is as well to be aware of this when reviewing the results of this section of the village studies, but this does not invalidate the observations that are made from these results. This is because we are using the statistical results less as absolute measures of 'friendliness' or of social conflict in the villages, and more as comparative measures with which to compare the study

areas and the respective study villages. Furthermore, the degree of error in the results caused by respondents' bias must be at least partly compensated for by the fact that each survey must be open to the same risk of bias (given a 'random' sample).

As with the other sections of the community study, the replies of the household heads about their perception of the friendliness of their village, were recorded on a number of pre-coded responses. These are illustrated on Table 12.1. The pattern of response was quite similar for North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire, with the vast majority of perceptions being that the villages were either very or quite friendly (accounting for 90.9% and 89.5% of all households, respectively). Amongst this group there was a slight tendency for respondents in North Norfolk to mention 'very friendly' (40.5%) proportionally more than in South Nottinghamshire (30.8% of all households). Only a comparatively small proportion of households regarded the villages as 'not very friendly', with 7.6 per cent in North Norfolk and 9.7 per cent in South Nottinghamshire. Only one household, in Sharrington, went so far as to say that the villages was unfriendly, and one, in East Leake, thought the village over-friendly.

Allowing for a small margin of error, as discussed previously, there are few significant differences between the villages. Brinton (64.7%), Great Ryburgh (55.0%) and Thoroton (53.8%) are the only villages in which over a half of the interviewed households thought the village to be 'very friendly'. Of these it is interesting to note that Brinton and Thoroton are the two smallest settlements in the sample, although there is no suggestion of a negative correlation between settlement size and friendliness<sup>24</sup>. The village

which stands apart from the others is Normanton, in which thirty per cent of the sampled population thought the village to be 'not very friendly'. There is no apparent explanation for this phenomenon, but we must note that this does seem to be a genuine reflection of the state of that community. Not only do the author's field notes recorded during the interviewing process support this assessment, but it is also indicative that half of the village sample (see Table 12.2) considered there to be signs of conflict or tension in the village.

The structure of the computer analysis allowed us to examine the response patterns of different social groups in the study villages. In this way we were able to examine the influence of age, length of residence and social class on household response. In South Nottinghamshire neither age, length of residence nor social class showed any significantly different patterns of response in their relevant groups. In contrast, in North Norfolk although age had no apparent influence there were important distinctions between the social class and length of residence groups. Generally, working class households were more reserved about the friendliness of their villages with only 29.0 per cent referring to their village as 'very friendly' compared to 50.7 per cent of the middle class households. The impression gained from the interviews was that this was not a reflection that the working class households saw the villages as less friendly than their middle class counterparts, but rather that this was associated with a difference in the value judgements of the two social groups. It is interesting to note that this distinction was not apparent in South Nottinghamshire.

In North Norfolk there was only a relatively small proportion of households which considered the village to be 'not very friendly' or 'unfriendly', but all but one of these households were old established residents. This represents a difference between the newcomer and established residents, although we should note that the majority of established residents still regard the villages as friendly (85.9% of all established households compared to 98.1% of the newcomers). This phenomenon may be related to a handful of established residents who are openly resentful of some or all newcomer households having moved into their communities.

#### 12.4 Conflict and tension in the study villages

Social conflict has become a phenomenon of considerable interest in various contemporary studies of rural society in England. As a value label, conflict is usually thought of as a negative feature of society in the sense that a village with a degree of social conflict is perceived as less good than one in which there is none. As observers of, rather than just participants in, social processes we may draw different conclusions. Pahl has commented,

"It has been shown by sociologists that conflict within a community will not be disruptive if people feel they can identify themselves with the community and they are more likely to achieve such identification through the membership of voluntary associations. Thus, it is argued, the more voluntary associations there are in a place the more likely will people identify themselves with that place, but the more likely will conflicts emerge. This is a very important point: high organisational density tends to draw the community into conflict, but it also acts to regulate the controversy and contain it." 25

In short, conflict between social groups and voluntary associations

may be a constructive social process in that it aids the development in individual households of a sense of identity. We have already noted that 'sense of identity' is one of the three foundation stones of a rural community. Consequently, conflict may be an important social agent in maintaining rural communities.

Popplestone<sup>26</sup> has taken this argument a step further by suggesting that radical planning policies for rural residential development should seek to concentrate large groups of newcomers at particular expanded villages so as to promote conflict between them and the established residents, so that this in turn will promote a sense of belonging to a particular place. This is a controversial view and not one that is shared by many professional planners or by related social scientists. Nonetheless, Popplestone's articles do add further weight to the assessment that conflict may be an important contribution to maintaining village communities. It is within this context that we can see the analysis of conflict and tension within the study villages to be a very important aspect of the community studies of this research.

The general pattern of response from the questionnaire interview indicates a similar, though not identical, situation in both of the case study areas. Table 12.2 shows that very few respondents perceived any 'clear signs' of tension or conflict in their villages. All of these, however, were in South Nottinghamshire, although they represented only 2.0 per cent of the sampled households in this study area. There were also proportionally fewer respondents who considered that there were 'some signs' of conflict in the North Norfolk villages (18.3%) compared to South Nottinghamshire (24.3%). This is not a large difference between

the two areas, but the results of a similar study by Ambrose in the village of Ringmer in Sussex <sup>27</sup> indicates that this may represent a real difference between the 'pressure' and 'remoter' rural areas. Ambrose found that twenty-three per cent of his sample perceived signs of tension in that village. This compares very closely to the comparable figure of 26.3 per cent in the South Nottinghamshire villages.

The general response is that the great majority of households perceived no signs of conflict or tension within the villages. This group accounts for about three-quarters of all respondents in both study areas although this varies considerably between the study villages.

Table 12.2 shows a clear difference between the village group of Sharrington, Stiffkey, East Bridgford, Normanton, and Wysall, where a larger proportion of residents consider there to be signs of conflict than in the other study settlements. In four of these villages about forty per cent of the village sample perceive signs of tension, but only in Normanton, which we discussed in the previous section, does this rise to a half of the respondents. There seems to be no common factor to explain why these five villages should be different from the others. Certainly there is no evidence of a direct association between the proportion of newcomers in the villages, and indications of conflict in the communities. This is in contrast to the assumptions made by Popplestone <sup>28</sup> referred to previously. This is less easy to assess in North Norfolk where the proportion of newcomer households in the villages is very similar for each of the study settlements. In South Nottinghamshire there is considerable difference but there are no signs of any asso-

ciation. The highest proportion of newcomers is found in the selected village of East Leake (64.1%), with similar proportions in East Bridgford (63.6%) and Kinoulton (63.7%). Yet in these three villages there is a considerable difference in perception of conflict. As Table 12.2 shows, about forty per cent of the East Bridgford respondents consider there to be signs of conflict compared to about half this proportion in the other two settlements with large proportions of newcomers. Further evidence is provided by Normanton which is the study village in South Nottinghamshire with the lowest proportion of newcomers (40.0%), but the highest proportion (50.0%) of respondents perceiving signs of conflict.

There is some evidence to support Pahl's description of the relationship between voluntary associations and conflict within the community, as discussed earlier. The two settlements with the lowest density of voluntary associations, Thoroton and Brinton, both show little perception of signs of tension, although this relationship is less clear for the other villages. We established in Chapter Eleven that the villages with the highest density of voluntary associations were the three selected settlements, East Bridgford, East Leake, and Fakenham. Yet of these only the former indicates a high perception of conflict within the community.

It is worth noting at this stage that there is no evidence from the computer analyses that opinions differed according to social status, in life-cycle, or length of residence. In addition, one further factor was introduced to the analysis, the location of the respondent household in terms of whether located in the village proper, or, as was the case with many farming households, outside

the physical boundaries of the village but within the parish. It was thought that there might be a lack of knowledge of the social climate of the village amongst the outlying households. However, the analysis indicated no significant differences between the perception of households within the built up area of the village and those dispersed outside.

The attitudes to conflict in village communities seem to differ from that of Popplestone, who considers it to be an important process in the maintenance of communities, which should be actively encouraged in certain villages by the 'infusion' of newcomer households. The same also seems to be true, on the other hand, for Hall's <sup>29</sup> view of the situation, which considers that conflict may cause a social division between the newcomer and established residents of a village in which there is a poor balance of private and local authority housing. In either case there is an assumed association between conflict and length of residence groups which does not seem to be supported by the results of this analysis. This is an important point and serves to underline the real complexity of conflict in rural communities.

The individual studies of the twelve survey villages indicate that respondents' perceptions of local conflict are largely related to specific issues. Such issues may be as minor as in the example of the Thoroton household head and the neighbouring pig farmer, or of wider significance such as conflicting attitudes to the residential development of land within the village of East Bridgford (where households that are adjacent to the proposed plots are uniformly against the development, whilst most of the other households assume an apathetic standpoint or actively support the construction

of what the developer refers to as 'prestige' housing). The experience of these two study areas suggests that conflict sometimes corresponds to the length of residence division between established and newcomer households, but that this is not always the case. For example, in some situations the division may accord with social class groups (generally a reflection of different social values). In many cases conflicting groups may cross these divisions. Even this simple examination does not account for the fact that many households are totally apathetic to most issues causing conflict within the villages. For example, in Kinoulton there was some tension between the newly formed 'Conservation Group' in the village, which consists of middle class households of both newcomer and established status, and the small local authority estate, about the development of a housing estate in the village (shown in Plate 11.4). The Conservation Group strongly resisted this proposal, whilst the local authority tenants (two of whom hoped to buy houses on the estate) supported the development. This might be taken as evidence of a social class conflict within the village, but this would be ignoring the fact that many middle class households, particularly those at the opposite end of the village to that which the housing would be built, were apathetic to the proposal, as are some working class households living in 'tied' accommodation also at this end of the settlement.

This is not to suggest that the length of residence division is of no importance in social conflict in villages. There may be villages as described by Hall in which one or more issues have split the newcomer and established residents socially. However, the evidence from these twelve villages is that such instances must be comparatively uncommon. Furthermore, in most of these villages

only a very small proportion of householders perceive there to be clear signs of tension in the village, whilst the majority consider there are 'no signs' of conflict or tension.

### 12.5 Social integration of households in the community

This study considered two aspects of social integration. Firstly, the degree to which all households perceived their own integration in the community in terms of their original aspirations for social integration; we have called this 'self-assessed integration'. Secondly, there is the more specific issue of the integration of newcomer households in the rural communities.

Self-assessed integration: Respondents were asked to assess their own integration in terms of their original aspiration ("Do you feel you have fitted into the life of the village ... as fully as you wished"; "not as fully as you wished", etc.). This question was structured in this way to avoid the alternative method of respondents having to select one pre-coded category relating to their integration ('very well', 'quite well', 'not very well', etc) and the inevitable confusion that would follow, relating to what constituted 'very well', 'quite well', etc. In addition, it was considered that a large proportion of households might be classified as 'not very well' integrated, but that this would have little meaning since it would include those households which had little desire to fit in with the village, and others who aimed for a degree of integration but for a variety of reasons were unable to achieve this.

Table 12.3 shows that the great majority of households in both study areas (93.9% in North Norfolk and 91.1% in South Nottinghamshire) were classified as fitting into the village. 'as much as (they) wanted to". Of the small proportion of households distributed in the other categories of response, the most interesting were those who had not fitted into the village as much as they had wanted to. Unfortunately, this proportion is so small (3.8 per cent in North Norfolk and 4.5 per cent in South Nottinghamshire), that we are unable to draw any valid conclusions about the households that constitute this group.

Households who had fitted in with the village as much as they wanted to, mostly fall into two rather different social groups. Firstly, there are those households who originally sought to be integrated to some degree with the village and who have subsequently achieved this. Secondly, there are those households, and the survey suggests that these are quite numerous, that have no desire to fit in with the village and who have social lives which are partly or wholly independent of the village community. The structure of the question means that such households would reply that they had fitted in to the village 'as much as they wanted to' (in fact, in their case hardly at all). With such a mixed group there is little point in drawing any general conclusion about the nature of this response group. In this context this part of the community studies, is rather less useful as an aid to the analysis than might have been hoped.

Some general observations about inter-village contrasts can be made. In three villages there is a slightly smaller proportion of households who have fitted into the village 'as much as they

wanted to'. This is most obvious in Thoroton (80.8%) which is the only village to be studied in detail which has no clearly defined local community, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The only other factor which might affect this is the lack of voluntary organisations in the village. Yet this feature is shared by Brinton where 94.1 per cent of the households consider that they have fitted in the village as much as they wanted to.

Normanton and Stiffkey also have significantly lower proportions of respondents who are satisfied with their degree of integration. In Stiffkey (81.2%) this is associated with a small group of newcomer households who are relatively immobile and who are disappointed with the very limited range of activities in the village, a feature commented upon in the previous chapter. In Normanton there is no obvious explanation for this situation. One might be tempted to associate this phenomenon with the evidence from the two previous sections that Normanton is less friendly than other villages and that it has a higher perception of conflict within the village. Nonetheless, we should bear in mind that the great majority of Normanton respondents have still fitted in the village 'as much as (they) wanted to' (85.0%).

Newcomer integration: The structure of response to this question shown in Table 12.4, was rather more satisfactory than that in the previous section, even though a fairly large proportion of respondents in the study villages of North Norfolk (23.7%) were classified as 'Don't know'.

We established in Chapter Nine that newcomer households were an important component of the population structure of the study

villages, comprising 40.5 per cent of the households in the sample population of the North Norfolk villages, and 57.1 per cent in the South Nottinghamshire study villages. Consequently, the social integration of these households in the respective communities is a very important aspect of the community studies. Lewis<sup>30</sup>, for example, has shown that where there is a generally low degree of integration of the newcomer households in rural settlements, this may influence the survival of the associated communities.

The method used to measure the integration of newcomers in the community, given the questionnaire approach, was simply to ask respondent households for their opinion. All households, newcomers and established alike, were included in this part of the study. This approach is testing the respondents' perception of newcomers' integration which may be rather different in some cases from the actual degree of integration. Whilst this is obviously not the most objective approach, it is the most useful in the context of our research, since it is how residents feel that newcomers have fitted in with the village that is the important phenomenon to measure.

This question was not included in the original interview schedule which was tested in the pilot survey of Wysall. However, as the process of interviewing progressed in the pilot study it became apparent that the integration of newcomers in this village was an important local issue. For this reason, the schedule for the subsequent village studies was revised to include this question. Unfortunately, through this revision, it was not possible to collect quantitative data on newcomer integration from Wysall and consequently this information is omitted from Table 12.4.

Coding the responses to this question caused some problems. Respondents tended to describe the degree of integration of newcomers by a variety of labels, usually relating to the perceived degree to which newcomers were absorbed in the community. These were originally classified in six groups: 'Very well', 'Quite well', 'Well', 'Not very well', 'Not at all well', and 'Not at all'. Whilst analysing these categories it became increasingly apparent that these were not distinct categories. Two errors were involved:

1. The categories were overlapping. Depending on the different values and perceptions of the households, what one respondent might describe as 'Very well' might be referred to by another as 'Quite well' or even 'Well'.
2. The categories are open to interpretive error. The structure of coding meant that each category included a number of terms actually used by respondents. For example, 'quite adequately', 'fairly well', 'pretty well' were all classified as 'Quite well'. But the assessment of each response is subjective and is thus open to misinterpretation.

With these problems in mind, it was reluctantly decided to abandon the analysis of the degree of integration and to replace it with an examination of the elements of integration, classified as 'Adequately' and 'Inadequately' with additional categories for 'Don't know' and 'Uncoded'. The latter group included a variety of responses which expressed an observation rather than an opinion on the absorption of newcomers in the village, characterised by the Great Ryburgh parish councillor who commented:

"It depends really. Some of the newcomers fit in and some don't. It all depends on what they want to do. There are one or two families that fit in very well, they join in the old peoples clubs, and one goes to church most weeks. But that's not what they all want, especially the younger ones."

The pattern of response in the two study areas is broadly similar although one cannot compare the appropriate figures from Table 12.4 directly because of the distorting influence of the large proportion of 'Don't knows' in North Norfolk. Inter-village contrasts are best examined through the proportion of households who consider that newcomers have been integrated 'inadequately' into the villages. There is considerable variation in this proportion in the different study villages. There are relatively higher proportions in Stiffkey (31.3%) and Normanton (20.0%), but probably the most important distinction is that between the selected villages of East Leake, East Bridgford and Fakenham, and the non selected settlements. There are proportionately fewer households in East Leake (2.8%) and none at all in the samples of Fakenham and East Bridgford, which consider that newcomers have been inadequately integrated in the community.

On further examination there seem to be two quite probable interpretations of this phenomenon: Firstly, the residents of the selected villages may somehow perceive a lower level of community activity to be 'adequate' than householders in smaller villages; and secondly, that fewer newcomers in the larger villages do not integrate into the community. Whilst there may be some truth in the first statement, it is more likely that residents in these villages find it relatively easy to integrate with the community and consequently only a small proportion do not fit in with the village.

In terms of social integration the only advantage that smaller villages have over larger, selected settlements, is that of their small physical size. Traditionally the social links in small, nucleated settlements are more intensive than in the larger, more suburban villages, although this may actively work against the integration of newcomers as much as promote it. The larger villages, however, have a greater density and variety of voluntary organisations, as we discovered in Chapter Eleven, and these act as important agents for integration of new households. In addition, selected villages have better social facilities to promote social mixing; community centres, sports and playing fields. Furthermore, there are generally higher proportions of newcomers in selected villages than in non-selected settlements (although this is not true for Fakenham, as discussed in Chapter Nine) and it is likely that simple 'weight of numbers' may aid integration.

This is a simplified analysis of a complex situation and it may be that other less tangible factors of human behaviour are significant. One newcomer to the village of Barton commented:

"It's not that we don't want anything to do with the village. We do. They're very friendly people here ... too friendly. If you get involved in the village, then you don't have much of a private life. I think in a small village you are either totally involved ... and everyone knows you, or you keep yourself to yourself, as we do. It's too difficult to be in between."

The estates of East Leake may be less attractive than the four-bedroomed luxury bungalows of Barton, but they do allow each family to preserve whatever degree of anonymity that they may wish to.

As with the previous sections of this chapter, we examined the influence that social status, life cycle stage and length of resi-

dence have on the results. As might be expected, newcomers in North Norfolk tend to perceive 'their' integration rather more favourably than established residents. The differences in the North Norfolk villages are not great, with 71.7 per cent of newcomers expressing the opinion that newcomers generally have fitted into the village 'adequately', compared to 59.0 per cent of the established respondents. There is no significant difference between the opinions of established and newcomer households in South Nottinghamshire. The only other factor which seems to influence the results is social class, but the pattern for the two areas is quite contradictory. In North Norfolk proportionately more middle class respondents thought that newcomers had been adequately absorbed in the village, compared to working class residents, with respective proportions of 71.0 per cent and 56.5 per cent. In South Nottinghamshire quite the reverse is true with middle class residents showing slightly less perception of 'adequately' (65.1%) compared to working class households (76.9%). There is no simple explanation for this conflicting pattern.

### 12.6 Friends in the village

The inclusion of this section in the interview schedule was prompted by the use of a similar approach in Ambrose's analysis<sup>31</sup> of the village of Ringmer in Sussex. Ambrose's use suggested that this was a valuable method for examining the degree to which households looked to the village for their social ties with other households, and friendships. This also gives us a way in which to assess the importance of the 'extended community' as a concept which may be important in the description of local social systems in rural areas.

Respondents were asked to estimate the proportion of their friends which were living in the village. There were five pre-coded categories of response. It was suggested in Ambrose's work that there might be significant differences between the male and female heads of households, and consequently our question was structured to gain the responses of both the households head and their spouse. The results for this analysis are shown separately for men and women in Tables 12.5 and 12.6. These tables show a small difference between the two case study areas. For both male and female household heads there is a tendency for proportionally more respondents in South Nottinghamshire to have fewer than a half of their friends living in the village (77.7% and 73.8% of male and female heads respectively, compared to 64.3% and 68.2% in the North Norfolk study villages).

The villages of Brinton, Sharrington and Kinoulton seem to draw less on friends within the village than the other study settlements. The difference is most marked in Kinoulton where 95.2 per cent of the male heads of household and 90.4 per cent of the female, have fewer than half of their friends in the village. This distinction is supported by the proportion of village households in the samples which had no friends within the village, with both Sharrington and Kinoulton having relatively high proportions. In fact, in Kinoulton nearly one in five (19.0%) of the sample households commented that they had no friends in the village, a proportion which was the same for male and female household heads. This proportion was exceeded only in the small village of Thoroton (20.8% for males and females).

No villages were the counterparts of Kinoulton, in the sense that they had a very large proportion of households with over a

half of their friends in the village. But in five villages, Fakenham, Great Ryburgh, East Bridgford, East Leake and Wysall. this was true for a slightly higher proportion of the sample households. We should bear in mind, however, that household heads with over a half of their friends living in the village are still a definite minority in these settlements. In East Leake, for example, 33.5 per cent of the male households heads and 32.4 per cent of the females, thought that most of their friends lived in the village.

There is no single social or economic factor which can explain why Brinton, Sharrington and especially Kinoulton should draw less on village households for friends than is the case in other villages. Their geographical structure, however, may provide an answer. Ambrose<sup>32</sup> has discussed the influence of settlement shape on social networks within rural communities. His work suggest a 'social action space' of about half a mile, although he stresses that this is obviously not an invariable limit given personal mobility. This would imply that in a long, linear village such as Kinoulton which is nearly a one and a half mile walk from one end of the village to the other, the shape of the settlement alone might influence the degree to which residents looked to the village for friends. In a similar way, this same phenomenon might explain why few households in Sharrington have the majority of their friends from within the village. Although Sharrington is not strictly speaking a dispersed settlement, its structure might be best described as a loose agglomeration of housing groups in a widely spaced framework of village lanes. This geographical factor, however, cannot explain the situation in Brinton which is a small nucleated settlement (see Appendix 5: Map 1 and Map 4).

It is interesting to note that each of the selected villages in the settlement sample is described as having a slightly higher proportion of households with most of their friends living in the village. The critical factor here may simply be the population density within these settlements. In addition, the estate structure, which is the characteristic form of development for recent housing in these settlements, as shown in Plate 12.1 and 12.2, may actively promote social links since it groups together households often of similar peer groups in terms of social status, or length of residence in the village.

There is no evidence to suggest that inter-village variations might be accounted for by different population structures in terms of social class or age groups. Neither of these factors seems to influence the proportion of friends that a given household will have in a village. This is a little surprising since we might expect the elderly population, which is characteristically less mobile, to look more to the village for its friends than younger households. However, length of residence does affect the degree to which households draw on the village for their friends, and it seems likely that this factor may largely account for the variations between the villages, since the proportion of newcomers in the study settlements does vary, particularly in South Nottinghamshire (see Chapter Nine). In North Norfolk only 17.7 per cent of male heads of 'newcomer' households have a majority of their friends in the village, in contrast to the established households where the proportion is 51.7 per cent. In South Nottinghamshire there is a similar distinction with respective figures of 12.6 per cent and 37.1 per cent. The same distinction is apparent in both of the study areas when female heads of households are considered.



Plate 12.1 Estate development of private housing at East Leake

Estates are the characteristic form of housing development in selected villages, as shown in these two photographs. This research indicates that by grouping together similar peer groups according to social and marital status, age, length of residence etc., this form of development may actively promote social links between households. This may have an important effect on the perceived quality of the community

Plate 12.2 Estate development of local authority housing at Fakenham



The other factor which seems to affect the proportion of friends in the village, is whether or not the sample households live within the built up area of the village, or outside it, for example in a dispersed farmstead. In the North Norfolk sample a small number of households are classified as living outside the village, but in all of these both the male and female heads of household have fewer than a half of their friends in the village, in comparison to 68.2 per cent and 64.2 per cent for male and female household heads living inside the village. There is a similar feature in South Nottinghamshire but as with North Norfolk the problem of small cell sizes restricts us from assessing the general significance of this phenomenon. This apparent influence of the location of the household is much as might have been expected, although this may be interpreted as further support for Ambrose's concept of 'social action space' in the context of rural settlements.

#### 12.7 Attitudes to past residential development in the study villages

The history of development of rural settlements in the twentieth century varies according to the geographical location of individual villages and to a wide variety of local factors. These combine to make the development history of each village unique. Nonetheless, it will be valuable as part of the contextual discussion to examine some of the general features in the process of residential development in rural areas during the course of the twentieth century.

In Chapter Two we discussed the development of planning legislation and we identified the Town Planning Acts of 1909 and 1919 as

landmarks in the evolutionary process. Nonetheless, the titles of these statutes were particularly apt because their influence on the control of development in the countryside was largely negative. This was because by regulating the spatial design and density of new urban buildings, the legislation indirectly promoted the trend towards consuming areas of countryside on the urban fringe that was already manifested in the development of 'garden' suburbs and ribbon development along major routes to the urban centre. This legislation was consequently partly responsible, albeit indirectly, for the increased rate of consumption of rural land for housing purposes.

In effect, pressure for the development of rural land 'took off' after these early planning acts. Between 1927 and 1939 an annual average of 66,000 acres were urbanised. The Scott report<sup>33</sup> estimated that about ten per cent of this was returnable to agricultural and related land use, but this nonetheless represents a figure of 60,000 acres per year. This can be compared to the average annual rate of urbanisation between 1947 and 1962 as established by Best and Coppock<sup>34</sup>, of roughly 30,000 acres. Consequently, we can see that in the later part of the inter-war period rural land was being built upon at double its present rate of consumption. Demand for development during this period was largely, though not exclusively, expressed in terms of general countryside development rather than in the context of established rural settlements. This is not to say that there was no development in villages and small country towns. Indeed the development mosaic that composes existing rural settlement shows that this was not so. But the principle consumer of development land was the suburban and ribbon development, being built on the countryside of the urban fringe.

The nature of development changed after the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. Ironically, if it was the 1909 and 1919 Acts which fostered a dramatic increase in the development of the countryside then it was the 1947 Act which, seeking to regulate this rural consumption, focussed development (albeit under strict development controls) on rural settlements. It is one of the basic principles of the 1947, 1968 and 1971 Acts that no development be permitted outside the built up area of the existing settlements except under exceptional circumstances (as outlined in the legislation). Consequently, pressure for the development of rural settlement as opposed to the countryside is largely a product of the 1947 Act. The 'settlement fence' policy followed by development controls and examined critically by Brett <sup>35</sup> has further intensified this pressure for development on existing settlements.

The impact of this development process can be seen in most rural settlements. In pressure and remote areas alike, the great majority of housing built in the twentieth century in most villages, has been erected since the Second World War. In the two study areas the timing of this contemporary development surge is rather different. There are, of course, considerable variations between individual settlements, but generally in the South Nottinghamshire study villages this phase seems to date from the mid-sixties, illustrated by Plates 12.3 and 12.4. At the time of the village surveys it was evident that there was a general lapse in this process, associated with a reduction in the national building programme (popularly associated with the oil crisis of 1973, and the escalation of oil prices, and the pronounced depression in the economic cycle which has been labelled, with hindsight, the 'recession'). In North Norfolk the situation is rather different. As a remote area the pres-



Plate 12.3 Private housing estate at Bingham, built 1967/8

It is not possible to represent the chronology of residential development in South Nottinghamshire in just two examples, but these two photographs attempt to illustrate by examples of different types of housing, in two very different villages (the first a selected centre, the second a restricted development village within the green belt) the surge of housing development that occurred in many settlements of this study area from the mid 'sixties to early 'seventies.

Plate 12.4 Infilling development at Barton, built in the mid-'sixties



sure for development is considerably less, but nonetheless new housing is being built (as was established in Chapter Eight). In so far as one can identify a 'surge' of development, it is probably a more recent phenomenon as indicated in Plates 12.5 and 12.6, with most related housing being built during the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, which is significantly later than in the South Nottinghamshire study villages.

One further factor should be mentioned in this general chronology of housing development in the study villages. In both study areas there seems to have been a specific phase of development in the late 'forties and very early 'fifties associated largely with local authority estates, which (as we have previously discussed in Chapter Eight and Nine) are largely concentrated on the selected villages.

Respondents were asked their opinion on residential development of the villages in the previous ten years. Replies were pre-coded to 'generally approve', 'mixed feelings', 'generally disapprove' and a small proportion of households in both areas were classified as 'don't know'. Respondents were also asked the reasons for their opinion.

In both study areas a majority of respondents approved of past development in the villages, but as Table 12.7 shows there was an important difference between the two areas. The pattern in North Norfolk was for whole-hearted approval, with 90.8 per cent of the sample population approving the development and only a small proportion expressing mixed feelings or disapproving (3.8% in each category). In South Nottinghamshire, although a majority



Plate 12.5 Private estate development at Fakenham, built 1969/70

It is not possible to identify a parallel 'surge' of development in this the remoter of the study areas, as in Plates 12.3 and 12.4, but the two photographs above and below show two examples of the generally later construction of post-war housing in rural settlements in North Norfolk .

Plate 12.6 Infilling development at Great Ryburgh, built in 1974/5



of the population still approved (64.4%), there were significantly large proportions who had mixed feelings (20.6%) or who disapproved (10.1%). Consequently, about one in three of the households did not approve of past development in the South Nottinghamshire villages, compared to about one in fourteen in North Norfolk.

There are some interesting variations from this general pattern in the individual study villages. In North Norfolk the structure of response is remarkably uniform, but in South Nottinghamshire there are three villages where the 'approval' rate is lower than the mean for the study area. In the selected villages of East Leake (60.4%) and East Bridgford (63.6%) the slightly lower proportions seem to be a function of the extent or rate of recent housing development in the settlements. Significantly, however, in these settlements there were not more households who actually disapproved, the difference being accounted for by large proportions of respondents expressing mixed feelings. The comment of a housewife who lived on one of the new estates is characteristic:

"I don't disagree with it, I suppose it's progress really but I do think it's happened rather quickly. We had hardly moved into this house and they [the developer] were extending the other end of the estate. . . . But there are better shops according to my sister [who had lived in East Leake previously] and now there's the clinic and the library."

The third village is Kinoulton where only 59.1 per cent of the respondents approved of past development. There had certainly been a considerable amount of new development in this village but the impression gained from the survey was that the larger proportion of 'disapprovers' in Kinoulton was related to an anti-development feeling in some households caused by a bitter controversy in the village (discussed earlier in this chapter) concerning

the construction of an estate on the eastern edge of the village.

This analysis suggests that there may be an association between lower rates of approval in the villages and the extent of past development. This is hardly a surprising association but it is indicated by the two South Nottinghamshire selected centres. In this context it is interesting that although the difference is only slight it is Fakenham in North Norfolk, a selected village, which has the lowest proportion of approving households in that study area.

In South Nottinghamshire social status, stage in life cycle and length of residence in the villages seem to have little bearing on the opinion of individual households. This is generally true in North Norfolk although in these study villages there was a limited association between respondents who disapproved of past development and established residents. Only 1.9 per cent of the newcomers to the settlements disapproved, whilst this proportion rose to 5.1 per cent in the established respondents. In perspective, we should remember that the vast majority of established respondents still approved of the past residential development in their villages.

The reasons for opinions were characteristically diffuse and the coding sequence identified no fewer than forty-four separate reasons, although many of these were given by only one or two respondents. The principal reason for people approving past development was that new housing had 'supplied homes for people to live in', which accounted for approaching a half of all of the 'approvals' in North Norfolk (43.4%) and a slightly smaller proportion (39.1%) in South Nottinghamshire. Housing provision was of particular importance in the two large selected villages in the sample, Fakenham and East

Leake, where the respective proportions were 63.2 per cent and 51.7 per cent.

The only other important factor which was shared by both study areas was that houses had 'generally been well designed and sited'. This was the second most important reason for approving of past development in the villages of South Nottinghamshire (17.2% of the households), although again there was a difference between the importance of this reason in the larger selected villages and other settlements, with the proportion in East Leake falling to 3.8 per cent. In North Norfolk, this reason was of less importance than in the Nottinghamshire study area, accounting for under ten per cent (8.0%) of the approving households, although it did represent the third most important factor. Here also in the selected centre of Fakenham, the comparable proportion fell to only 1.5 per cent.

In South Nottinghamshire two other reasons were important. The perception that 'housing had generally been well planned' was given by 8.4 per cent of those respondents who approved of development since the mid-'sixties. This was of similar importance in all the study villages with the single exception of Barton where no respondent mentioned this. A similar proportion of these households (7.8%) considered that development had encouraged the improvement of village facilities', although as might have been anticipated this was mentioned only by East Leake residents.

The two other factors which were important in North Norfolk were the apathetic response of 'it's not bothered me' (14.4%), the significance of which was most marked in the villages of Brinton

and Sharrington, in which it accounted for about a third of all the households who approved of past development. These are the two smallest villages in this sample, although there are sufficient differences in their population structures, their community cohesiveness and rate of development to prevent us from accounting for why the settlements should be equally apathetic. This reason was rather less important in the South Nottinghamshire study area (6.5%) and there is no association between its incidence and the smaller study villages. The second factor which was important in the remoter study area is that new housing 'facilitated an improvement in the community spirit' (7.3%). This reason was emphasised once again in the two smallest study villages, accounting for proportions of 12.4 per cent and 27.0 per cent in Brinton and Sharrington respectively. This might be interpreted as a surprising public testament, albeit not on a grand scale, of the value of residential development as an agent in preventing social decay in small rural communities in the remoter regions of England. To this must be added the fact that in all of the North Norfolk study villages, with the significant exception of Fakenham, a small proportion of households (average 7.1%) mentioned that past housing development had 'stopped the village from stagnating'.

This is the general pattern of why respondents approved of past development. There are of course, variations between villages but when we allow for the influence of small cell sizes, in few cases other than those mentioned above, are these differences pronounced. There are two exceptions which are worth special comment. A fifth of the 'approving' households in the Nottinghamshire village of Barton said that residential development 'had brought a good class of people into the village'. This was an interesting response

not just because of its undertones in the context of our previous discussion of 'social polarisation' (see Chapter Nine), but because this reason was mentioned in only two of the other study villages, in Fakenham and Wysall, and there only by one household in each case. The response in Barton is best seen as a reaction to an unusual set of circumstances: a social structure that is dominantly made up of established working class residents, a significant amount of higher value property that has recently been built in the village, and a considerable degree of social interaction within the village (as testified to by the discussion of home village centred recreation in Chapter Eleven).

The reasons for respondents disapproving of past development can be assessed only generally due to the small number of households involved and the breadth of responses given. In Norfolk the numbers are so small (five households) that no assumption can be drawn. In South Nottinghamshire the two most important factors are perceptions that the villages new housing had 'generally been poorly designed and sited' and 'caused the village to grow too large'. Together these reasons accounted for approaching half (41.6%) of the disapproving households. As an overall response, however, it will be encouraging for planners to note that there are many more households who consider that past development had generally been well designed and sited than those who express the opposite opinion. This is true for all the study villages with the important exceptions of the two large selected villages, where a roughly equal proportion of both Fakenham and East Leake residents support both attitudes.

For the same reason of small cell sizes we are unable to consider in any depth the reasons given in the Norfolk study villages

which are classified as 'mixed feelings'. In South Nottinghamshire we are able to identify two reasons of particular significance and both seem to be simple combinations of the most important reasons for approval and disapproval rather than a unique 'mixed feeling' such as the Thoroton respondents who thought: "It [new housing] has stopped stagnation in the village, but it would be better to convert existing property". Fourteen per cent of those households who expressed mixed feelings about past residential development in the villages shared a common reason: 'The village needed some new houses but too many have been built'. This was confined to respondents in the selected centres of East Bridgford and East Leake. To this could be added the smaller proportion (7.8%) who considered that 'Housing has been adequate, but we prefer a smaller village'. This serves to underline the principal reason for disapproval of past development, as criticism of the scale of development in relation to the contemporary size of the villages. In short, a few but not many households consider that the villages have grown too large. The second important factor causing mixed feelings in 10.9 per cent of the respondents was that 'although the village needed new houses, the ones built are poorly designed'. It is worth noting that this design criticism usually referred to the visual character of the properties, particularly to those on medium and large estates, where these existed in villages.

#### 12.8 Attitudes to the 'conversion' of residential property within the villages

In planning terms, as we showed in Chapter Four, the conversion or modernisation of cottages and other older property in settlements in this country is just as much an aspect of development as building new houses. In this sense it is appropriate that we should

consider the attitudes of sample households to this aspect of development. This discussion is especially significant to the development situation in smaller, non selected villages where the conversion and modernisation of existing buildings may be proportionally much greater than in the larger settlements, as shown for the example of Barton in Plates 12.7 and 12.8, and where the development restrictions on building new housing are (at least in principal) much greater than in the selected villages.

The term that we are using here to describe the modernisation of village property has a very specific meaning in planning terminology which is not the same as our use. 'Conversion' technically speaking is the change of use of an existing building or plot of land from one function to another. Consequently, in a technical sense, a village cottage that is renovated and subsequently reoccupied is not 'converted', since it does not actually change its function. Nonetheless, in popular terminology, as was shown in the pilot study of Wysall, the process of renovating older property whether it involves a change of use from a shop, a cottage, a barn, or a village school to a house, is commonly referred to as 'converting' village property. Since this seemed to be the general usage in the study villages this was the term used in the questionnaire schedule.

The attitudes of respondents in the village surveys to the conversion of property is generally one of almost whole-hearted approval, as indicated in Table 12.8. There is little difference between the two study areas. In North Norfolk exactly the same proportion of households approve of conversions (90.8%) as of new housing (Table 12.7). In South Nottinghamshire the proportion



Plate 12.7 A modernised farmhouse in Barton in Fabis

The building shows little external evidence of extensive modernisation.

The photographs illustrated here of Barton in Fabis, show how modernisation and conversion of existing properties are a particularly important feature of development, and of housing opportunities, in smaller villages.

Plate 12.8 Modernised former agricultural cottages at Barton in Fabis

As with many modernisations and conversions in the study areas, this has been accompanied by the construction of an extension to the existing dwelling.



approving of conversion of property (88.3%) is considerably higher than those who approved of new residential development (64.4%). Consequently, in this study area it would seem that conversion, as a form of housing development, is rather more acceptable than building new houses.

There are some small differences between the opinions of respondents in the different study villages, although in none of these do the distinctions amount to a major difference. There are significantly higher proportions of households in Sharrington, Stiffkey and Barton who express 'mixed feelings' about conversion of village property (15.4%, 12.5% and 15.0% respectively). Similarly, there are higher proportions of disapproving households in Sharrington and East Leake (7.7 and 7.5% respectively), although in these cases the differences are not very large and due to the influence of small cell sizes should not be considered as significant. The one village which does seem to be slightly different to the others, with the highest proportions of respondents both with mixed feelings or disapproving of conversion, is Sharrington where nearly a quarter of the population do not approve of village conversions. There is no apparent reason why Sharrington should be different. The attitude in this village is not associated with a particular social group (this in fact reflects the general pattern in both study areas, which shows that there are no significant distinctions between social class, age and length of residence groups). This may point to a unique environmental cause, but here we have the anomaly that in Sharrington very little property has been converted due to the leasing and house purchase regulations of the local landowner<sup>36</sup>. Sharrington is notable for the very poor state of repair of many of the 'estate' cottages and houses, several of which are uninhabited.

This does not point to an environmental association between the lower rate of approval for conversion and the physical morphology of the village. A possible cause of this phenomenon is simply that a handful of residents object to the occupation and subsequent conversion of 'Sharrington Hall', an impressive fifteenth century building as shown in Plate 12.9, which was formerly the 'squire's house', by a company director from Sussex who has little interest in the village. As such this situation in Sharrington may be largely related to unique local factors.

The reasons for respondents' opinions of conversions are hardly less variable than those given for their attitudes to new housing built over the previous ten years. The coding identified thirty-two separate reasons. The relative importance of the principal reasons was the same in both study areas. Conversion was seen to have 'made property more habitable', which accounted for the majority of approving households in both North Norfolk (73.8%) and South Nottinghamshire (60.6%). The other two principal reasons were substantially less important than this. 'Has generally been in character with the village' was mentioned by 8.4 per cent of the households who approved of conversion in North Norfolk and 15.7 per cent in South Nottinghamshire. 'Has been preferable to pulling down old property' was the third most important factor for North Norfolk and South Nottinghamshire, with respective proportions of 7.7 per cent and 11.4 per cent.

The small number of households expressing either mixed feelings or disapproval of conversion, means that we cannot consider the reasons for these opinions in any depth. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the most important perception was that the conversion had generally been 'out of character with the village'. This is,



Plate 12.9    Sharrington Hall

The occupation and subsequent modernisation of this impressive fifteenth century hall house (the former 'squires house, as it is still referred to by some of the village residents) in Sharrington, by a semi-retired couple from the home counties, who seem to take little part in the life of this small village, may be partly responsible for an 'anti'conversion' attitude on the part of some of the village households. The attitude is atypical of the North Norfolk respondents.

of course, a personal assessment on the part of each respondent but respondents with this opinion are in each village outnumbered by those with the opposite attitude. For example, in East Leake 11.3 per cent of all households consider that conversions are in character with the village, and only 3.8 per cent consider that they are out of character. This reflects the structure of opinion as to the 'design and siting' of new housing in the two study areas. It is worth drawing attention to one source of dissatisfaction with conversion design. This was a respondent in Wysall who was himself a consulting architect specialising in 'small scale renovation and modernisation':

"In this village they [the aesthetic quality of converted housing] are poor, not all but most anyhow. I was partly involved in one myself so I can't absolve myself from blame. Actually many villages are the same standard ... quite unremarkable ... It's the result of several factors ... costs, materials, legislation and clients themselves. Actually clients can be the worst. To be fair it's the architects themselves too, a general shortage of imagination or sometimes too much licence."

One's assessment of this opinion will depend largely on whether this respondent is seen as an admittedly involved architect with a considerable knowledge of the technical aspects, and of the local situation, or whether he is seen as a biased observer whose attitude is dictated or influenced by his professional role (as competing with other architects).

### 12.9 Future development in the villages

This section sought respondents' attitudes and reactions to a hypothetical situation in which further residential development on a considerable scale took place in the villages. Respondents

were asked: 'Do you believe it would be right to build many more new houses in this village?'. The results of this elementary analysis are shown in Table 12.9, and indicate a remarkable divergence of opinion between the two study areas.

In North Norfolk approaching two-thirds (60.3%) of households approve of future development as outlined in this hypothetical situation, whilst in South Nottinghamshire over three-quarters (76.9%) disapprove. It is also notable that opinion tends to be polarised on this topic with relatively few households in both areas responding 'Don't know' to this question.

In both study areas there are fewer households approving of 'future development' than approving of residential development over the previous ten years. This apparently paradoxical situation is far more pronounced in South Nottinghamshire where nearly a half (45.7%) of the sample 'approve' of past residential development but disapprove of the hypothesised 'future' development. The comparable proportion in North Norfolk is about a third of the sampled population (33.6%). What does emerge from the households in both study areas is a general dislike of change in the village, and this may account largely for this change of opinion. Alison has recently discussed<sup>37</sup> aspects of a natural conservatism in the 'public psychology' of Britain, which seems to be manifested in a spirit of anti-modernism and reaction to change, which he has termed the 'English cultural movement'. We may therefore interpret this large proportion of households in the sampled populations who hold conflicting opinions to the merits of past and future residential development, as an element of this broader phenomenon. Certainly there is some justification for this interpretation. Makintosh<sup>38</sup> has stated:

"In Britain part of the problem lies in the current psychology of the public and particularly of those sections of the public who set the prevailing intellectual atmosphere. It is not too much to say that there is a general distaste for change. Middle class people, despite inflation ..... have a very comfortable life so why alter or build anything. Yet it is clear that if their standards are to be shared by the rest of the community there will have to be more new houses, larger sewerage schemes ..... in short, many distasteful developments".

This is an admittedly over-simplified picture given by Makintosh and one which Allison has argued wrongly equates the 'cultural spirit' with conventional class issues, but nonetheless we can see in this explanation the root cause for the reaction of many households in the sample, and particularly in South Nottinghamshire, against future development.

Table 12.9 shows that there are important differences between the study villages in household attitudes to future development. The differences are most obvious in North Norfolk. In both Sharrington and Brinton, in complete contrast to the other three Norfolk villages, a majority of the sample households disapprove of future housing development (61.5% and 64.7% respectively). These are the two smallest settlements in this study area and it is the authors impression that this local attitude is partly related to a general fear that the construction of 'many more new houses' in the village would 'swamp' the settlement. The other village which is rather different is Kinoulton, in South Nottinghamshire. We have already seen that in this study area a majority of the population (76.9%) disapprove of 'future' development in the villages but in Kinoulton, this rises to 90.9 per cent. This is largely a reflection of the current ill-feeling in the village about the construction of a controversial new housing estate in the village. It may also be a

general reaction to the scale of development in Kinoulton which has developed considerably since the mid-'sixties, particularly after the extension of mains sewerage facilities to the settlement. The scale of growth itself has been much larger in the selected village of East Leake but here opinion against further housing is less hardened (with 77.4% disapproving) partly because at least some residents associate new housing with improved community services, a factor which was of some importance in the reasons for 'approval' given by the East Leake households.

The difference between the study villages should be interpreted within the context that in North Norfolk both the age and length of residence of a householder may influence their opinion, whilst social class is an important factor in both study areas. In North Norfolk analysis suggests that the likelihood of 'disapproval' tends to increase with age, and nearly a half of the 'over sixty-five' age group (44.9%) disapprove of future development. The disapproval rate is similarly higher in the newcomer households in the North Norfolk villages. Opinion of future development is evenly split in this group, with 49.1 per cent approving and the same proportion disapproving. However, the most significant potential influence on residents' attitude is social class. In both study areas there is a tendency for middle class households to have higher disapproval rates than working class households, although there is still a considerable absolute difference between the two study areas. Consequently, in North Norfolk 50.7 per cent of the middle class households disapprove compared to only 22.6 per cent of the working class. The respective figures in South Nottinghamshire are 83.4 per cent and 62.8 per cent.

As with the previous two sections of this chapter, the reasons for people's opinions are quite varied. In both study areas the principal reason for those households which approved of future housing development in the villages, was 'because people must have somewhere to live'. This accounted for nearly a half (45.6%) of this group of respondents in North Norfolk, although considerably less in South Nottinghamshire (20.4%). This reason may be associated with the relatively high proportion of households approving of past residential development because 'it supplied homes for people to live in'. It is clear that the need for housing is an important factor in influencing peoples attitude to development in the villages, although supplementary analysis suggests that this is rather more significant for working class households than for their middle class counterparts in the survey <sup>39</sup>.

There is also a limited concern in both study areas with the implications of possible housing construction on the development of land within the villages. Fourteen per cent of the South Nottinghamshire 'approving' respondents said they would approve of future development 'if there is available land within the village'. A smaller proportion (7.6%) gave this factor in North Norfolk, although this was the third most important reason for approving future development in both of the study areas. The reasons which were the second principal factors in the two study areas, reflect the rather different situations in these areas. In North Norfolk there was some concern over employment with 8.8 per cent of the 'approving' households conditionally agreeing to future housing development 'if there are jobs available'. In South Nottinghamshire the concern was over the scale of development so that 14.2 per cent of the minority of respondents that approved of future

development gave as their 'reason' the conditional provision of 'if too many houses are not built'.

One other reason is of special significance. In North Norfolk 7.6 per cent of the 'approving' households gave as their reason the anticipation that new housing might bring in more young families. This reflects limited concern in this study area over trends in the age distribution of villages. It is interesting that this reason was encountered in all of the Norfolk study villages with the notable exception of the selected centre, Fakenham. This reason was not given in any of the South Nottinghamshire study settlements.

We noted earlier that there seemed to be a general dislike of change in the study villages. This is reflected in the reasons that households gave for disapproving of future development. Generally, specific factors such as 'there are no jobs available in the village/area' or 'there is no land left in the village and it would be a shame to build on the fields' were relatively unimportant, whilst factors reflecting a dislike or even fear of change were much more important. In South Nottinghamshire an exception to this were the 10.5 per cent of the 'disapproving' households who commented that future development 'would overburden the village facilities'. This is a very specific and valid reasons for holding reservations about future development, although it is implicit in this attitude that present facilities are unlikely to improve in the near future. Since the majority of respondents who gave this reason lived in the selected village of East Leake this is less likely to be a valid assumption. It is interesting to note, however, that it is the South Nottinghamshire study village with

the most extensive service provision in which the largest proportion of respondents disapprove of future development because of a fear that the existing facilities will be overburdened <sup>40</sup>.

The principal factors for disapproving of future development in the villages were different for the two study areas. 'Will cause the village to lose its character' was mentioned by 19.0 per cent of the North Norfolk households, although the significance of this factor is largely a statistical distortion due to its great importance in the village of Brinton, where two thirds of the disapproving households gave this reason. In South Nottinghamshire the principal factor was a simple reaction against physical change in the village with nearly a third of the disapproving respondents saying that the village 'must not grow because it is the right size now' (31.2%). This same reason accounted for a comparative proportion of 11.5 per cent in North Norfolk (the third principal factor).

The second most important reason for disapproving of future housing development was the same for both areas. 'A few more houses would be acceptable, but many more would change/alter/spoil the village', account for 17.3 per cent of this group of households in North Norfolk and 12.6 per cent in South Nottinghamshire. In the latter study area 'would cause the village to lose its character' (8.6%), and 'would cause the village to lose its identity' (8.1%) were also quite important.

Some of the major inter-village differences have already been noted, but there are others which are also worth commenting on. Only five households in Norfolk (6.3%) considered that future development

would 'encourage the provision of better facilities', but three of these were located in the selected centre of Fakenham. This reinforces the comment made earlier in relation to residents in East Leake, that it is the households in the selected villages which seem to be most conscious of service provision as a consideration in the development process.

In South Nottinghamshire an interesting difference between the villages is apparent when we consider the distribution of respondents who approved of future development with the provision of 'if the housing is of suitable value". This reason accounted for only four of the households (8.2%), but three of these were from the Wysall sample, and these were the only households in this village which did favour future development. This seems to be related to the high degree of social polarisation in this village (whose situation was discussed in Chapter Nine) since all of these households made it clear that they would like to see a few 'high value or luxury' new houses in the village.

In North Norfolk two inter-village differences associated with respondents objecting to future development are worth special comment. There were four households in the sample (3.2% of the disapproving households) which gave as their reason 'there are not enough jobs available'. All of these were located in Fakenham, which suggests that employment is an issue of some significance to some of the residents. This is probably a simple reflection of the concern that was caused in this settlement when it was rumoured that one of the new employers on the industrial estate, might leave Fakenham. It underlines the fact that the expanded employment opportunities of such selected centres are often built on an unstable base.

The second inter-village distinction in North Norfolk was related to the four households who objected to future development because: 'development is unnecessary since many houses in the village are empty'. One of these respondents lived in Fakenham, but the others all lived in Sharrington. This concentration on Sharrington is hardly surprising since, as we have already noted, several of the cottages in the village had not been leased by the owner of the local estate due to his policy of retaining housing for employees of the estate and their families. It is a little surprising, however, that more households in Fakenham did not pick up this factor since here, too, there were numbers of unoccupied houses, many of which were properties on newly built estates, which had not attracted buyers.

In South Nottinghamshire only a small proportion of households gave reasons to explain their objections to future housing that were associated with what they perceived as the poor record of previous development, in terms of planning or design. Such opinions accounted for only 2.0 per cent of 'disapproving' households although this small proportion may be related to the small number of households which had objected to 'past development' on the basis of poor design or planning. These factors of precedent were concentrated in only three of the seven villages, East Leake, and Kinoulton where a few households objected to the quality of previous estates development, and also Thoroton where the construction of a small 'neo-Georgian' luxury estate was quite blatantly unsympathetic to the visual character of this small village.

Another factor in South Nottinghamshire which shows an important inter-village distinction is the objection that development

'would cause the village to lose its identity'. Twelve of the fourteen households that mentioned this reason were located in East Leake and this seems to reflect a genuine concern in this village that the rapid rate of growth, if continued, might create, in effect, an amorphous collection of estates with no common identity. There was no parallel feeling in the other large selected village in the sample, Fakenham, which may be related to the much slower rate of recent development in this centre.

This examination of respondents' opinions is, necessarily, mechanistic, so it is fitting to conclude with comments from two respondents, one an elderly spinster living with her sister in an old people's bungalow in Fakenham, and the other a retired self-employed builder in the Nottinghamshire selected centre, East Leake. The Fakenham spinster said:

"Yes, I think it would be right ... We think Fakenham is a friendly place. Of course, being Norfolk folk they sometimes keep themselves to themselves to start off with. But it is a nice place and there's the shops too, and I think the young families like it here .... There's room for more houses so I think other people should come if they want to".

In contrast, the East Leake respondent had this to say about the possible future development of the village:

"It would be a disaster to build more houses here ... well anywhere in the village really. Look at all the building that has gone on ... I don't say that's bad but ... the village is a nice place so why do they want to change it. I think it's a good size now".

These were not comments selected at random but in their own way each comment is representative of the attitudes of future develop-

ment in the two areas. The Fakenham spinster approving of more housing, with considerations given to the vitality of the village and to the provision of housing for new families. In the pressure area the attitude of the East Leake resident seems to be largely determined by the rapid development of this selected village in the previous years and by the associated fear that further development will somehow change the settlement, and therefore his social environment, into something that is less pleasant than he currently perceives it to be. This resident's fears may well have some foundation but given the attitudes of most households in the South Nottinghamshire study area to previous development in the villages, one is left wondering that perhaps in ten years time even if there has been further development in East Leake, then this resident will still be approving of the previous development and objecting to any new housing. Such projections, however, should not blind us to the concern of residents in the pressure villages about further development.

#### 12.10 Possible migration induced by future development in the study villages

One further question was included in the interview schedule relating to attitudes to development in the villages. Following the question on their reasons for opinions to future development, respondents were asked: 'Would you move to another village or town if more houses were built here". This was included in the questionnaire more as a test of potential household reaction to possible development and the disturbing affect that this might have on the community, than as an indicator of latent population movements. In addition, we can determine from the response pattern something of the strength of feeling about future housing develop-

ment, although we should bear in mind here that some households are more able to move away from the village at will, than others. In this context there is an important difference between the owner-occupied sector and local authority tenants, the latter group being rather more tied to their accommodation due to the structure of tenancy arrangements and to local authority waiting lists.

Table 12.10 shows that even in South Nottinghamshire, where the majority of households objected to possible future development, only a small proportion of households said that such development would make them move elsewhere to live. There is some difference between the two study areas, as might be expected since only about a third (37.4%) of the North Norfolk residents disapproved of future development and might therefore have this motive for leaving the village compared to double this proportion (76.9%) in South Nottinghamshire. In fact, in the North Norfolk sample only one resident, living in Fakenham, said that he would move because of future development, and another (in Brinton) said he could not anticipate his reaction (and therefore was classified as 'Don't know'). Otherwise all of the respondents thought that future development of their villages would not cause them to leave.

In contrast in the South Nottinghamshire study villages a small proportion in each settlement considered that development would make them move elsewhere. With the exception of Wysall, there was little difference in the relative size of this proportion between the study villages. In the two selected settlements the proportion was slightly smaller (East Leake, 7.5% and East Bridgford, 3.0%), but this was associated with local authority estates in these villages, in which (as we earlier noted) residents perceive that freedom to

move is more restricted<sup>41</sup>. The major exception is the village of Wysall, where thirty per cent of the sample considered that future development would indeed make them leave the village. Wysall is classified as a 'conservation village' by the planning authority and, as we have noted in Chapter Nine, this has been associated with a high degree of middle class social polarisation in the community. One of the primary causes of this process is the measure of protection that this planning status affords to the market value of property in the village. Considerable residential development in the village might reduce this protection of houses values, but the critical factor indicated by the survey was that several households automatically assumed that development would destroy this protection and cause a considerable reduction in their house values. It seems that the situation in Wysall is a reflection of the almost paranoid concern of a few of the residents with house values and the express intention of some of these to leave the village, in the event of substantial development, before their house values 'plummet' downwards.

### 12.11 Summary

This chapter is concerned with measuring and examining different aspects of social interaction in the study villages and the attitudes to change and growth in these settlements.

As an introduction to the subject area and as an essential exercise in definition, the term 'community' is examined. Three salient features of the work of previous researchers in the definition of local social systems are suggested as the basis for a common interpretation of the meaning of 'community'. In the process of

examining the definition we look at something of the spatial structure of communities in the light of experience of the study villages. This suggests that the nature of the village community in England has changed (and is still changing) considerably, but that it is generally incorrect to interpret this as social decay, which is a value judgement that some writers have applied to this process (although it is true that the social 'raison d'etre' of many very small rural settlements, particularly in the remoter rural areas, is indeed threatened by this change). In terms of the three point definition, this research is able to conclude that in only one of the twelve study villages (Thoroton) can we say that the local community previously based on the village itself has now decayed and this village is not seen as a social entity.

We are able to establish the complexity of studies of the English rural community by also looking at the phenomenon of 'communities within communities' and the 'regional community'. This research suggests that whilst inter-village social relationships are often very important features of rural social systems, the term 'community' (in the context of the previous definition) cannot properly be applied to them.

The study goes on to examine perceptions of 'friendliness' in the individual study villages, and within this context to discuss the methodological basis of this and subsequent discussions based on the questionnaire analysis. The structure of responses is very similar in both study areas although there are important differences between the villages. In Brinton and Thoroton, the smallest villages in the sample, a slightly larger proportion of respondents consider their village to be friendly, but this does not

reflect a general inverse association between perceptions of friendliness and village size. In fact, the least 'friendly' village (Normanton) is one of the smaller study villages, although even here only about a third of the population think of the settlement as 'not very friendly' and none as 'unfriendly'.

Attitudes to the significance of conflict and tension to rural communities vary amongst social scientists rather more than do the perceptions of its existence within the study villages. Opinions range from Popplestone's suggestion that conflict is an important agent in the maintenance of village communities and should be encouraged by planners concentrating housing on certain villages to promote conflict between newcomer and established resident groups, to Hall's belief that social conflict is associated with social division in the village, which may tend to break down the identity of the community. Our study establishes that most households do not see signs of conflict or tension in their villages, although in five villages the proportion which does detect signs of conflict, rises to about forty per cent and in one of these, again the village of Normanton, this represents half of the village sample. This study indicates that social conflict is a complex subject and one which is often related to specific local issues. Furthermore, previous attempts to explain the subject in terms of conflict between social class groups or length of residence groups, are too simplistic to account for many conflict situations. Finally, there is no suggestion that conflict is associated with the scale of new housing development in the study villages.

Social integration in the study settlements is measured in two ways. Firstly, by self-assessed integration which found that the

great majority of village households had fitted in to the village 'as much as they wanted to', with little difference between the villages. Secondly, by assessing respondent's perceptions of how newcomers had integrated with the village. The results show an interesting contrast between the selected centres of East Bridgford, East Leake and Fakenham, and the other villages, with proportionately few respondents in the three selected centres who consider that newcomers have fitted in the village 'inadequately', whilst in the other villages the proportion rises up to thirty per cent. There is, however, no inverse association between settlement size and how well newcomers are seen to have fitted in the villages. The situation in the three selected villages is related to the density of voluntary associations, social facilities and the scale and nature of new housing in these settlements.

Most household heads in the sample have fewer than a half of their friends living in the village. This is apparent for both male and female heads of household. There are important variations between the study villages and this study suggests that an important factor in explaining why this proportion is particularly low in some villages, is the aspect of shape in the physical morphology of the settlements. This is interpreted in terms of Ambrose's concept of 'social action space'. If this is indeed a factor of considerable importance in the social development of rural communities, it is one of which the local planning authorities are apparently unaware. This study indicates that slightly higher proportions of the households in the larger selected centres have over half of their friends in the village itself. This is interpreted in terms of the factors mentioned in the context of newcomer integration.

The attitudes to change and growth in the study villages show some very interesting features. Opinions relating to development that has occurred in the last ten years are generally favourable, although approval is more whole-hearted in Norfolk, whilst in South Nottinghamshire significantly higher proportions of households have mixed feelings (particularly in the selected villages). The reasons for these opinions are various but generally housing is a critical factor in households who approve of past development, and the design and siting of development in those that disapprove (although there are still proportionally more households who specifically approve of design and siting than those that object).

Attitudes to the conversion of older property in the study villages are reflected by almost whole-hearted approval in both of the study areas, although there are some differences between the villages themselves.

Attitudes to 'future' developments show great differences between the two study areas. In Norfolk nearly two-thirds of the sample households approve, with housing again being an important issue, whilst in South Nottinghamshire about three-quarters disapprove. There are major differences in the study villages, with opinion in Brinton and Sharrington the two smallest Norfolk study settlements being more in line with that of the other study area. Village differences may be partly accounted for by the different social composition of village populations, since there are significant differences between the opinions of different social class groups. In South Nottinghamshire there is some association between attitude and the scale of development in the village in the previous ten years, but this is not a positive correlation. The reasons for opinions

are again varied but in South Nottinghamshire a general reaction to, or fear of changes, is particularly important. It is interesting to note that whilst opinion against future development is strong in South Nottinghamshire this is not associated with a general feeling that further development would cause respondents to leave their villages. In fact, this reaction was apparent in only about one in ten households in South Nottinghamshire and is insignificant in North Norfolk. The exception to this rule was the village of Wysall where the much higher proportion was related to a local neurosis, in some households, about house values, which seems to be associated with the degree of social polarisation in this settlement.

FOOTNOTES

1. I. Martin, 'Rural communities' in G. E. Cherry (ed.) *Rural Planning Problems* (1976), p. 72.
2. R. Pahl, *Whose city?* (1970).
3. I. Martin, op cit (footnote 1), p. 49.
4. G.A. Hillery, 'Definitions of community : Areas of agreement' *Rural Sociology*, 20 (1955), pp. 112 - 123.
5. G.A. Hillery, op cit (footnote 4).
6. C. Bell and H. Newby, *Community studies* (1971).
7. R. Konig, *The community* (1968), p. 25.
8. R. Konig, op cit (footnote 7), p. 48.
9. R.E. Pahl, 'Class and community in English commuter villages' *Sociologia Ruralis* 4 (1965) pp. 5 - 23.
10. E. Martin, 'What is happening to the village' *New Society* 4 (1964) pp. 8 - 10.
11. R.E. Pahl, *Urbs in rure : The metropolitan fringe in Hertfordshire*. London School of Economics and Political Science Geographical Papers No. 2. (1964).

12. H. Morris, *The village college : Being a memorandum on the provision of educational and social facilities for the countryside, with special reference to Cambridgeshire.* (1924).
13. H. Peake, 'The regrouping of the rural population' *Town Planning Review* 7 (1916-1918), pp 423 - 450.
14. M. MacGregor, 'The rural culture', *New Society* 19, 9th March (1972), pp. 486 - 489.
15. W.M. Williams, *The sociology of an English village : Gosforth* (1956).
- see also:
- W.M. Williams, *A West country village : Ashworthy* (1963).
16. J. Littlejohn, *The sociology of a Cheviot parish* (1963).
17. C. Harris, *Hennage : A social system in miniature* (1973).
18. L. Lee, *Cider with Rosie* (1962).
19. P. Ambrose, *The quiet revolution: social change in a Sussex village, 1871-1971* (1974).
20. R. Boston, 'On a village's way of death' *The Guardian*, June 14th, 1975, p. 9.
21. We cannot compare the two civil parishes absolutely because Brinton is combined with the adjacent parish of Sharrington to form a single enumeration district. The survey of Brinton, however, was

able to estimate a resident population (in 1975) of about 84 people. This compares to the 1971 census figure of 90 in Thoroton.

22. R.E. Pahl, op cit (footnote 2).

23. A. Thorburn, 'Expansion of small settlements : Correspondence' *Town and Country Planning* 35 (1967) p. 201.

24. This assessment is supported by the other associations between settlement size and village friendliness. For example, Sharrington, the third smallest of the study villages, which has a similar proportion of households perceiving the village as 'very friendly' (30.8%), as Fakenham (35.4%), which is the second largest study village.

25. R.E. Pahl, 'The social objectives of village planning' *Official Architecture and Planning*. August (1966).

26. G. Popplestone, 'The expansion of small settlements' *Town and Country Planning* 35 (1967), pp. 121 - 122.

see also,

G. Popplestone, 'Conflict and mediating roles in expanding settlements' *Sociological Review* 15 (1967), pp. 339 - 355.

27. P. Ambrose, op cit (footnote 19) pp. 147 - 150.

28. G. Popplestone, op cit (footnote 26).

29. C. Hall, 'Village growth and strife' *The Guardian*, March 1st (1976).

30. G.J. Lewis, 'Commuting and the village in Mid-Wales' *Geography* (1967), pp. 294 - 304.

31. P. Ambrose, op cit (footnote 19), pp. 181 - 183.

32. P. Ambrose, op cit (footnote 19), pp. 183 - 185.

33. HMSO, *Land utilisation in rural areas*. Report of the committee (1943). Cmnd. 6378.

34. R.H. Best and J.T. Coppock, *The changing use of land in Britain* (1962).

35. L. Brett, *Landscape in distress* (1965).

36. Sharrington is a quasi-estate village as far as the housing structure is concerned. The housing policy of the estate might be described as traditional in that housing in the village is retained for estate workers and their immediate families. This policy has remained, as yet, unchanged despite falling demand for labour on the estate and therefore fewer workers to house. Consequently, a large number of cottages in the village are unoccupied.

37. L. Allison, 'The English cultural movement' *New Society* (1978), pp. 358 - 360.

38. J. Mackintosh, quoted in L. Allison, op cit (footnote 37), p. 358.

39. In the attitudes to past housing the North Norfolk respondents show a

significant difference between the importance of this housing factor in working class and middle class households. Over a half (51.6%) of all the working class households mention this reason, compared to less than a third (31.9%) of the middle classes. The proportions in South Nottinghamshire are 34.6 per cent and 20.1 per cent respectively. A similar class difference can be detected in the response to the housing factor mentioned by respondents in respect of their attitudes to 'future' housing in the study villages.

40. This concern in East Leake may partly be associated with the fact that good existing facilities create expectations of the maintenance of a standard of provision that might be threatened by further housing developments. This expectation did not seem to be so apparent in other less well serviced settlements. Some respondents had genuine reason for concern about facilities being overcrowded. This is most clear, apparently, for educational facilities. Whilst there is spare capacity in the primary sector (due largely to recent extensions and the construction of a new school unit) it is quite clear that the secondary school is already functioning at over-capacity.

41. In South Nottinghamshire an indication of the influence of this belief is found in the social class contrasts in the migration rates, with 2.8 per cent of the working class households saying they would leave the village if more new housing was built, compared to 14.8 per cent of the middle class households. This latter proportion was even higher in the newcomer middle class households (24.7%).

Table 12.1 Respondents perceptions of the friendliness of the study villages

	Respondents' perception (%)						Total (%)
	Over friendly	Very friendly	Quite friendly	Not very friendly	Unfriendly	Don't know	
Brinton	-	64.7	35.3	-	-	-	100.0
Fakenham	-	35.4	55.4	9.2	-	-	100.0
Great Ryburgh	-	55.0	40.0	5.0	-	-	100.0
Sharrington	-	30.8	53.8	7.7	7.7	-	100.0
Stiffkey	-	25.0	56.2	12.5	-	6.2	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	-	40.5	50.4	7.6	0.8	0.8	100.0
Barton in Fabis	-	35.0	60.0	5.0	-	-	100.0
East Bridgford	-	27.3	57.6	15.2	-	-	100.0
East Leake	0.9	27.4	64.2	7.5	-	-	100.0
Kinoulton	-	18.2	72.7	4.5	-	4.5	100.0
Normanton on Soar	-	15.0	50.0	30.0	-	5.0	100.0
Thoroton	-	53.8	42.3	3.8	-	-	100.0
Wysall	-	45.0	45.0	10.0	-	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	0.4	30.8	58.7	9.3	-	0.8	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.2 Social conflict and tension within the study villages

	Signs of tension or conflict in villages (%)				
	Clear signs	Some signs	No signs	Don't know	Total
Brinton	-	-	94.1	5.9	100.0
Fakenham	-	13.8	83.1	3.1	100.0
Great Ryburgh	-	20.0	80.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	-	38.5	46.2	15.4	100.0
Stiffkey	-	37.5	50.0	12.5	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	-	18.3	76.3	5.3	100.0
Barton in Fabis	-	25.0	70.0	5.0	100.0
East Bridgford	-	39.4	57.6	3.0	100.0
East Leake	2.8	18.9	77.4	0.9	100.0
Kinoulton	-	22.7	77.3	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	5.0	45.0	50.0	-	100.0
Thoroton	3.8	-	96.2	-	100.0
Wysall	-	40.0	55.0	5.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	2.0	24.3	72.1	1.6	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.3 Satisfying the households' objectives<sup>1</sup> for 'fitting in' with the village

Perception of integration in the village (%)						
	As much as wanted to	Not as much as wanted to	Much less than wanted to	Don't know	Newcomer <sup>2</sup>	Total
Brinton	94.1	-	-	-	5.9	100.0
Fakenham	96.9	1.5	-	1.5	-	100.0
Great Ryburgh	95.0	-	-	5.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	92.3	7.7	-	-	-	100.0
Stiffkey	81.2	18.7	-	-	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	93.9	3.8	-	1.5	0.8	100.0
Barton in Fabis	90.0	5.0	-	-	5.0	100.0
East Bridgford	97.0	3.0	-	-	-	100.0
East Leake	91.5	3.8	0.9	3.8	-	100.0
Kinoulton	95.5	-	-	-	4.5	100.0
Normanton on Soar	85.0	5.0	5.0	-	5.0	100.0
Thoroton	80.8	15.4	-	-	3.8	100.0
Wysall	95.0	-	5.0	-	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	91.1	4.5	1.2	1.6	1.6	100.0

1. For the purposes of this survey the households' objectives were taken to be those of the household head who was the respondent. This implies that opinion in the household was unified, which it need not have been, but for the purposes of this elementary analysis it was considered that any error caused by this assumption was negligible.

2. Several 'newcomers' to the villages replied that they had not been living in the village long enough to assess the situation.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.4    The social integration of newcomer households in the study villages

	Perception of newcomers' integration (%)				
	Adequately	Inadequately	Don't know	Uncoded response	Total
Brinton	64.7	5.9	17.6	11.8	100.0
Fakenham	70.8	-	24.6	4.6	100.0
Great Ryburgh	80.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	100.0
Sharrington	38.5	7.7	38.5	15.4	100.0
Stiffkey	37.5	31.3	31.3	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	64.1	6.1	23.7	6.1	100.0
Barton in Fabis	55.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	100.0
East Bridgford	72.7	-	9.1	18.2	100.0
East Leake	80.2	2.8	11.3	5.7	100.0
Kinoulton	77.3	4.5	13.6	4.5	100.0
Normanton on Soar	75.0	20.0	5.0	-	100.0
Thoroton	69.2	15.4	3.8	11.5	100.0
Wysall <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	78.3	13.2	4.4	4.0	100.0

1. There is no data for the village of Wysall since this question in the interview schedule was included after the pilot survey in this study village (see text for a detailed explanation ).

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.5 Friends in the village: Male heads of household

Proportion of personal friends that are resident within the 'home' village (%)						
	None	Less than 25%	25-49%	50-74%	75% and over	Total
Brinton	6.7	66.7	6.7	6.7	13.4	100.0
Fakenham	9.6	38.5	13.5	7.7	30.8	100.0
Great Ryburgh	6.7	26.7	20.0	6.7	40.0	100.0
Sharrington	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	-	100.0
Stiffkey	6.2	43.7	6.2	25.0	18.7	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	9.2	41.3	13.8	11.0	24.8	100.0
Barton in Fabis	26.7	53.4	-	6.7	13.4	100.0
East Bridgford	11.1	33.3	22.2	18.5	14.8	100.0
East Leake	14.7	38.0	13.7	19.8	13.7	100.0
Kinoulton	19.0	52.4	23.8	4.8	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	6.3	68.9	18.8	6.3	-	100.0
Thoroton	20.8	29.2	25.0	16.6	8.3	100.0
Wysall	10.5	42.1	15.8	-	31.6	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	15.2	46.0	16.5	9.8	12.5	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.6 Friends in the village: Female heads of household

	Proportion of personal friends that are resident within the 'home' village (%)					Total
	None	Less than 25%	25-49%	50-74%	75% and over	
Brinton	6.7	86.7	-	-	6.7	100.0
Fakenham	6.3	38.1	14.3	14.3	27.0	100.0
Great Ryburgh	5.6	33.3	27.8	5.6	27.8	100.0
Sharrington	15.4	38.5	30.8	15.4	-	100.0
Stiffkey	14.3	57.2	-	-	28.6	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	8.1	45.5	14.6	9.8	22.0	100.0
Barton in Fabis	10.0	55.0	10.0	5.0	20.0	100.0
East Bridgford	9.4	31.3	25.0	15.6	18.8	100.0
East Leake	11.2	31.8	24.5	21.2	11.2	100.0
Kinoulton	19.0	61.9	9.5	-	9.5	100.0
Normanton on Soar	-	63.2	10.5	26.3	-	100.0
Thoroton	20.8	29.2	25.0	16.7	8.3	100.0
Wysall	10.0	45.0	15.0	-	30.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	11.3	42.9	19.6	10.8	15.4	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.7 Attitudes to recent<sup>1</sup> residential development within the study villages

	Household response as % of all households				
	Generally approve	Mixed feelings	Generally disapprove	Don't know	Total
Brinton	94.1	-	-	5.9	100.0
Fakenham	87.7	6.2	4.6	1.5	100.0
Great Ryburgh	95.0	-	5.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	92.3	-	7.7	-	100.0
Stiffkey	93.8	6.2	-	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	90.8	3.8	3.8	1.5	100.0
Barton in Fabis	70.0	10.0	20.0	-	100.0
East Bridgford	63.6	27.3	6.1	3.0	100.0
East Leake	60.4	24.5	9.4	5.7	100.0
Kinoulton	59.1	9.1	18.2	13.6	100.0
Normanton on Soar	80.0	15.0	5.0	-	100.0
Thoroton	69.2	15.4	7.7	7.7	100.0
Wysall	65.0	25.0	10.0	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	64.4	20.6	10.1	4.9	100.0

1. Recent residential development was defined as that having taken place in the last ten years (i.e. from 1964/5 in both areas).

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.8 Attitudes to the 'conversion'<sup>1</sup> of older property in the study villages

	Household response as a % of total				
	Generally approve	Mixed feelings	Generally disapprove	Don't know	Total
Brinton	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Fakenham	92.3	-	6.2	1.5	100.0
Great Ryburgh	90.0	5.0	5.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	76.9	15.4	7.7	-	100.0
Stiffkey	87.5	12.5	-	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	90.8	3.8	4.6	0.8	100.0
Barton in Fabis	80.0	15.0	-	5.0	100.0
East Bridgford	90.9	3.0	3.0	3.0	100.0
East Leake	80.2	3.8	7.5	8.5	100.0
Kinoulton	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Thoroton	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Wysall	95.0	-	-	5.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	88.3	3.2	4.4	4.0	100.0

1. The use of the term is fully defined in the text.

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.9 Attitudes to the construction of more<sup>1</sup> new housing within the village

	Household response as % of all households			
	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know	Total
Brinton	29.4	64.7	5.9	100.0
Fakenham	64.7	30.8	4.5	100.0
Great Ryburgh	70.0	30.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	30.8	61.5	7.7	100.0
Stiffkey	75.0	25.0	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	60.3	37.4	2.3	100.0
Barton in Fabis	20.0	75.0	5.0	100.0
East Bridgford	27.3	66.7	6.1	100.0
East Leake	19.8	77.4	2.8	100.0
Kinoulton	9.1	90.9	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	20.0	80.0	-	100.0
Thoroton	26.9	73.1	-	100.0
Wysall	15.0	80.0	5.0	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	20.2	76.9	2.8	100.0

1. The interview schedule established this as a substantial amount of new residential development: "Do you believe it would be right to build many more new houses in the village?"

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

Table 12.10 Residential mobility and future residential development

	Perceived migration response to substantial development in the village (%)			
	Will move due to...	Will not move due to .....	Don't know	Total
Brinton	-	94.1	5.9	100.0
Fakenham	1.5	98.5	-	100.0
Great Ryburgh	-	100.0	-	100.0
Sharrington	-	100.0	-	100.0
Stiffkey	-	100.0	-	100.0
NORTH NORFOLK	0.8	98.5	0.8	100.0
Barton in Fabis	15.0	80.0	5.0	100.0
East Bridgford	3.0	97.0	-	100.0
East Leake	7.5	92.5	-	100.0
Kinoutlon	13.6	86.4	-	100.0
Normanton on Soar	15.0	80.0	5.0	100.0
Thoroton	11.5	88.5	-	100.0
Wysall	30.0	70.0	-	100.0
SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	10.9	88.3	0.8	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey, 1974/5

CHAPTER THIRTEENCONCLUSIONS: AN ASSESSMENT OF SELECTED  
VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES13.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter is concerned with a number of tasks. Initially we present a simple summary of what the research findings have established. This is particularly important when we consider the length of the previous discussions, particularly those in Chapters Eight to Twelve. Consequently, each chapter presents an appropriate summary at the end of the discussion, but it is valuable to present a synthesis of the main findings here.

During the course of the discussion in the previous chapter, the need for more research on particular topics is apparent. These are summarised in this chapter.

Most of this chapter, however, is concerned with an over-view of the significant findings of this research study. This is rather different from the synthesis referred to above because here we shall be concerned largely with a selective development of some of the research findings which are seen to be of particular importance to an assessment of selected village development policies. This discussion will be presented in three parts:

- (a) The history of rural settlement planning: focussing in particular on the concept of selected village development

and on alternative approaches to village planning.

(b) The planning mechanism: Reviewing the principal findings of the discussions in Chapter Four, Five and Seven, associated with the research experience in the study areas. These are summarised by a number of specific recommendations.

(c) The impact of selected village development policies in the study areas: This is considered in seven key subjects;

- (i) Demography
- (ii) Social structure
- (iii) Employment
- (iv) Rural facilities
- (v) Rural communities
- (vi) Personal mobility
- (vii) Attitudes to development

Finally the discussion in this chapter will be concluded with a summary assessment of the utility of selected village development policies.

### 13.2 A summary of the principal research findings

There are historical precedents for the planning of rural settlement which can be traced back to the middle ages, but modern planning is rather different, principally in terms of scale, since all settlements in the country are now subject to planning controls. In addition the modern planning process is associated with regulation of development by public bodies, which is essentially a 'negative' process. This contrasts to the historical precedents

whose character owes more to positive planning (for example, the design and creation of wholly new villages) and which was carried out largely by individuals, or more occasionally by groups of people (for example, monastic cells in the medieval period). Modern Town and Country Planning owes its origins essentially to nineteenth century urban orientated legislation and to subsequent parliamentary developments which are considered in some detail in Chapter Two. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 is of particular importance, since this can be seen to mark a watershed in the development of legislative powers to plan rural settlement. Legislation subsequent to this can be seen largely as refinements of the principles established by the 1947 Act.

Compulsory planning in rural settlement since 1947 has come to be dominated by the concept of selected village development. This concept originates from the ideas of the educational philosopher Henry Morris, and it was first applied in an elementary form by Davidge in the *Cambridgeshire Regional Planning Report* of 1934. The contemporary application of selected village development offers, in principle, a comprehensive solution to the planning problems of the English village. This is considered in more detail in Chapter Three. It is likely that the almost universal application of the concept in the English counties owes much to the simple fact that selected village development offers a convenient principle through which local government can economically locate new services and utilities (and reorganise existing services) on a few selected centres. We also examine two alternative approaches to rural settlement planning, the development of new villages, and the even spread of residential development associated with principles of lateral servicing. This study suggests that neither of these is a practical alternative to

selected village development, a point which is expanded later in this concluding chapter.

In Chapter Four we examine the planning process and identify four administrative levels in the planning hierarchy: state; region; county; and district. Development control decisions are now primarily delegated to district authorities, whilst both county and district have responsibility for formulating plans and policies. This research suggests that more research is needed to assess the significance of regional economic planning to rural settlements, and that consideration be given to the need for a new planning unit at sub-regional level, with comprehensive planning powers for rural areas wider than just physical planning. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 established a complex plan preparation system but this is fundamentally related to the urban and strategic context and there is no obvious slot in which the preparation and review of village plans can be encouraged. This analysis also shows that the recent introduction of public participation in the planning process through a formal requirement for plans to have a 'public airing' before they are submitted to the Secretary of State, does not seem to have overcome problems (which may be inevitable) of public apathy.

The planning of English rural settlement through selected village development policies, represents a hierarchical system based on selected villages functioning as centres of rural provision intermediate between smaller villages and towns. The spatial perspective of this principle owes much to central place theory. This is examined in Chapter Five. In the two case study areas of South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk there are features in the pattern of use of selected services which conflict with the principle of hier-

archical provision. We have referred to this as lateral servicing, and this is most evident in the use of recreational facilities between neighbouring villages, although even here it is of limited importance. The existence of this phenomenon is not seen as compromising the philosophical basis of rural settlement planning policies, but there is a need for this to be appropriately acknowledged in such policies.

Chapter Six discusses the case study methodology as used in this research. A particular problem was encountered in the selection of villages for more detailed study. It was decided to look at a representative settlement from each of the official settlement planning categories for both study areas. The use of a number of quantitative techniques to select the study villages was examined but found to be inappropriate to this study. Due to limitations in the availability of data that might be used to assess the most representative settlement of each category, it was decided to use a fundamentally subjective method of selection.

In most of the English counties the principle of selected village development is implemented through development control policies which are interpreted through settlement classification schemes. The classification schemes established by local planning authorities are examined in Chapter Seven by reference to five special case studies: Huntingdonshire (now a part of Cambridgeshire); Isle of Wight; Norfolk; Nottinghamshire; and West Sussex. Whilst the principles of settlement classification are seen to remain broadly similar in these counties, the application of the schemes through individual categorisation schemes brings about considerable differences in the spatial pattern of village selection. In the process of

categorisation of settlements, four factors are seen as of over-riding importance: provision of educational facilities (specifically at primary or first school level); provision of water-borne sewerage; land availability; and freedom of potential building land from physical constraints to development. Social and amenity factors are of relatively little importance.

The examination in Chapter Seven indicates that there are considerable differences between counties in the density and distribution of selected villages. This is seen to be largely a reflection of varying geographical circumstances in the five study counties but it is also a reflection of the lack of an overall locational strategy in the classification scheme. This can be seen to limit the attainment of the objectives of selected village development by institutionalising areas of facility deprivation and limited development opportunities.

The examination of population distribution and trends in Chapter Eight, shows there to be a greater degree of concentration of the rural population in South Nottinghamshire than in North Norfolk. This has consequences for social provision in the two areas, so we can establish that population distribution tends to reinforce the different levels of social provision in the study areas created by differential access to urban services. The population trends in both areas are relatively complex and in North Norfolk, in particular, the distorting influence of the movements of military and related personnel in and out of the study area, make it difficult to establish the underlying trend. The general situation can be simply shown by population change in the study areas between 1901 and 1971. North Norfolk has declined from 22,056 population at

the beginning of the century, to 19,800 in 1971, in contrast to a near three-fold increase in South Nottinghamshire from 21,789 to 57,308.

An examination of the demographic fortunes of individual civil parishes further complicates the description of population trends, since it is clear that in both study areas relatively few civil parishes follow the general trend for the area as a whole, in each inter-censal period during this century. Even in South Nottinghamshire about a third of the civil parishes have experienced depopulation over the course of the century, and less than a quarter of all the civil parishes in this study area mirror the trend for the area as a whole, by showing continuous or near continuous increase. There is a recent trend in the North Norfolk area for rates of depopulation in the civil parishes to be more moderate.

The highest rates of recent population increase in South Nottinghamshire are focussed on the selected villages. This is not apparent in North Norfolk where two of the selected centres lost population between 1961 and 1971. In the third selected centre in Norfolk, Fakenham, and in some of the South Nottinghamshire selected villages, there is evidence that population concentration has disadvantaged many of the neighbouring civil parishes. This examination suggests that selected village development policies have perpetuated a pre-existing trend towards the concentration of the rural population, although these planning policies have promoted a dramatic increase in the relative scale of concentration. We also draw attention to the distinction between physical growth in villages, evidenced by residential development, and population growth. Consequently, in smaller villages even if a trend towards depopulation is to be only moderated, then a flexible interpretation of selected village

development policies is needed to permit a significant amount of new housing to be built.

In Chapter Nine a study of the composition of the population of the study villages in terms of age, social and socio-economic class, and length of residence, suggests a complex pattern of inter and intra-area differences. Of particular significance is the observation that the expanded employment base of the selected village of Fakenham, seems to be encouraging a more balanced age structure. The newcomer group in both areas is dominated by middle class households. Only in Fakenham where there has been a substantial provision for new local authority housing, is this group socially heterogeneous. It is suggested that there is a fundamental relationship between new housing and changing social structures of villages, which local authority development control policies are essentially powerless to control. A general examination of the socio-economic composition of the study villages, highlights the existence of a process of social polarisation in many of the villages which increasingly focusses the population of these settlements in the professional and managerial sectors of the middle classes. This processes has been encouraged, albeit indirectly, by selected village development policies.

The analysis of residential mobility in the study villages shows the importance of short distance 'rural to rural' movements in both study areas. In South Nottinghamshire migration out of the adjacent towns and suburbs, although still an important feature, is rather less significant than one might have expected. Long distance migration is significant in both study areas though of more importance in North Norfolk. This may be partly a reflection of industrial expansion at the selected centre of Fakenham, bringing in specialised

labour from outside the East Anglian region.

The analysis in Chapter Nine indicates that different patterns of residential development may profoundly, and very rapidly, affect many aspects of the population structure of villages. This might, therefore, be seen as an important consideration in the development control process in rural areas, but there is no mechanism in the contemporary planning system to permit this. This is essentially a product of the physical planning and land use orientation of existing Town and Country Planning legislation. This is considered in more depth later in this chapter.

The pattern of personal mobility in the study villages is dominated by a high degree of car ownership per household. However, this may tend to obscure much higher degrees of immobility in some sectors of the rural population, notably in the elderly and the teenage groups. There is also a widespread phenomenon of the 'daily immobility' of many housewives in the study villages. Public transport routes are almost exclusively related to buses. These are relatively extensive in South Nottinghamshire, although the quality of service on many routes is increasingly inadequate, but in North Norfolk about a half of all the rural settlements have no bus service at all. In part of this area a community bus service has recently been established, which is examined in detail in Appendix Seven, but it is suggested that the application of this experimental scheme to similar rural areas is liable to be restricted by important limiting factors. The poor quality and distribution of public transport is reflected in a low degree of use for journey's to work, shopping, services, and recreation.

The pattern of employment in the study villages is also examined in Chapter Ten; and shows that selected villages are generally much less important as workplaces for their 'home' population than is the case in non-selected villages. The situation is rather different in the Norfolk selected centre of Fakenham, where local government initiatives and capital investment have greatly expanded the number of jobs in this settlement. In addition there has been a better match between residential development and the type of new jobs, which are mostly manual, in this settlement. This research suggests that if the situation in South Nottinghamshire is not atypical of other 'pressure' rural areas, then local government may need to review whether selected centres should be developed as employment foci (given the importance of urban based employment in such areas), and if so then more attention should be paid to capital investment, and to the association between the type of new employment and residential development in these and neighbouring villages.

In Chapter Eleven the distribution of shops, public utilities and consumer services in the two study areas shows a high degree of concentration on the selected villages, and in particular the 'principal' selected centres. This is interpreted as partly a direct consequence of local government concentration of capital investment in these centres, but also of a process of rationalisation and reorganisation of services which has decreased provision in smaller settlements. This latter process is largely independent of planning influence. The pattern of use of retail and consumer services as examined in the study villages, shows a very different pattern between South Nottinghamshire, where urban centres are of considerable importance, and North Norfolk, where selected villages are an important element in the pattern of use of specific services. In South Nottinghamshire

use of the extensive facilities in the selected villages is usually associated with residents of those villages, with households in the neighbouring villages focussing on the very limited facilities in their own settlements, or using urban services.

The pattern of use of recreational facilities is rather different. For most of the study villages recreation was dominated by use of the limited 'home' village facilities. This was despite the fact that most settlements had only a place of assembly. Most of the more specialised facilities for recreation were concentrated in the selected centres or the towns. Variations in the intensity of use of home village facilities may be largely explained by local factors and in particular local leadership and initiative. In this way some of the smaller study villages have a greater use of their limited range of activities than do the selected villages in the sample, which characteristically have a much wider range of facilities and activities. Selected villages are an important source of recreation in both study areas, although in South Nottinghamshire there is evidence that the provision of new facilities has lagged behind new residential development to such an extent that in some activities village households may be partly dependant on facilities and activities in neighbouring smaller villages. There are other examples of lateral provision of recreational facilities between neighbouring villages, although this is most important to those study villages with either no, or a totally inadequate, place of assembly. The use of urban centres in both areas is limited and is mostly associated with more specialised recreation and visits to the cinema or theatre.

In Chapter Twelve we propose a definition of the term community,

by reference to background literature. From this we establish that whilst the nature of village communities has dramatically changed, there is little evidence from the study villages that such communities have actually decayed. In only one of the twelve study villages can we say that the village community is now no longer in existence. This is in one of the two smallest villages in the sample, Thoroton, but there is no suggestion that community decay is an invariable feature of the smallest rural settlements, since the second smallest settlement of our study, Brinton, shows every sign of a **community** identity which Thoroton lacks.

The analysis of community conflict within the study villages, whilst very elementary in nature, does show that conflict is a very complex social phenomenon which is not simply related to divisions between the middle class or working class populations of the village, or between newcomers and old established residents. Conflict is generally associated with local issues, and conflicting opinions and groups may cross social class and length of residence groups. There is also no evidence, as some observers have suggested, that conflict in the village is proportional to the scale of residential development. In the authors experience, however, there may be an association with the rate of development in a given community.

There is some evidence from this study, which is by no means conclusive, that in selected villages the density of voluntary associations and social facilities, and the scale and nature of residential development, may encourage relatively greater integration of newcomers into the community. Also in the selected villages there is a tendency towards having more friends within the community,

although this is not a feature exclusive to selected villages. This examination suggests an association between villages where the households draw less on the home village for their friends, and the physical morphology of the settlement. This is related to the principle of 'social action space', and this possible relationship needs to be examined in more detail than was possible in this study.

In both of the study areas attitudes within the study villages to recent residential development were essentially of approval, although this was rather more intense in North Norfolk than in South Nottinghamshire. In many of the study villages and in particular the non selected settlements, the modernisation and conversion of property was also an important aspect of development and this seems to have met with almost whole hearted approval amongst the households of both study areas. There is, however, a major difference between the study areas when we consider attitudes to possible future residential development. In both study areas there are a significant proportion of households who approve of past development but disapprove of possible future building. Consequently, in North Norfolk about six households in ten approve of future development, in contrast to only two in ten in South Nottinghamshire. In both areas, but particularly in South Nottinghamshire, this lower rate of approval seems to be associated with a genuine fear of change in the village. This is interpreted in terms of a natural conservatism in the population. In North Norfolk this is more commonly outweighed by what are seen as the advantages that new residential development might bring to the study villages, specifically in terms of new housing provision.

### 13.3 The history of rural settlements planning

Contemporary planning legislation has a specifically, though not exclusively, urban origin. The watershed in the development of this legislation during the twentieth century, as we earlier noted, was the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, which although largely repealed is still the foundation for the current statutes. The concept of selected village development, however, pre-dates the 1947 Act and is also largely independent of urban influences.

It is difficult to identify a single point of origin for a concept such as selected village development which has been considerably modified by its application in various planning policies for over a quarter of a century. Nonetheless, the genesis of selected village development can be credited to Henry Morris, the educational philosopher, and specifically to his ideas of the 'regional community' and the associated, and better known, 'village colleges'. These ideas were first applied in the spatial context by William Davidge in the *Cambridgeshire Regional Planning Report* of 1934<sup>1</sup>. Substantial contributions to the concept were made in subsequent years, largely in the context of 'central place theory', and these developments were particularly important in moulding the idea of the regional community into the concept of selected village development as we now see it applied in rural settlement planning policies.

After the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act a few progressive local planning authorities adopted the principle of selected village development in the preparation of the county development plans, which were required under the new legislation. Throughout the fifties

and sixties, as the practical advantages of the concept (as discussed in Chapter Three) became more established in local government, the principle of selected village development was more commonly applied in planning policies, and by the early 'seventies the concept was almost universally applied in the English counties.

More recently there have been a number of criticisms of selected village development, and some individual writers have suggested that the concept should be abandoned altogether. Ash has recently summarised discontent by asking whether the 'cure' (selected village development) is not worse than the disease (rural problems) <sup>2</sup>. Weekly <sup>3</sup>, MacGregor <sup>4</sup>, McLaughlin <sup>5</sup>, and others have also contributed specific criticisms of the concept of selected village development. Although not directly associated with these critiques there has also been a more widespread concern, particularly among the younger members of the planning profession, that current planning practice and legislation limits their activities to 'protectionist' policies. This is not a new concern since Doubleday <sup>6</sup> was discussing this in 1962 and Wibberley <sup>7</sup> in 1970, within the context of rural settlement planning. Concern about the protectionist basis of village planning has, together with the specific criticisms of selected village development, put some pressure on local planning authorities within rural areas to reconsider the basis of their village planning policies.

Whilst there have been a variety of both professional and academic criticisms of contemporary village planning, there have been rather fewer attempts from either of these sources to suggest new or revised ways by which the planning authorities may positively contribute to the physical, social and economic development of rural

settlement in the English countryside. Two alternative approaches to selected village development are apparent : new villages, and the even spread of development associated with functional interdependence (or lateral servicing) of villages. A more detailed examination of both of these ideas in Chapter Three, indicates that neither is a practical alternative to selected village development policies. Indeed, the reasons why so few planning authorities have actually abandoned selected village development is probably as much a reflection of the lack of practical alternatives together with the convenience of their existing policies, as of any real strength in the concept of selected village development itself. Nonetheless, some authorities have recently reviewed their adherence to selected village development policies, although none of these have formally adopted settlement policies based on the construction of new villages or on the even spread of development.

#### 13.4 The planning mechanism

It was clear from the beginning of this research that we would require a relatively detailed knowledge, not only of selected village development policies and their application, but also of the framework within which such policies were formulated and subsequently operated. In short, we needed to understand the detailed workings of the town and country planning machine. Indeed, the extensive literature search which was an integral part of this study suggests that a background knowledge of the planning mechanism should be a more widely accepted qualification for many of the lay-writers and journalists that seek to criticise the impact of planning policies on English villages.

Chapter Four presents a general background to the relevant aspects of the planning mechanism and Chapter Seven looks at depth at the practical operation of settlement 'categorisation' systems within local planning authorities. Neither of these chapters was designed as a critique of the planning mechanism but a few important findings emerged which are more appropriately developed here.

A new planning unit: What has become clear from this research and related contextual studies (particularly in discussions with planning officers) is the need for consideration of an intermediate level in the spatial hierarchy of planning authorities, which should lie between county and region. There is a need within the rural context for a spatial unit whose geographical coverage is larger than the administrative county, but which has administrative powers wider than the physical planning capabilities of the local planning authorities (county and district). This new tier is broadly analogous to the ill-fated 'rural development boards' which stemmed from proposals in the Agricultural Act of 1967. Clout<sup>8</sup> has documented the short history of the evolution, and subsequent suppression, of the two proposed boards (the Northern Pennine Rural Development Board actually functioned for eighteen months). The powers of the RDB's, over which there was admittedly much controversy, were principally related to the need for agricultural land use in these hill land areas to be both modernised and rationalised, and also for an associated diversification of the regional economy. The functions of a new planning unit would need to be wider, and might co-ordinate the formulation of plans and strategies for a complete and (given the conflicting demands for rural land use) cohesive rural policy, of which rural settlement planning is just one part.

The need for a comprehensive rural policy has been discussed intermittently throughout the whole of the modern period of town and country planning. These conclusions underline this need.

More recently the Countryside Review Committee<sup>9</sup> has highlighted the apparent lack of co-ordination between the aims and activities of different bodies in both local and central government, leading to a rather piecemeal approach to the problems of rural areas. This research and experience in other rural areas, enables the author to confirm the existence of this unsatisfactory, rather sectional approach by local government to rural problems. This study has been specifically concerned with planning policies for rural settlement, but the research leads the author to suggest the need for co-ordination between all local government departments where policies affecting rural areas interact. In some areas improvements have been made in terms of policy discussion and consultation between departments and different authorities, and the development in some local authorities, of corporate management techniques, has encouraged this process. There is a genuine need, however, for a more general awareness in government of the importance of a comprehensive approach to the problems of rural areas.

In the author's opinion a new administrative tier at the regional or sub-regional level would provide a more suitable geographical basis for comprehensive policies.

We should note that whilst many planning officers support the idea of a new unit of government, it is seen not as an addition to the existing hierarchy but as a replacement for the county planning authority which they generally see as having been made largely

obsolete by the devolution of many planning powers to the district planning authorities. Needless to say this idea is rather more popular with officers working at district level, than with those at county level.

Village Plans: The Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 set out three functional groups of plans : District plans; Action plans; and Subject plans. These were designed either as specific expressions of local policies, or for detailed presentation of general policies contained in the county Structure plan itself. None of these plans, however, is convenient for the preparation of individual village plans. There is some controversy about whether formal village plans are an aid to rural settlement planning or whether by designating certain areas as 'potential' development land they actually encourage rapid development of individual settlements. This research suggests that in most villages a brief individual policy statement is all that is required, but for certain villages, notably some 'conservation' villages and selected centres, there is a need for a more detailed statement. This might take the form of a written plan outlining comprehensive policies for the settlement. As such this would not be a spatial guideline to development control. It may be counter-productive if such plans were statutory instruments, but there is a need for a mechanism to encourage the selective production and regular revision of written village plans.

Public participation: It is beyond the scope of this research to assess the success or otherwise of public participation schemes in the planning process, although, as we noted earlier, evidence suggests that the problem of apathy in the context of public participation schemes for Structure Plans, is as considerable in rural areas as in

urban. We suggest that rural areas offer a unique opportunity for public participation in planning since each local society is relatively small; it is physically identifiable; and there is often a single unit of local administration, the parish council. This suggests greater opportunities (and possible greater motivation, judging from the household interviews in the twelve study villages) for community participation in local planning. This situation has been tapped by a few forward thinking local planning authorities by encouraging individual villages to conduct 'local appraisals' of which the community survey conducted in the Northumberland village of Stocksfield is a remarkable example <sup>10</sup>. Clearly such appraisals cannot be statutory documents, and their application is not widespread since only fairly large villages with sufficient residents with the expertise and interest to conduct such projects, are suitable. This does, nonetheless, provide a remarkable opportunity for community participation which should be encouraged on a wider scale. Such local appraisals might be easily related to, or perhaps form the basis for, selective written village plans, as proposed in the previous section.

Social planning: Development control is an integral part of the planning mechanism. Planning decisions for development applications are based principally, and often exclusively, on physical planning issues (and dominantly land use factors). Development also operates within a framework of economic constraints, although these are associated with budgeting limitations within organisations and also often the financial context of the property market, rather than direct control by the local planning authorities. There is little room, however, for social concern in the decision making process. This is not because planning officers are oblivious of the social conse-

quences of their decisions, but because the existing legislation allows little room for consideration of purely social factors. Furthermore, since planning decisions are ultimately accountable to the statutory provisions through the system of appeals to the Department of the Environment, this gives very little scope for more imaginative authorities to introduce social factors into the plan making or development control process. We can therefore speak of 'physical planning' and also, albeit in a slightly different context, of 'economic planning', but not of 'social planning', as elements in the planning mechanism.

This in itself would be of only academic importance but inevitably planning decisions often have important social consequences and planning officers are largely helpless to control these consequences. A simple example of this is the operation of the housing market in rural settlements. In a given village the development of high or medium value housing estates will inevitably (in the current land market situation) drive up land prices. In addition, many of the older buildings in the village may have been modernised and consequently turned into relatively expensive family homes. These processes create unequal housing opportunities in the village which disadvantage many young working class adults (and elderly people) and may lead to an 'indirect' pushing out from the village of many members of the younger indigenous population. It is the author's impression that this disadvantage may now be more important in many villages than other 'pushing' factors such as limited employment opportunities and poor facilities, leading to a loss in the younger, indigenous population. This is a social consequence of planning decisions but one which planning authorities are largely powerless to control.

It would be quite wrong in the author's opinion to revise legislation to allow planning officers to regulate development, and establish policies, on purely social criteria. In order to do this planning authorities would need to develop specific criteria for what were normal social or age structures, and what were not. This might in turn lead to the need to classify villages as different social types, such as agricultural villages, suburban villages, mining villages, etc. and to accordingly regulate development in these by considering the social as well as the physical implications of planning applications. There would be a number of dangers in this admittedly simplistic approach. First, who should judge what were the criteria for a 'normal' structure. The assessment would probably vary with different social values and perspectives. Secondly, the system would tend not to give sufficient weight to the almost infinite variety in rural local societies. Also it is difficult to see how the revision of legislation necessary to implement 'social planning' could be practically workable and politically acceptable. This study nonetheless indicates there is a very real need for greater consideration of the social context in decisions and of the social consequences of proposed or existing policies. This need is rather different to introducing direct social engineering. It is the authors opinion that sufficient consideration of social factors could be achieved by an initiative from the DoE, perhaps through use of the established planning circulars between DoE and local planning authorities. It would, of course, become essential for DoE inspectors to back up local decisions where these were submitted to appeal, in favour of the local planning authority, where the key factor in the application related to consideration of social consequences.

Settlement classification and categorisation: A review of existing policies indicates that in the great majority of English counties the concept of selected village development is applied in practice through a system of settlement classification. This designates a number of village categories into which individual villages are placed for the purposes of development control decisions. There are differences between the classification systems of some counties but generally they follow a broadly similar model. The same is not true for the spatial pattern of selected village distribution and density, as shown in Chapter Seven.

The designation of individual selected villages relies rather more on development considerations such as land availability and freedom from physical constraints such as flooding, than on consideration of the standard of social provision, employment and communications. Generally, the only socio-economic criteria which assume importance in the selection process are the provision of educational facilities (for which there is a statutory requirement) and the existence of sufficient spare capacity in a water-borne sewerage system. Whilst these are fundamental basic requirements for a selected village it does mean that in the selection process planning authorities seem to be neglecting the socio-economic role of the selected village (as an intermediate centre of provision for facilities and employment) in favour of its role as a minor growth centre for residential development. It is a reflection of this process of selection that there is little attention paid to the overall locational strategy for selected villages, although this phenomenon does vary between counties. In Huntingdonshire (as it then was), which was one of the counties studied in more detail, it was apparent that some selected centres were almost grouped together

whilst elsewhere in the county there were large parts of the countryside where none of the villages had been categorised as selected centres. Given the fact that the distribution of settlement in the English countryside does not conform to a perfect central place model, it is inevitable that this will occur in classification systems, but we must nonetheless underline the need for greater consideration of the overall locational consequences of settlement categorisation, if the selected centres are to be expected to perform their socio-economic 'role'.

Given these deficiencies and inconsistencies in the various classification systems, we must question whether or not this is the right way to approach the application of selected village development to rural settlement planning. Many of the problems could be overcome by a return to Morris's original conception of a 'regional community' of villages. Consequently, instead of planners producing a classification system into whose designated categories individual villages are placed, the local planning authority might first identify groups of villages of which one centre, with adequate social provision and at least a minimum degree of accessibility to the other settlements within the group, would be designated the selected centre. Conceptually it would be convenient if each group were relatively small in size and could have some common social or economic link between the individual villages, but in practice, when we consider the over-riding physical needs for each group to contain a centre suitable as a selected village, it is unlikely that such cohesive village groups could be designated (even if it were possible to identify them in the first place - see Chapter Twelve). Development control within villages would then be a matter for individual policy statements, or in the case of some villages written plans.

It would, of course, be necessary to allow for different individual capacities in the selected centres to absorb new building. As with existing policies, the new selected villages should absorb all major estate development within the village groups, but since these villages were selected on the grounds of social provision and accessibility as well as physical factors, some may have relatively limited development capacities. This might be overcome by designating 'major' and 'minor' selected villages, depending on their development capabilities. Many existing classification systems already use similarly defined settlement categories for selected centres. Beyond this there would be no need for settlement categories and consequently development control decisions could be made according to individual village statements and not to an arbitrary categorisation system.

This is only an elementary explanation of this idea. The basic premise of this approach is still selected village development, but this system might overcome many of the spatial inequalities that are currently obvious in the existing settlement classification approach. An approach based on village groups with no categorisation beyond the selected and non-selected village distinction, is particularly suited to the recent planning system where responsibilities are largely devolved to the district authorities. The development of village categorisation may have been inevitable when development control was essentially the responsibility of county authorities, who were more 'distant' from individual villages, but it is suggested that this solution is not related to the needs of settlements or to the revised system of planning responsibilities, where most development control decisions are taken by district planning authorities.

### 13.5 Demography

The remainder of this chapter is largely concerned with considering the impact of selected village development policies on five key aspects of rural settlements: Demography; Social structure; Employment; Rural facilities; and Rural communities. In addition, we shall review the principal findings of this research regarding patterns of mobility, and attitudes to development within the study villages.

The most obvious demographic consequence of selected village development is that such policies tend to increase the range of settlement size in a given rural area. This is brought about because residential development is increasingly concentrated in selected centres, increasing their size, whilst the size of the smaller villages often remains roughly stable or declines, as local planning authorities restrict development opportunities in such villages. The size range is intensified in rural areas where there is considerable pressure for development since selected centres may expand more rapidly in such situations. In fact, unless planning authorities impose an upper limit on the size of selected villages they may expand to a very large, perhaps quasi-urban size, as have some South Nottinghamshire selected villages. In such settlements there is concern that the village may be losing its rural status, although this attitude may be as much a result of the high rate of development in such settlements, as of its scale (a point to which we shall later return).

It is apparent in South Nottinghamshire that the degree of geographical concentration of the population, which is proportion-

ately much higher than in North Norfolk, is tending to reinforce the distinctions in the levels of social provision between the two study areas. Selected village development has been at least partly instrumental in this process although one must acknowledge the contribution of the physical advantage of South Nottinghamshire which has more settlements suitable for designation as 'selected villages', and relatively intense pressure for residential development within the area.

An analysis of the demographic fortunes of the villages in North Norfolk suggests that generally there is a persistent trend towards depopulation throughout the area, although the pattern of inter-censal changes between individual villages shows great variation in their fortunes throughout this century. Selected village development policies may be expected to stem or even eliminate this trend (see Chapter Three), but the evidence of the most recent inter-censal period suggests that this is not happening in North Norfolk. In fact, there is some indication in North Norfolk that the expansion of local authority estates in selected centres may contribute to accelerated decline in adjacent villages. Nonetheless, the rate of depopulation in North Norfolk has diminished in the last inter-censal period, which was the first in which selected village development policies were applied. It is difficult to determine, however, whether or not this limited achievement is a direct result of selected village development itself. It is quite possible that the rate of depopulation has been limited by the trend towards an increasingly elderly (and perhaps less geographically mobile) resident population. This research can conclude only that these

policies, and in particular the development of new employment opportunities in the selected centres (notably at the Fakenham trading estate) may have been partly responsible for the reduction in the rate of depopulation in the area as a whole. It is quite clear, however, that if depopulation in North Norfolk is to be further diminished then the local authority must allow some flexibility in the location of development. Whilst the bulk of residential development may still be focussed on the selected centres it is clear that there is demand for limited development in many smaller villages. This research suggests that small scale residential development in such settlements is of critical importance in stemming local depopulation rates.

### 13.6 Social structure

It is a salient feature of contemporary rural studies that middle class households are becoming a proportionately more important element of rural society. There are many reasons which contribute to this phenomenon, but Pahl and others have highlighted the increasing importance of commuting in journey to work patterns of the rural population, and also the social structure of the migrants to rural areas which is predominantly middle class. These points have been examined in greater length elsewhere <sup>11</sup>. One major factor which contributes to changes in the social structure of English rural settlement, is the scale and type of residential development. This is obviously important in expanding villages but may also have a significant influence even in depopulating settlement since, as the North Norfolk case study shows, many settlements that are losing population do have new housing built in them. Since the construction of any new housing is subject to development control, and since

virtually all development control decisions are made within the general policy framework of selected village development, then it is clear that rural settlement policies may have a substantial influence on the changing social structure of villages, albeit in an indirect process.

In practice one of the principle areas of influence is the location of new local authority housing. Selected village development (and local government housing and financial policies) seek to concentrate such development in selected villages. Consequently, in the two study areas there have been virtually no local authority housing built in non-selected villages since the late 'forties. The same principle of development location is applied to private housing, but a limited amount of new private housing has been built outside the selected villages. In fact, in some situations in South Nottinghamshire, where planning decisions appear to have been mismanaged, or where the DoE's decision on appeal has gone against the local planning authority, then the amount of new private housing in some non-selected villages has been quite considerable. The result of this locational pattern of new residential development is that it has disadvantaged working class households seeking housing in non-selected villages (these may often be the 'home' villages for many young couples), whilst creating proportionately better opportunities for middle class households seeking to purchase their own property.

It may seem from this discussion that housing opportunities are likely to be more balanced in selected villages, but the evidence of this research suggest that this is not necessarily so. More recently in the study area of South Nottinghamshire, particularly

since the late 'sixties, there has been very little construction of local authority housing in the selected villages. This coincided with a surge in private house construction in these settlements, and consequently the very rapid expansion of many selected villages has been dominated by the private sector. The questionnaire survey in the selected centre of East Leake indicates that the great majority of housing on the new estates has been taken up by middle class families, which has correspondingly influenced the social structure of the settlement. The situation in the remoter study area may be rather different. Certainly in Fakenham, the selected village studied in detail, there has been a better balance between private and local authority housing in recent residential development.

In perspective this research suggests that local planning authorities might pay more attention to the social balance of local authority and private development, particularly in the selected villages. We should also acknowledge there are considerable difficulties as to how this might be done. All housing development whether it be private or local authority can only be regulated by planning departments and not initiated (local authority housing is initiated by the housing department in conjunction with the finance and resources committees). Consequently, if no applications for local authority development in selected villages are outstanding, then in order to maintain a development balance with the private sector the planning department would need to place a development embargo on new private housing. This is not practical under existing legislation, but one might argue that it would also be undesirable since it would involve direct social engineering by the planning authority, which would need to be based on some assumption of what was the norm for the social structure of a village. Nonethe-

less, we remain with the conclusion that the existing system of development control may disadvantage the working class households in many rural areas, and this is an important influence in the changing social structure of many villages. As Hall<sup>12</sup> has pointed out recently, this may be seen as indirect social engineering. The only obvious solution to this dilemma is that local government should fund more local authority housing projects. However, it is generally unlikely that this will be possible, partly because of the current financial restraint within local government, and partly because of the political pressure that might be brought to bear on such a decision, since local authority 'waiting lists' are proportionately longer in urban areas than in rural.

More recently the Lake District Planning Board has introduced a new alternative which may have application to limiting poor housing opportunities for the indigenous population of smaller villages. This idea is for planning authorities to arrange for restrictive covenants to be signed, before specific housing development is approved, which restrict the house purchasers in the sale or resale of the property to local (say within a 20 mile radius) residents. The author believes that this idea has very limited application, and the legal position of such covenants is apparently uncertain, but the technique may have some use to smaller settlements in areas where there is a large local labour force.

This research suggests that the operation of selected village development policies in rural areas together with other factors such as the marketing policies of local estate agents, has been instrumental in the development of a process of social polarisation. This process has caused the social structure of the middle classes

in several of the study villages to be disproportionately representative of the managerial and professional classes (collectively described by Socio-Economic Classes I and II). The process and the specific contribution of selected village development, is discussed in Chapter Eight. Social polarisation is another example of how planning policies may indirectly influence the patterns and processes by which the social structure of rural settlements may change. The process also adds to the poor housing opportunities for working class households in non-selected villages. We should note, however, that social polarisation as a process has contributed considerably to the conservation of the architectural heritage, and the general physical environment, of many small and medium sized settlements in the study areas. Further research on the mechanisms of social polarisation and the role of planning policies in the process, is needed.

We must conclude this section by stating that if we wish to improve housing opportunities for working class households in rural areas and for the indigenous population, thereby limiting the accelerated rate of change in the social structure of rural settlement, then we must look more to political solutions (in terms of local government finance) rather than to the planning departments.

### 13.7 Employment

It is a feature of most policies of selected village development as pursued by the English counties, that selected villages should act not only as foci for new housing, and social provision, but also as rural employment centres. This research suggests that few selected village development policies have approached success

in this goal, principally because whilst the population of selected centres has increased often quite dramatically, there has been relatively little provision for new employment at these centres. This is true for all of the selected centres in South Nottinghamshire (with the rather special exception of the colliery village of Cotgrave), and also for the selected centres in North Norfolk (with the notable exception of Fakenham, to which we shall later return).

As a direct result of this situation it is generally true for the selected centres in the two study areas that a much smaller proportion of the resident population are employed in their village than for the populations of non-selected villages. This is only partly explained by the significance of agricultural employment in the smaller settlements, and is partly related to the imbalance between the provision of new jobs and new housing in selected villages. We should note that this imbalance cannot be directly attributed to the local planning departments, since, as we have commented before, they have no powers to initiate development applications, whether this is for new houses or new jobs.

The example of Fakenham in Norfolk indicates that the provision of facilities to encourage new employers to come to the selected villages is very important. In Fakenham this is represented by a trading estate which has subsequently attracted new employers. This follows a simple and well established principle of regional planning in Britain. In South Nottinghamshire there has not been similar local government initiative to encourage employers, due largely to political circumstances and to the availability of employment opportunities in the nearby large urban centres.

Another feature of the situation in South Nottinghamshire is the mismatch between new housing and new employment where this has developed in the selected centres. In East Leake for example, the limited amount of new employment has largely been associated with manual employment, often semi-skilled or unskilled, whilst as we have already discussed new housing has recently been built almost exclusively in the private sector.

The position of the employment aspect of rural settlement policies would seem to be rather different for 'pressure' and 'remoter' rural areas. In remoter areas there is a need for expanded employment opportunities, partly to counter shrinking local job opportunities in, for example, the agricultural and related sectors, and partly to complement the 'growth point' philosophy applied to specific selected villages and small towns. In many pressure areas, in complete contrast, the local labour market is strongly associated with the urban centres of employment. In both types of area local employment plays a critical role in holding the indigenous population of the area. In South Nottinghamshire, a pressure area, the dependence on urban based employment amongst the seven study villages is not as great as might be expected. In this situation it may be unrealistic to consider talking of policies which seek actively to encourage new employment in selected villages, perhaps through local government funding of trading estates. If this is the case then it seems strange that settlement policies pay lip service to the principle of expanded job opportunities in selected villages. Added to this is the problem that any new employment that might be developed in the villages (on past experience, specifically manufacturing or assembly work of a semi-skilled or unskilled nature) is increasingly unsuited to the changing social structure of rural settlement. This

suggests that in pressure areas the local authorities may need to reconsider the status of their employment 'policies' for villages.

One area of employment policies for both pressure and remoter rural areas, which requires more research, is the advantages and disadvantages of the development of employment centres such as small trading estates, outside the physical boundaries of villages. Generally speaking rural industrialisation outside the villages is not favourably looked upon by local planning authorities, and in 'green belt' areas there are strict policies against such development. Whilst the author would not argue in favour of an agricultural landscape being economically fragmented and environmentally blitzed by industrial development, it may be that local planning authorities could selectively pursue a more flexible interpretation of development control in this respect. But before such policies could be experimentally introduced it would be necessary to have more information on the subject, with research looking in particular at the economic cost of such locations for certain industries, the scale of agricultural land loss and the effect on the farmer, the actual advantages of such industrialisation to local communities, and the problem of accessibility (particularly in respect of the network of public utilities: mains water, electricity, sewerage, and distribution services).

A second area which might be considered in revised employment policies for rural areas, is the encouragement of small scale employment units. However, this is also an area which requires further research in terms of the practical advantages of such units to rural communities. There is also a need to re-examine the mechanisms which might be used to encourage the establishment of small scale employ-

ment centres, and to look at the function of the Development Commission and its associated body, The Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas in this context.

Small scale rural employment centres have long been considered as important potential contributions to the economic life of rural areas. Ash <sup>13</sup> has recently suggested that such units are more suitable to a rural situation than the concentration of new employment in trading estates on the outskirts of selected centres. Generally small scale rural employment centres are thought of in terms of rural workshops or craft industries but it would seem profitable to expand this restricted definition to cover a wider group of suitable employment sources (particularly to include those in the service sector). MacGregor <sup>14</sup> has recently criticised 'administrators' for making it "easier to get permission to put up a factory for five hundred, than for a small yard and workshop to start business as an agricultural engineer". Neither of the two case study areas have provided evidence to support this idea, but we should note that planning departments are tied to considering such small units in conventional planning terms, in respect of the provision of public utilities, restrictions governing change of use of buildings and building regulations. A more flexible interpretation of these aspects might well serve to encourage the development of small scale employment centres, but it may be at the expense of environmental and aesthetic considerations. We need more information on the impact that this might have on rural settlement. The author's opinion is that planning authorities may be able to do more to permit development of small scale employment units. At the moment, however, they are largely constrained by a development control system which may consider only physical factors. If aspects of social

consideration were introduced into the procedure, as we have previously suggested, then there may be a limited extension of local employment opportunities in small scale units, although this is unlikely to be on such a scale as to provide a universal panacea for the rural economy. However, even this limited extension could only be achieved by abandoning any attempts at locational direction of the siting of such units (into, for example, selected villages only). Environmentally this may be too greater cost to pay. Once again more research initiatives are needed on this subject.

### 13.8 Rural facilities

Whilst there has been an extension of piped water to effectively all villages and hamlets in the two study areas, and a more restricted expansion of mains sewerage facilities, rural social provision is generally dominated by the rationalisation and reorganisation of many community services, retail and other facilities. Geographically these processes have tended to disadvantage non-selected villages and to favour the principal selected centres, although it would be completely misleading to suggest that selected village development has directly contributed to the reduction of facilities in many smaller villages in the study areas.

In the two study areas there is still an important dispersed component for some retail and community services, although it is the principal selected centres that geographically dominate social provision. In fact, the analyses in Chapter Eleven, indicate that there is a considerable degree of concentration of facilities on selected villages. This distribution is largely a function of historical advantage, since, for example, many of the principal

selected centres were formerly small market centres, with an associated wide range of services, In addition, it is clear that population growth at these centres has encouraged further provision, although in some centres where the rate of residential development has been particularly rapid, there has been a considerable lag between the development of housing and the provision of facilities.

In the remoter rural area the selected villages are of considerable importance to the rural population, judging by the pattern of consumer behaviour and the use of consumer services, as discussed in Chapter Eleven. Generally, however, this is not apparent in South Nottinghamshire where the facilities of selected villages are of considerable importance only to their resident populations. This contrast is related to the relative proximity of urban centres, and their associated range of facilities, to the South Nottinghamshire study villages. It may be, however, that the South Nottinghamshire rural area is atypical of many other pressure rural areas in this respect, due to its proximity to the very large urban centre of Greater Nottingham.

Patterns of use of recreational facilities and organisations in the case study villages assume a rather different perspective, being strongly associated with the home village. In both study areas neither selected villages nor urban centres, are of considerable importance to the patterns of recreation of the residents of smaller villages. Indeed, in certain circumstances there may be a reverse process, so that in selected centres where the rate of residential development has exceeded the rate at which new organisations or associated facilities are developed, then selected village residents may join organisations in neighbouring settlements.

This survey also suggests that in many small villages which lack a suitable place of assembly, it should be a priority for local government to assist with the provision of a village hall. The same applies to the extension of existing places of assembly (although in practice it seems that local organisations and parish councils are rather more effective at raising finance for extending existing centres, than providing new ones). Such a policy could do much to restore the vitality of local communities which in many villages has been dampened by the withdrawal of many local facilities. With the existing limitations on local government finance it is unlikely that much money could be made available for long term loans to village hall projects, let alone to capital grants. Nonetheless, it may be that the limited or non-existent provision of places of assembly in some villages might be assisted by the local education authority encouraging the use of village schools, during evenings, for community purposes. Many rural education authorities have already successfully experimented with this idea, although due to the process of reorganisation of rural primary schools it is likely that this idea will have only limited application.

McLoughlin<sup>15</sup> and others have recently talked of the lateral servicing patterns between villages. This has been referred to as 'functional interdependence' of rural communities (see Chapter Three). This study suggests that such processes are of limited importance in the patterns of consumer behaviour and the use of consumer services. However, lateral servicing is of some significance in the pattern of use of recreational facilities. This is particularly evident in the recreational behaviour of residents in those study villages which have no place of assembly. This to some extent supports MacGregors findings<sup>16</sup>, but does not detract from the conclusion that

generally the use of rural facilities is hierarchically based (although certainly rather different from a simple central place model), rather than related to a system of lateral provision.

The general analysis of social provision in South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk suggests three more observations. Firstly, although this was not a topic specifically included in the interview schedule for the sample population of the twelve study villages, it is notable that some householders felt sufficiently strongly about deficiencies in the provision of rural facilities that they mentioned it quite independently of the required responses to the questionnaire. It is similarly interesting that the two items of most concern to these respondents were village schools and recreational facilities. The latter point must underline the importance of providing adequate facilities for voluntary organisations in rural society.

The second observation concerns the principles of 'threshold theory' when applied to rural facilities. These arise from the idea <sup>17</sup> that certain services may be considered as having a required support population before this service can exist in a given settlement. This is a simplistic economic principle, but it may have its uses in the development of new villages, or in situations where major residential development occurs on the site of small or medium sized villages. Generally, however, the principle has limited application since it ignores the very considerable importance of historical background in the current geographical pattern of rural facilities. Bracey <sup>18</sup> has also acknowledged the importance of the historical context in rural social provision.

The third and final observation concerns the significance of mobile services in the villages. We have found in this study that mobile shops are an important aspect of rural retailing in many of the study villages. Few other mobile services are widely available and even the distribution of mobile library services amongst smaller villages in Norfolk is being reorganised. Nonetheless, mobile services may well be a relatively convenient way of overcoming the problems of reorganised rural facilities. Current planning policies support fixed point provision of services, but it may be possible for local government to encourage a mobile component in some of these services. This need not undermine the locational principles of selected village development since even mobile services would need a base, perhaps a shop or a service yard, which might be best located in a selected centre. This possibility needs much more research to clarify the mechanisms and the feasibility of expanded mobile servicing patterns, but an example relating to rationalisation of village primary schools may serve to illustrate the possibilities of not thinking exclusively in terms of fixed point provision of facilities.

In Cambridgeshire, the local education authority has recently introduced a new policy in terms of the rationalisation of primary facilities in rural areas. The closure of units is being minimised by adopting a flexible perspective on manpower resources, by making teaching and back up resources mobile. In one experimental situation, for example, a number of small village schools (some of which would need to be closed as unviable units if it were not for this policy) are grouped under the authority of a single 'roving' headmaster. Consequently, instead of a conventional fixed point policy of each school having one or two teachers, one headmaster, and its

own teaching and associated resources, the situation is that each school has its own teachers but shares with others in the group, both a headmaster and various resources (such as a school minibus). There is, of course, a rather better known example of this principle of rationalisation of rural facilities. The Anglican Church has adopted a policy of bringing the 'service' to the people rather than vice-versa, through the system of grouped parishes under the authority of a single incumbent. This is a long established policy, and as the analysis in Chapter Eleven indicates it has encouraged the preservation of a more widely dispersed pattern of Anglican churches in the two study areas.

### 13.9 Rural communities

It is a common comment in some literature and much journalism, regarding rural society and rural communities, that village communities are generally decaying. This analysis suggests that this is a fundamental misinterpretation of contemporary rural society, a misinterpretation that has been fueled by a considerable diversity of opinion as to the meaning of the term community, and by many writers allowing personal value judgements to cloud objective analysis. Certainly rural society is undergoing dramatic social changes. It is also true that many aspects of contemporary rural communities are less good than those that existed at the beginning of the century, and it is understandable how change in such features, notably the close social integration and interaction within the villages, may be now interpreted as a decay in rural society. Nonetheless, this would totally ignore these changes which have improved social and economic circumstances in the villages. These need not be catalogued here, although it will serve to mention the considerable

improvements that have been made in the areas of rural poverty and housing conditions. In Chapter Twelve we have considered this subject in more detail, having established a composite definition of the term community. We conclude that in the study villages, with one exception, there is little evidence to support the idea that village communities are decaying. There is equally little evidence to imply that the geographical basis of rural communities is changing. MacGregor has recently suggested that increased social and economic interaction between neighbouring villages and hamlets may be creating joint village communities. There is no evidence to support this hypothesis in either of our study areas. There may be a limited degree of interaction between villages, particularly in recreational activities, but it is quite inappropriate to consider this as a feature of inter-village communities. Our study indicates that the geographical basis of rural communities is still firmly entrenched with the individual villages.

We have also discussed in Chapter Twelve that there is little evidence from the two case studies that the degree of conflict within the study villages is related to the scale of development in those settlements. Indeed, our analysis of community conflict suggests that this is a very complex topic and one that does not bear any simple mechanistic relationship with residential development. However, if housing development does influence social interaction in the community, this research suggests that it is more related to the rate of development than to the scale. We shall return to this discussion later in this chapter.

The community studies in this survey do not indicate any major difference between selected and non-selected villages in terms of

village friendliness, community conflict and social integration. In fact, the study shows that the degree and nature of social interaction within a given village is related to a variety of local factors, of which 'leadership' in the village and the range of voluntary associations are particularly important features. In this context, it is not surprising to find that social integration of newcomer households into the community may be slightly better in selected centres, due to the large range of social clubs and other organisations within these villages, and also to the scale and nature of residential development.

One of the findings of the community studies may have direct significance for the development control procedures of local planning authorities. In two of the study villages there is evidence to suggest that the physical morphology of the settlement, particularly in terms of settlement shape, may influence the social cohesiveness of the villages. This is discussed at greater length in Chapter Twelve. This apparent relationship supports the work of Ambrose<sup>19</sup> on social network analysis within rural communities. However, the results of this study are inconclusive in this respect; indeed, we can only go so far as to suggest that in two of the study villages the linear or relatively dispersed morphology of the settlements seems to exert an adverse influence on the proportion of friends that sampled households have within the villages. Clearly more research is needed on this subject and a much larger sample of villages should be studied. It is quite feasible, for example, that if certain aspects of morphology can adversely affect social cohesion, then other features, for example a highly nucleated form, may encourage cohesion within the community. In perspective, however, it is unlikely that such physical considerations

would over-ride factors such as leadership within the community, and the range and strength of voluntary associations. We should also note that one of the basic premises of development control in villages, infilling within the existing framework of village development, should be exerting a positive rather than a negative influence on social cohesion within the community.

### 13.10 Mobility

The pattern of personal mobility in rural areas is quite independent of contemporary planning controls, and also of direct influence by selected village development (although, in the broader context, local government capital expenditure schemes may have some impact). Nonetheless, this is a factor of such importance to the future of rural settlement, and possibly to the way in which villages may be planned, that it merits special consideration in this chapter.

Our research on personal mobility in the study areas confirms that there is a high level of car ownership per household in the study villages, and also a very high level of multi-car ownership. Unfortunately, we conclude that this way of assessing car ownership tends to obscure a low level of personal mobility in certain social groups, notably the elderly population in the villages and also the youngest age groups and particularly the 'teenage' population. There is also a problem of 'daily immobility' of housewives in many households. Consequently, whilst the general level of car ownership in the rural households is very high, there are certain social groups within the communities in which there is a persistent degree of immobility.

The level of provision of public transport facilities shows some interesting differences between the two study areas which are examined in detail in Chapter Ten. Passenger train services are non-existent in North Norfolk and restricted to one line in South Nottinghamshire. In both study areas the principal bus routes are inter-urban services, with little attention paid to linking the shops and services of the selected centres to non-selected villages. The provision of services in the remoter study area is very poor, with many settlements being served only by a 'market day' service, whilst many others have no bus service at all. In South Nottinghamshire the distribution of services is more widespread but the daily frequency of those services which are off the inter-urban routes is very limited.

Given this pattern of mobility, it is not surprising when we discover that for most households access to facilities outside the home village, and also to work centres, is dominated by use of the private car. The rural bus services are of little importance, the only exception to this general pattern being access to schools, which for children further than the general local government limit of three miles from their school, is dominated by school buses.

For the selected settlements in the study areas, it would seem that they generally have a slightly better level of rural bus service provision than many non-selected settlements. Given this phenomenon, and remembering that, with the exception of local employment, selected centres have much better levels of facilities than most non-selected villages, it is quite clear that the poor level of bus provision in rural areas must be working against the economic viability of most non-selected settlements.

This study can suggest little in terms of a brighter future for personal mobility in rural areas, and dependence on the private car is likely to increase, whilst the social groups in the population which have greater immobility are likely to persist. Recent legislation concerning the licencing of private vehicles may improve the situation. Broadly, this will allow motor vehicle owners to give lifts in return for payment, something which they were previously unable to do without the appropriate hackney carriage licence. This may open up a new avenue for rural transportation along the lines of the social car idea of Rhys and Buxton<sup>20</sup>, or as an extension of the social car service originally introduced in Lincolnshire (Lindsey), and subsequently developed in other parts of rural England. How one views this idea depends on whether the social car concept is seen as increasing dependence on the private motor car, or whether it is seen as a more complete use of existing transportation resources. In either case the influence of the new legislation on rural transportation will depend largely on personal goodwill, or the ability of communities to organise and maintain 'self-help' schemes based on private cars. Neither of these factors can be predicted.

A second recent innovation that has been introduced into the discussion of rural transport problems, has been the 'community bus service' scheme. Fortunately, this idea was first put into practice in a group of six North Norfolk villages, four of which lie within our study area. Appendix Seven examines the operation of the scheme and its application to other rural areas in more detail. Whilst the community bus service is an attractive innovation in rural transport, which may (according to the North Norfolk experience) be operated with a relatively small local government capital investment, its application elsewhere seems limited. This is due partly to organisational

problems, as discussed in Appendix Seven, but principally to objections from trade unions representing drivers on existing rural bus services, and from the commercial organisations which operate these services. In effect, unless these objections can be overcome the extension of the community bus service idea will be limited to groups of villages with no bus services at all, which have no reasonable access to nearby services, and which can overcome organisational problems and convince local government to subsidise the project (under section 34 of the 1968 Transport Act). Consequently for most rural settlements the poor provision of rural transport will have to worsen before a community bus service becomes feasible.

#### 13.11 Attitudes to development

In a democratic society any review of settlement planning policies should incorporate the attitudes of village residents to development. An elementary analysis of this has been incorporated into this study, within the framework of the existing questionnaire survey. This is examined at greater length in Chapter Twelve but broadly in both study areas a majority of the sampled population support the previous development that had taken place in their villages within the past ten years, although there was a considerably larger majority in North Norfolk (91% compared to 64%) than in South Nottinghamshire. In both areas a smaller proportion of households supported future development of the village, but in North Norfolk this still represented a majority of all the sample (60%), whilst in complete contrast, in South Nottinghamshire this was only a small proportion (20%) of the households.

These are not very surprising findings. They indicate a notable difference between the two study areas which must largely reflect the

different pressure for development in the two areas and the amount of new housing that has been built within the last ten years. In fact, there was a common feeling recorded in the Norfolk villages that new housing would be a great boost to these communities. Nonetheless, even in this remoter area one in three of the households did not approve of considerable residential development in the future.

The indication from this study is that a latent conservatism is an important feature in this reaction to large scale future development. It is widely felt, perhaps quite rightly, that much more new housing would cause the village to lose its identity or otherwise change its character. The implication for planning is not just that the scale of development in the villages should be limited but also, and perhaps more significantly, that the rate of residential development should be constrained. This rate of development issue has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, and it is clear that it is important that new housing should be given time to be assimilated into the physical and social environment of the village. It may be best to consider that there is a critical rate of development, which will vary between individual villages and over time, which if exceeded may be harmful to the physical, and social environment, of the village. This study suggests that more research is particularly needed to examine the nature of the relationship between the rate of development and community interaction in rural settlements. It is, of course, very difficult, if not impossible, to measure aspects such as loss of identity or village character. This compares with Gregory's<sup>21</sup> discussion of the problems of measuring amenity considerations in the planning process. Measurement problems should not detract from the need to consider rate of development as a constraint in the development control process. Doubleday (the former Chief Planning

Officer of Hertfordshire) reflected this view<sup>22</sup> when talking of the need for the development rate to be considered as a 'trickle charger' in village development processes.

Given the constraints of the existing planning legislation, it is not practical for local authorities to introduce the rate of development in villages as one of the factors for consideration in the development control process. If a more forward thinking local planning authority decided that there were no other constraints on a specific development application taking place in a particular village, but refused a planning application on the basis that development should be deferred because of intensive development in that village in the past, then the DoE would probably over-rule this decision on appeal. This situation also illustrates the other major limitation to introducing rate of development as a factor in development control; which criteria should be observed to determine what was an excessive rate of development and what was not. Furthermore, if this was left to a subjective decision, then a planning officer, whose training focusses on physical and land use planning, may not be technically qualified to assess the situation.

Perhaps the problem could be overcome by approaching the issue from an alternative direction. Rural resource planning is a technique which has received considerable attention from some planners. It would be a simple extension of this approach to consider land within the built up area of individual villages, as a social resource for future housing needs. New development clearly needs building land (and we must remember that residential redevelopment often takes place at lower densities than had previously existed at a given site) and this is a component of both the urban and rural housing situation. However, a conflict arises between the urban and rural situ-

ation when land within rural settlements is developed on a scale similar to urban standards: the estate being a housing form common to all but the smallest settlements. In this way the land resources of a given village can be consumed very quickly, leaving little room for future housing needs unless development that occurs outside the built up fringe of the settlement is permitted. This is not to suggest that the estate is a form of residential development which is totally inappropriate to the rural context, but it does underline the need to control the rate at which potential building land within individual settlements is developed. This principle applies equally to selected and non-selected settlements. This idea would require an initiative by the DoE, to be effectively implemented by local planning authorities.

### 13.12 Selected village development : An overview

"Where a power station, an over-head transmission line or reservoir might have been, there is now pleasant open countryside still intact and no less (but no more) pleasant than before it was threatened. Where atmospheric pollution might have been higher, it is now lower. Where there might have been noise and disturbance, there is now peace and quiet. These are real and substantial benefits. But not everyone appreciates the absence of evils that failed to materialise." <sup>23</sup>

This comment by Gregory about town and country planning in England, is equally applicable to the rather more specific examination of rural settlement planning. It is rather more easy to identify the limitations and deficiencies of the village planning process than it is to acknowledge its benefits and successes, since the latter (through the nature of the system) are often notable only through their absence. Nonetheless, although it is very important for us to retain

this perspective it should not make us complacent about the deficiencies of the existing system.

In the introduction to this thesis we note that the principle goals of this geographical study are to examine:

- (a) The theory of selected village development.
- (b) The application of selected village development policies and the mechanisms of rural settlement planning.
- (c) The impact of selected village development policies on rural settlement (in two case study areas).
- (d) To assess, within the limitations of the research methodology, the utility of selected village development policies.

This chapter has presented some of the significant findings of the study in the context of the fourth research goal, and it remains to make a summary assessment of the utility of selected village development policies in the process of rural settlement planning in England. Even after we have acknowledged Gregory's point about the 'unseen' successes of the planning process, it is clear that there are deficiencies in the village planning processes. This should not be taken as a criticism that is specific to the case study areas of South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk. The author's experience of other rural areas, and the work of Ash, Hall, MacGregor, and McLoughlin, referred to earlier in this chapter, suggest that the deficiencies in the planning processes for rural settlement are

common to a greater or lesser degree, to most or all of the English counties.

This chapter has attempted to highlight some of the major limitations and problems in the process of rural settlement planning, as suggested by the research in the case study areas. Such deficiencies have a number of apparent sources. The town and country planning legislation may unfairly restrict the establishment of small scale rural employment centres, and larger employment activities wishing to locate outside the villages. Constraints on local government finance, and the administrative organisation, have contributed to imbalance of housing opportunities in many villages, and to delayed provision of facilities in expanding settlements. The structure of the planning system itself is often the root cause of many of the planning deficiencies, principally within the context of development control decisions which are bound largely to physical considerations alone. In fact, only occasionally can such deficiencies be directly related to the idea of selected village development itself. This is a rather different conclusion from that reached by other observers, who have tended to criticise directly selected village development, and often to call for its abandonment from settlement planning policies. Such criticisms have often been valuable contributions to a developing awareness that village planning policies in this country need to be reappraised, but this research suggests that the idea of selected village development is not the root cause of most rural settlement planning problems.

This should not detract from the finding that in some respects selected village planning policies might have been more thoughtfully applied. We have seen, for example, how planning authorities seem to

be neglecting the socio-economic role of selected centres in favour of their physical function as centres for residential development. Furthermore, this study suggests that the mechanisms by which selected village development policies have been applied by local planning authorities, settlement classification schemes, should be reappraised.

These comments on the deficiencies of the planning process must be interpreted within the perspective of the limited role of local planning authorities. Planners and their policies are often criticised, for example, for not limiting the processes of rationalisation or reorganisation in rural areas, and more extreme views amongst laymen may even credit responsibility for these processes to the planners. One wonders if we are approaching a situation when the 'planners' are being blamed for all the ills of contemporary rural settlement. In practice the degree of influence which planners have over such processes is very small and without a major, and probably undesirable, revision of the planning system this will remain so. For example, planners have little or no influence on the closure of village schools, since the reorganisation of educational facilities is not a planning responsibility. In practice, there is very little that planning authorities can do to regulate such processes, although as we have earlier noted, it is important the local government organisations should institute effective communication, liaison and consultation, between the planning department and the other local government departments (both at county and district level) who are often responsible for decisions on rationalisation of facilities in rural areas. There is a strong case, which has only been briefly considered here, for a sub-regional unit or board having responsibility for comprehensive rural planning

The general conclusion of this study is that selected village development is a workable, if imperfect system, for rural settlement planning in this country. A reappraisal of the application of the policy is needed, particularly in respect of settlement classification schemes, but it is likely to be both unwise and impractical for planning authorities to abandon the policy. Further improvements in the application of selected village development may be brought about by a minor revision of the planning system (particularly in respect of social considerations in development control decisions). For which we have made a number of specific suggestions. This revision is quite fundamental to a reappraisal of settlement planning policies, although it is likely that it could be brought about without the need for amendment to existing legislation (via the existing system of 'planning circulars' from the DoE). Selected village development is not a universal panacea for rural problems, but suitably revised, it does offer the most practical framework for settlement planning policies in rural areas.

### 13.13 Summary of recommendations

The following recommendations which are based on the general examination of the planning process, and its specific application in the study areas, are proposed for further consideration by local and central government. They are best interpreted not as a major revision of town and country planning, but more as a refinement of the existing system. The recommendations are based on the author's opinion derived from this research that selected village development policies, suitably revised, offer a practical framework for village planning in England.

(a) A new planning unit or board: Based at the sub-regional (or perhaps regional) level, with a remit to formulate comprehensive planning policies for rural areas.

(b) Local government initiatives to improve the co-ordination of policies affecting rural settlement: This might best be achieved through the co-ordinating influence of the comprehensive policies of a sub-regional or regional planning unit (recommendation a).

(c) Central government (DoE) should encourage district planning authorities to formulate:

i) Village policy statements: brief statements of planning policy for each separate nucleated settlement within their administrative area;

ii) Written village plans: these would be produced for selected villages wherein they would replace the village policy statement. They might take the form of elementary reports of local services and utilities together with an assessment of policy needs and further strategies. These plans might also be selectively produced for other villages, such as settlements with special amenity considerations, where the district planning authority considered that a fuller analysis of the local situation was necessary.

These plans might best be non-statutory in status and subject to continuous, as opposed to periodic, review.

(d) Public participations: Local government, perhaps via the parish councils, should encourage larger villages to produce 'village appraisals'. These may then be related to, or form the basis of, written village plans. Some concern would need to be paid to the formulation of such appraisals, to ensure they reflect a variety of village opinions, and not those of one sectional group.

(e) Social planning: The subject of social planning in rural settlement, in particular, needs to be given more extensive consideration. This study has shown how planning decisions are based on essentially physical planning factors. There is a need for greater consideration of the social context of planning decisions relating to rural settlements, and of the social consequences of planning and related policies. We have suggested, almost paradoxically, that a revision of planning law to allow direct social planning might not be in the best interests of rural communities, since it would institutionalise undesirable aspects of social engineering, into the planning mechanism. We propose that 'social planning' might best be approached by a central government initiative encouraging local authorities to incorporate social considerations into the development control process. Although this would be a major change of approach, it could be instituted within the existing planning system.

(f) Settlement classifications: These should be extensively reviewed. We have suggested that classification might be better approached by effectively abandoning settlement categorisation, perhaps by focussing attention on village groups, where the

only categorisation of settlement would be an elementary distinction between selected villages and non-selected villages. Development control within village groups would then be associated with village policy statements, or written plans, (recommendation c) and not a categorisation scheme.

These recommendations are best seen as a package of proposals which are a step towards an improved planning framework for rural settlement in England. This is only a refinement of the current regulatory framework. We should remember that making real progress with the problems affecting rural settlements, will still largely depend on decisions that are external to the planning system, particularly in respect of service rationalisation in rural areas, and private and public initiatives for capital investment.

#### 13.14 Further research

This study has highlighted the need for further research, in particular, on the following subjects:

- (a) An assessment of the basis and role of employment policies and initiatives in rural areas, and in particular:
  - i) The advantages and disadvantages of developing centres of employment outside the built up areas of villages e.g. 'green field' trading estates.
  - ii) An examination of the practical advantages and disadvantages of a local initiative to encourage the development of small scale employment units within villages.

- (b) An examination of the potential and actual mechanisms for local government encouragement of 'mobile' rural servicing.
  
- (c) An assessment of the influence of settlement morphology on community interaction in villages. This might be approached through an examination of the concept of "social action space".
  
- (d) Detailed examination of the relationships between the rate of development, and community interaction in rural settlement.
  
- (e) Further examination of the mechanisms of social polarisation of the middle classes in rural settlement, with an assessment of the contribution of planning policies and development control decisions to the process.

FOOTNOTES

1. W.R. Davidge, *Cambridgeshire regional planning report* (1934).
2. M. Ash, 'Time for change in rural settlement policy' *Town and Country Planning* 44 (1976), pp. 528 - 531.
3. I.G. Weekly, *The vicaral population : A study of the structure of village economies*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London (1974).
4. M. MacGregor, 'Village life : Facts and myths' *Town and Country Planning* 44 (1976), pp. 524 - 527.
5. B.P. McLoughlin, 'Rural settlement planning : A new approach' *Town and Country Planning* 44 (1976), pp. 156-160.
6. E.H. Doubleday, 'Villages : To plan or not to plan' *Town and Country Planning* 30 (1962), pp. 331 - 335.
7. G.P. Wibberley, 'Rural planning in Britain : Protection or development' *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 56 (1970), pp. 285 - 288.
8. H.D. Clout, *Rural Geography : An introductory survey* (1972), pp. 189 - 195.
9. Countryside Review Committee, *Rural Communities*. Discussion paper (1977).
10. Stocksfield Neighbourhood Working Party, *An experiment in Democracy* (1972).

11. For a concise summary of studies concerning social changes in British commuter settlements, see for example:

H.D. Clout, *op cit* (footnote 8), pp. 50-54.

12. C. Hall, 'Village growth and strife' *The Guardian*, March 1st (1976).

13. M.Ash, *op cit* (footnote 2).

14. M. MacGregor, *op cit* (footnote 4).

15. B.P. McLoughlin, *op cit* (footnote 5).

16. M. MacGregor, 'The rural culture' *New Society* 19, 9th March (1972), pp. 486 - 489.

17. R.J. Green and J.B. Ayton, *Changes in the pattern of rural settlement*. Mimeographed paper for the Town Planning Institute Research Conference (1967).

18. H.E. Bracey, *Social provision in rural Wiltshire* (1952).

19. P. Ambrose, *The quiet revolution : Social change in a Sussex village 1871 - 1971*. (1974).

20. D.G. Rhys and M.J. Buxton, 'The rural transport problem : a possible solution' *Town and Country Planning* 42 (1974), pp. 555 - 558.

21. R. Gregory, *The price of amenity* (1971).
22. E.H. Doubleday, op cit (footnote 6).
23. R. Gregory, op cit (footnote 21), p. 203.

APPENDIX ONEINTER WAR REGIONAL PLANNING SCHEMES(AND THEIR PRINCIPAL AUTHORS)

The existence of 'regional' planning reports published prior to 1947, but largely in the inter-war period, is not widely acknowledged. These were not true regional plans in the sense that we would now refer to them, since their geographical coverage varied from areas as small as an individual town<sup>1</sup> to studies which covered much larger areas on what we would now call a sub-regional scale<sup>2</sup>.

Eighty-one reports were published before the Second World War<sup>3</sup>. The earliest of these being the *Liverpool study* prepared by the Liverpool Regional Survey Association, and published in 1920. In addition a number of reports were published during and after the Second World War, partly in response to the call in the Barlow report<sup>4</sup> of 1940 for more studies on this scale and partly because of the actual and perceived demands of post war reconstruction. Whilst such reports were not 'inter-war' reports as such, they were nonetheless very much the same in type as their pre-war predecessors.

Regional planning scheme had little effective statutory authority (see Chapter 2) and are best interpreted as studies rather than as plans which they were often called. They were prepared by, but more usually for Joint Town Planning Committees and occasionally by individual local authorities.

In this context the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 was of considerable importance, since it permitted local authorities to join together to form Joint Town Planning Committees, in order to prepare such schemes. In a situation of limited finance and scarce resources this was a particularly important parliamentary concession to the local authorities.

Studies of rural areas were much less common than those of metropolitan areas. Generally reports concerning rural areas constituted parts of urban studies. This was largely because the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 made the preparation of planning schemes compulsory for only those authorities with more than 20,000 population (see Chapter Two). Consequently, without this impulse few schemes were prepared for completely rural areas. A notable exception to this principle, and probably the earliest scheme to analyse in detail specifically rural problems, and to suggest constructive planning policy guidelines outside the usually accepted, and largely ineffective, zoning schemes, was the Cambridgeshire report of 1934.<sup>5</sup> It is significant that this was the first regional planning report to be concerned with a fundamentally rural region. Nonetheless as late as 1946 the Herefordshire study was able to comment:

"Surveys of districts or regions such as this [i.e. rural] are at present rare enough for each new venture to have the nature of a pioneer work" 6.

We can identify forty-nine regional planning reports published before 1940 which are concerned wholly or partly (to a sufficient degree to be of interest to this research) with rural areas. Ten of these were produced by Joint Town Planning Committees, but it was more common for these reports to be prepared by consultants employed by these committees (since few Joint Town Planning Committees had sufficient resources or

qualified staff to complete the work themselves). It is an interesting feature of these reports that their preparation was dominated by a very small number of consultants. These few individuals must have represented a relatively large proportion of the very small total number of personnel in the emerging planning profession. Occasionally the consultants produced the regional planning reports by working on their own, but more usually the reports were attributed to a small team of consultants incorporating various combinations of these individuals. The following authors worked on two or more of the forty nine reports concerning rural areas (the number of actual reports is given in brackets):

T.Adams (10)  
 F.L.Thompson (10)  
 P.Abercrombie (8)  
 W.R.Davidge (8)  
 G.M.Fry (7)  
 S.A.Kelly (6)  
 S.D.Adshead (3)  
 W.H.Thmpson (3)  
 Earl of Mayo (2)

The large number of individual reports is accounted for by joint authorship of reports, with up to three or four consultants working on some of the reports. Nonetheless this represents a remarkable concentration of responsibility for these planning schemes. In fact these nine authors were involved (in various combinations) in no less than thirty of these rural or semi-rural reports.

Inter-war planning reports were particularly important to the literature concerning rural planning, of that period. This concentration of responsibility indicates that a small group of men were responsible, albeit not collectively, for developing and disseminating rural planning ideas before 1939. A study of these reports suggests that Abercrombie, Davidge, W.H.Thompson, and the Earl of Mayo were especially important.

The author would like to draw attention to the collection of inter-war reports contained in the Library of the Department of the Environment. Access to these documents may be granted to scholars.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For example see:

P.Abercrombie, *The Doncaster regional planning scheme* (1921).

2. For example, see:

P.Abercrombie, S.A.Kelly, *Cumbrian regional planning scheme* (1932).

3. According to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government bibliography No. 116, *Regional planning schemes 1920-1939*.

4. HMSO, *Distribution of the Industrial population*. Report of the Royal Commission (1940). Cmd.6153.

5. W.R.Davidge, *Cambridgeshire regional planning scheme* (1934).

6. Herefordshire and District Joint Town Planning Committee (for post war reconstruction and planning), *Herefordshire survey* (1946).

APPENDIX TWO

A comparison of the standards of shopping and servicing provision between the new villages of New Ash Green, Kent, and Bar Hill, Cambridgeshire, and established settlements of a similar size

New Ash Green and Bar Hill are new villages whose very recent origins have been examined in Chapter Four. They are settlement plantations in the classical sense of the word. This appendix seeks to examine their relative standards of shopping and service provision.

Both of these settlements are to be large centres by rural standards. New Ash Green in Kent is proposed to accommodate five to six thousand people, and Bar Hill about four thousand (initially).

The original, detailed proposals for both of these new villages, proposed shopping centres in the village and a full range of community facilities. The report by the New Ash Green developers, Span Developments Limited, summarises a fairly detailed examination of the proposed village centre as:

"The shopping and social centre is directly related to each residential area. It will comprise a well serviced group of about twenty-five shops with flats or offices over, pubs, banks, post office, cafe etc. It is also proposed to provide a community building which will include a multi-purpose hall and rooms for the use of clinics, library, committee activities, exhibitions, in addition to the estate administration offices ".<sup>1</sup>

In practise, as both villages near completion neither has obtained the original objectives for shops and services. The village centre at New Ash Green is completed and fully occupied. In all

there are fourteen shops and eight service units. In Bar Hill there are <sup>2</sup> only six shops and another six service units. When this village was visited, two of the shops had recently closed down and two more of the purpose built units still had no occupier. We should acknowledge that the small number of outlets in Bar Hill is partly associated with the proximity and accessibility of the village to Cambridge.

The standards of shopping and service provision in established settlements of a similar size to the two new villages obviously varies quite considerably amongst different centres. Bingham, East Leake, Steyning and Wells are good yardsticks because they are representative of a range of provision in established rural centres of this size. Fakenham, is less representative but it does illustrate the level that can be found in a settlement of this size which serves an extensive hinterland.

Table 1 shows the population size and the retail and service provision of the five established rural centres, together with those for New Ash Green and Bar Hill. This simple comparison shows that provision in the two new villages is relatively poor. Nonetheless, this is a crude method of comparing the centres. An analysis of the functional structure of the new villages and of the five established villages may be of more value. Table 2 represents those functions which are common in large established villages; all of these are found in at least three of the case studies and many are found in all of them. This list does not include a variety of ancillary services such as plumbers, decorators and taxi services, when these are run by just one or two people from a private house. Such services are a significant element of the service structure of a com-

munity but they are often difficult to detect by normal field work and research methods and consequently they are not considered here.

The functional structure at Bar Hill and New Ash Green is also detailed in Table 2. Bar Hill is represented by (B) and New Ash Green by (N). Of the twenty-six retailing functions characteristic of the five established villages New Ash Green has ten and Bar Hill seven. The situation is little better in the servicing sector. New Ash Green has nine of the twenty-five listed functions and Bar Hill, helped by its single multi-denominational church, has ten. In the new villages most of the basic shopping functions are present but the various additional functions that characterise other large villages are not. The situation is similar with services, but the absence of important services such as a doctor (in Bar Hill), a dentist, garage, police station and library is notable. The other element which characterises these new villages is a lack of range and choice amongst some of the more common shopping facilities. For example, New Ash Green has two clothing stores and two grocers; otherwise there is none of the duplication of facilities that is a characteristic attraction of most larger villages.

In conclusions it is clear that the shopping and servicing facilities in the two new villages are inferior to those of 'natural' villages of a similar size. This is partly because the natural villages have established facilities that are used, traditionally, by residents of both the home village and of neighbouring smaller villages (although Steyning maintains a wide range of shopping facilities with only marginal use by neighbour villages<sup>3</sup>). New villages have neither a tradition of use nor an established hinterland and this must work against a full range of facilities.

An additional factor is that neither of the new villages has yet reached its target population, although both are close, and this may discourage an extensive range of shops and services being provided in the villages until they have attained their planned size. Yet all the planned units for shops and services in New Ash Green have been built and all are occupied. There is little provision for further development of the facilities.

It is possible that as the two new villages develop and as they establish themselves, facilities within the settlements will expand. Should this happen there will be planning problems over the location of new facilities as neither of the centres seems to have catered for later expansion. The author is also of the opinion that even should this occur it is likely to take a long time after the two villages reach their full development size. The experience of the British new towns is not strictly comparable, but there are commonly ten or fifteen year time lags between development and the achievement of adequate shopping and servicing facilities in these centres.

If the experience of New Ash Green and Bar Hill is a guide, then planners should realise that more new villages will not make a significant contribution to the facilities of the countryside. Instead, settlements would be created which will have the shopping and servicing facilities (and in all probability the recreational facilities also) of established settlements, a third of their size<sup>4</sup>. Whilst the existing facilities of New Ash Green and Bar Hill are adequate (in terms of every-day needs), it is quite probable that residents will expect wider provision. Unless a solution to this can be found it is likely to prove one of the major draw backs of the idea of new villages.

APPENDIX 2 : Table 1Shop and service provision in the study villages

Centre	County	Population	Number of shops	Number of service
Bingham	Notts.	5,053	38	48
East Leake	Notts.	4,720	27	35
Fakenham	Norfolk	4,467	72	47
Wells	Norfolk	2,345	32 <sup>1</sup>	28 <sup>1</sup>
Steyning	Sussex	3,245	55	12
New Ash Green	Kent	5,000 <sup>2</sup>	14	8
Bar Hill	Cambridgeshire	4,000 <sup>2</sup>	6	6

1. The figures for Wells are adjusted to take account of its status as a tourist centre (this is referred to in Chapter Five). Gift shops, etc., are excluded, but it is probable that the net figures are still higher than would be the case if no summer tourist trade existed.

2. These figures represent the initial target population for these centres. In both cases this figure, at the time of writing, is nearly obtained.

Sources: The population figures for the five established centres are taken from the 1971 Census. The number of shops and services refer to fieldwork in 1972 for Steyning, 1973/4 for Bingham and East Leake, 1974 for New Ash Green and Bar Hill and 1975 for Fakenham.

APPENDIX 2 : Table 2The distribution of functions in the study villagesRETAILING FUNCTIONS

- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| (a) <u>Food and drink</u> | (Clothes cont.)     |
| Baker** (N)               | Shoes*              |
| Butcher** (N)             | Mens clothes        |
| Greengrocer**             |                     |
| Grocer** (N)              | (d) <u>Others</u>   |
| Confectioner* (B)         | Toys** (B) (N)      |
| Fishmonger*               | Newsagent** (B) (N) |
| Off Licence* (N)          | General** (B)       |
|                           | Pets                |
| (b) <u>Household</u>      | Leather goods       |
| Hardware ** (B) (N)       | Auto shop           |
| Electric** (B) (N)        | Sports              |
| Florist* (N)              |                     |
| Gardening*                |                     |
| DIY Store* (B)            |                     |
| Jewellers                 |                     |
| Antiques                  |                     |
| Stationers                |                     |
| (c) <u>Clothes</u>        |                     |
| Ladies clothes** (N)      |                     |
| Childrens clothes*        |                     |

SERVICING FUNCTIONS

- |                          |
|--------------------------|
| (e) <u>Personal</u>      |
| Ladies hairdresser** (B) |
| Barber**                 |
| Optician*                |
| Dentist*                 |
| Doctor** (N)             |
| Chiropodist              |
| (f) <u>Household</u>     |
| Chemist** (B) (N)        |
| Launderette** (N)        |
| Bank** (B) (N)           |
| Post Office** (B) (N)    |
| Building Society         |
| Estate agents            |
| Solicitors               |

SERVICING FUNCTIONS Cont(g) Education

Primary school\*\* (B) (N)  
 Secondary school\*\*  
 Library\*

(h) Religious

Anglican church\*\* (B) (N)  
 Methodist church\* (B)  
 Catholic church (B)

(i) Other

Filling station\*\*  
 Motor engineers\*\*  
 Restaurant/Take away\*\* (B) (N)  
 Public house\*\* (B) (N)  
 Police\*  
 Licenced betting office

\*\* : Found in all the established centres

\* : Found in four of the established centres

B : Present in Bar Hill

N : Present in New Ash Green

Source: Fieldwork (see 'source' note on previous table).

FOOTNOTES

1. Span Developments Limited, *New Ash Green: A new village near Hartley, Kent* (1965), section 6.
2. This information was accurate at the time of the survey: Bar Hill, 28th September 1974 and New Ash Green, 14th August 1974.
3. D. Parsons, *The functional evolution of Steyning, Sussex*. Unpublished B.A. Dissertation (1973), p. 24.
4. Research in South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk villages and experience of many other parts of the country suggests that the level of provision in New Ash Green and Bar Hill is on a par with medium order villages with between one and two thousand inhabitants, i.e. settlements about a third a size of the two new villages.

APPENDIX 3

Counties surveyed in the detailed examination of the period of formal adoption of selected village development policies.

Administrative counties relate to boundaries prior to the revision of April 1st, 1974, associated with the Local Government Act of 1972.

Berkshire

Cambridgeshire

Cheshire

Co. Durham

Cornwall

Devon

East Sussex

Hampshire

Huntingdonshire

Isle of Wight

Kent

Lancashire

Lincolnshire : 'District' of Lindsey

Lincolnshire : 'District' of Kesteven

Lincolnshire : 'District' of Holland

Norfolk

Northumberland

Nottinghamshire

Somerset

Surrey

West Sussex

For each of these counties the following plans and reports were examined (where prepared): county development plans; 1st review of county development plans (and subsequent quinquennial reviews; special policy documents and reports concerning rural settlement plans. County structure plans and related 'Local or Area' plans were not formally consulted since these related to the local government boundaries post 1974, and because few county planning authorities were beyond the draft preparation stage at the time of examination.

APPENDIX FOURTHE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEYIntroduction

The questionnaire survey was a fundamental element of the research methodology. Consequently, the successful completion of the survey in both South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk was integral to the overall success of the research scheme.

The initial step in the design of the questionnaire survey was the definition of the objectives of the survey. Oppenheim has discussed the importance of survey goals:

"A questionnaire is not just a list of questions or a form to be filled out. It is essentially a scientific instrument for measurement and for collection of particular kinds of data. Like all such instruments, it has to be specifically designed according to particular specifications and with specific aims in mind, and the data it yields are subject to error. We cannot judge a questionnaire as good or bad, efficient or inefficient, unless we know what job it was meant to do. This means that we have to think not merely about the wording of particular questions, but first and foremost about the design of the investigation as a whole."<sup>1</sup>

The principal characteristic of this survey was that it was a multi-goal investigation. The questionnaire was to collect information which was essential to the research scheme but which could not be satisfactorily obtained from other sources. Broadly the questionnaire was to collect information in four main areas:

- (a) Demographic and related data, such as length of residence, previous place of residence, reason for moving to the village, etc.
- (b) Socio-economic data. These included a wide variety of information on employment, consumer behaviour and recreation.
- (c) Details on conflict, tension and friendliness in the village communities.
- (d) Attitudes to development and change in the respective villages.

In addition, specific information on household composition, social class, age and car ownership was also collected. It was possible to collect these latter details from other sources but these were included in the questionnaire schedule because they were required for the analysis of the questionnaire results and for an assessment of the error of the survey.

#### The design of the questionnaire form

This was a complex task. Five draft questionnaire forms were produced before a format suitable for the pilot survey was decided on. Observations from the pilot survey suggested a few minor modifications to this fifth draft. The final format is illustrated by a specimum form enclosed as the Annex to this Appendix.

The method of designing a questionnaire form uses a rather less systematic approach than other aspects of social survey research, such as sampling, for example. Nonetheless, simple common sense alone is an inadequate basis for design. A great deal of literature has been published in the last twenty years on social survey techniques and aspects of questionnaire design. An extensive review of this literature is essential before a survey design is attempted. The author found the following texts to be of particular use in the context of this survey: Payne <sup>2</sup>, Selltiz et al <sup>3</sup>, Kahn and Cannel <sup>4</sup>, Oppenheim <sup>5</sup>, Hyman <sup>6</sup>, Moser and Kalton <sup>7</sup> and Warwick and Lininger <sup>8</sup>.

Questionnaire design is involved with two fundamental issues, relevance and accuracy. Relevance is a simple refinement of the objectives of the survey in association with a clear knowledge of the detailed requirements. Accuracy in the survey is a function of minimising possible sources of bias and error. In the context of questionnaire design the principal causes of bias are misphrased questions and poorly structured questionnaires. The references already quoted discuss the subject of question wording. These sources combined with common sense and thorough testing were found to be adequate in minimising the possibility of respondents misunderstanding questions. Associated with the wording issue was the need to define certain operational terms.

The sequence of the questions had an important function to play in maintaining the interest of the respondent and their co-operation. This was especially important with a questionnaire format of this length.

For the most part intellectual honesty, knowledge of design procedures, and common sense were adequate to minimise bias on the questionnaire form. However, in a situation where one person was responsible for the development of the form the chance of some sources of bias going unrecognised was high. Two safeguards were adopted. Firstly, the development of the questionnaire form was reviewed draft by draft by the author's supervisor, Dr. Wheeler, of the Department of Geography. The final form was additionally submitted to Mr. Lawson, the rural planning specialist at the Institute of Planning Studies at Nottingham University, for professional comments. The second safeguard was rigorous testing of the form. The pilot survey would normally perform this task, but as it was hoped that the results of the pilot survey might be used in the final analysis along with those of the other survey villages, it was necessary to have ironed out major causes of bias and misunderstanding in the form before it was so tested. This was achieved by a simple 'consultation' survey of six households in the authors home village of Southwater in Sussex. These households were interviewed normally and then asked their opinions of the use of the form, whether there had been any misleading questions or others they had not understood. In addition, the author had some knowledge of what the replies should be on subjects such as consumer behaviour, village conflict, etc. and was consequently able to review the use of the survey in some of the more sensitive areas of the form which would be expected to be subject to a greater degree of bias or error than other sections.

The consultation test was an experimental testing procedure. The author could not find evidence of parallel tests being used in other social surveys. It was considered that interviewer bias or respondent bias might be caused through the author's association

with the village. In addition, the possibility of areal distortions caused by testing the form in a different part of the country to those in which it would be applied, could not be discounted. In practice, however, this consultation test seemed to be very successful. Two design faults were indicated in the consultation, and these were subsequently corrected before the questionnaire had its final testing in the pilot survey.

### The structure of the survey

The method by which the questionnaires would be completed was chosen from the two alternatives of a mail/postal survey, or an interview survey<sup>9</sup>. The use of the telephone as an interviewing medium in recent social surveys in the United States was considered to be financially impracticable and was therefore not considered as a third alternative.

Self-administered mail surveys have two principle advantages over interview surveys. Firstly they exhaust less time than comparable interview-based surveys. Secondly, as the survey organiser (or representative) does not come into direct contact with the respondent the possibility of interviewer bias is greatly reduced. The principle problems of postal surveys are the fall off of respondent interest in the survey, even when reminder letters are used and the questionnaire is accompanied by an explanatory covering letter, and the generally lower response rate. Scott has discussed the use of mail surveys at length and provides a full account of operational advantages and disadvantages<sup>10</sup>.

Interviewer based surveys allow greater flexibility than those

based on postal response. A suitably qualified interviewer can make coding assessments, for example, of the social class of the household. A skilled interviewer is also able to maintain the interest of the respondent and this partly accounts for the much higher response rates characteristic of these surveys. Unfortunately, interviewer based social surveys introduce the element of interviewer bias. This method of survey was chosen for this research. The choice was determined principally because of the greater flexibility it facilitated, particularly in connection with the various attitude questions.

The interviewing for the survey was undertaken by the author. This was principally determined by the size of the survey and by the lack of financial resources to recruit interviewers. There were other advantages to this choice. There were no problems of interviewer recruitment and selection, no training programme or field supervision, no need to edit returned forms as this was done in the field, and no significant quality differential as all the interviews were completed by one person. In addition, undertaking the interviewing himself had the big advantage of developing a 'spirit of place' in the author. This may seem a fairly abstract concept but it had real advantages when assessing the results of the survey, and also in collecting a wide variety of additional information from the respondents.

Once the survey method was established, it was necessary to select those villages that were to be surveyed and to decide what samples of the respective village populations were to be interviewed. Both village selection and sampling procedures have been discussed at length in Chapter Six.

The pilot survey

The village of Wysall in South Nottinghamshire was selected as the community in which the pilot survey was to be carried out. In accordance with the sampling parameters mentioned in Chapter Six, a thirty-five per cent sample was selected. This gave a total of twenty-six households to be interviewed:

$$S = \left( \frac{H_t}{100} \right) \cdot P$$

Where sample size  $S$  is a function of the total number of households  $H_t$  in the village, as recorded by the 1971 census, and the sampling proportion  $P$ .

Then,

$$S = \left( \frac{73}{100} \right) \cdot 35 = 25.55 \text{ households}$$

$$S = 26 \text{ households (rounded off)}$$

The pilot survey was designed to test both the validity of the questionnaire form and also the survey method and the sampling parameters. The questionnaire form was found to be very satisfactory. Only minor problems of presentation were discovered and these were not thought to be significant enough to bias the results of the pilot survey. This survey did show the need for one question to be added to the final questionnaire format. Many households in the village commented that newcomers to the village did not attempt to establish themselves in the community. Consequently, it was thought that this attitude should be tested in other villages.

The survey method showed no problems in Wysall although on the basis of the response rates in Wysall and the collection rate of 4.3 completed questionnaires per day, it was decided to reduce the minimum number of visits per household to three (including one evening visit if the householder could not be contacted during the day). The sampling procedures were also considered to be a success; twenty of the twenty-six householders replied to the questionnaire; one refused (the lowest refusal rate of all the villages), and five could not be contacted. This represented a completion rate of 76.9 per cent which was much higher than had been anticipated.

The pilot survey also had the function of introducing the author to the practical complexities of interviewing and to a variety of organisational problems. For example, it was found that drawing a sample from the electoral register led to inadequate addresses for many of the outlying village households. In such cases it was found that an inquiry at the village sub-post office would save much wasted time searching for the relevant household.

### Fieldwork

The pilot survey was completed in June, 1974. The results of this were compared with similar information from the 1971 census (see Chapter Nine for a full discussion) to establish whether the degree of error was acceptable and therefore whether or not the survey had been a success. This having been established, the full survey commenced in the remaining six villages in South Nottinghamshire.

The survey in South Nottinghamshire started in early November, 1974, and continued until February, 1975. This represented a total of fifty-nine interviewing days, after accounting for the Christmas recess and bad weather, and a rate of 5.9 completed interviews per working day. No fieldwork took place on weekends because of the perceived risk of higher refusal rates. The overall completion rate in South Nottinghamshire was 71.8 per cent. Rates of response are examined in more detail in Table One.

The North Norfolk survey started in late August, 1975, and was finished towards the end of the following month, a total of twenty-three working days. This represented a rate of 9.6 completed interviews per day, a much higher rate which was a function of a slightly lower response rate, a greater degree of experience on the part of the author and considerably better weather conditions. The over-all response rate in Norfolk was 60.0 per cent. This was less satisfactory than in the Nottinghamshire case study but was nonetheless considered to be satisfactory in providing a reasonable cross section of the surveyed villages. The difference between the two case studies was considered to be accounted for by many of the Norfolk householders being absent on holiday and perhaps marginally by second home ownership in that county (resulting in weekend occupation of some households).

The problem of non-response was more important in Norfolk than in South Nottinghamshire, but it was significant here also because non-response in social surveys is rarely a product of strictly random factors. In this context it was thought to be important to collect some information about households that did not respond. In

practice, however, only the most basic details were obtainable for all non-response households. These are shown in Table Two.

### Coding in the questionnaire

Pre-coding of the questionnaire form was limited through the need to economise on space in the format. In addition, the nature of the questionnaire itself also restricted the use of pre-coding. Since the survey was to be analysed by computer, using the facilities at the Cripps Computing Centre at Nottingham University, it was necessary to code most of the responses after completion of the survey.

Coding only presented a significant problem on the 'open response' sections of the questionnaire, those sections in which respondents were asked their reasons for their attitudes to housing and the conversion of property in the villages. It was clear from the interviewing that many of these responses could be grouped as common replies. However, defining a list of coded categories to cover all the different attitudes proved a considerable problem. It was initially hoped that attitudes would fall into a few categories and that the exceptions to the pattern could be coded into an 'other reasons' category. In practice, the majority of responses were restricted to a small number of categories; the remainder, however, covered a wide range of attitudes and it was considered that too much data would be lost by coding all of these in one category. Consequently, the open response sections of the survey gave rise to an exceptionally large number of categories. Without training in social psychology, it was considered inadvisable to attempt to reduce this number by amalgamating similar attitude categories.

Coding inevitably led to some error in the presentation of data to the computer for analysis. Firstly, there was the possibility of error when transferring information from the individual questionnaire forms to the coding sheets. An additional source of error was the punching of computer cards from these coding sheets. To minimise these sources of error, editing checks were used at both of these stages.

### Analysis of the questionnaire survey

The bulk of the survey was analysed with the aid of the ICL 1906A computer at the Cripps Computing Centre at Nottingham University. Some of the data, however, was presented in such a structure that it did not lend itself to worthwhile computation (using the chosen package) and it was decided that it would more efficient to analyse these sections manually. This represented a small proportion of all the data.

Three sections of the questionnaire were analysed manually : patterns of shopping; servicing; and recreation. In addition, some information on household employment was not suitable for computation along with the remainder of the survey data. Discussion with Mr Ebdon of the Department of Geogrpahy indicated that these three sections were not suitable for analysis through the SPSS procedures which were to be used for the remainder of the data <sup>11</sup>. Additional advice from Dr Mather of the Department of Geography, Nottingham University, indicated that programmes could be written or adapted to compute these sections but that this would be impracticable as it would be far quicker to analyse these manually. In addition

the flexibility of manual analysis led to less data loss than would have been the case had computer analysis been used. Finally, none of the three sections required the use of any advanced statistics, and so they were statistically suitable for manual analysis.

It was decided to use the statistical package for the Social Scientists for the analysis of the survey. The options available for the SPSS system on the ICL 1906A made this the ideal package for analysing the questionnaire. One particular feature of the initial version of SPSS (version 5.0, ICL ammended) to be used, was the facility to construct and define (through simple adjusted Fortran statements) a subfile structure in the data records. Subsequent procedure statements then allowed the tabulation exercises and statistics to be presented for either : the whole survey, the two case study areas, or individual villages. This enabled the results to be analysed by the individual villages. In subsequent runs the subfile procedure card recoded the subfiles into aggregate subfiles for the two case study areas, thereby computing results at the case study level as well as for the individual villages.

The analysis was conducted by defining and creating a 'system file' of fifty-six variables. These were subsequently analysed by a variety of simple run programs, according to different needs by the appropriate procedure as defined in the SPSS manual <sup>12</sup>. For example, the Condescriptive procedure computed basic descriptive statistics for continuous variables and was used to analyse information such as length of residence in the communities. Codebook was the most useful procedure, defining simple statistics relating to the production of frequency tables for ordinal data. Finally the

Crosstabs procedure was used to cross-tabulate a wide range of variables and to test the significance of certain relationships through computing chi-square for each cross tabulation.

Some of the final stages of the analysis were carried out using a more advanced version of SPSS (version 6.5, CDC ammended) available at the University of London Computer Centre (ULCC) and the University of Manchester Regional Computing Centre. This necessitated the systems file 'PARSFILE' to be recreated on magnetic tape storage using a temporary allocation of permanent file space to re-structure the file.

As previously mentioned the input medium for the programme was computer cards. The data cards were punched over a one week period. The subsequent generation of the initial systems file was carried out over a six week period of program running and amendment. This was followed by the analysis procedures which lasted a further month, with occasional supplementary runs to ULCC over the next eighteen months.

### Summary

Figure One represents a flow diagram which summarises the procedures involved in the design of the questionnaire survey. The diagram is related to this survey but might be equally employed in any other multi-objective social survey of similar scale.

FOOTNOTES

1. A.N. Oppenheim, *Questionnaire design and attitude measurement* (1966), pp. 2 - 3.
2. S.L.B. Payne, *The art of asking questions* (1951).
3. C. Sellitz and others, *Research methods in social relations* (1959).
4. R.L. Kahn and C.F. Cannel, *The dynamics of interviewing: Theory, techniques and cases* (1957).
5. A.N. Oppenheim, op cit (footnote 1).
6. H.H. Hyman, *Survey design and analysis: Principles, cases and procedures* (1955).
7. C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, *Survey methods in social investigation* (1958).
8. D.P. Warwick and C.A. Lininger, *The sample survey: Theory and practice* (1975).
9. The authors subsequent work with other aspects of social survey research has suggested an alternative procedure. This involves the distribution by hand of the questionnaire forms and subsequent collection at a pre-arranged date. This form of survey may be particularly valuable for small scale household surveys in one village, but it was unlikely to have been of much use in this research where we were

interviewing several hundred households distributed over two study areas in twelve separate villages.

10. C. Scott, 'Research on mail surveys!' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 24 Series A (1961), pp. 143 - 95.

11. The term SPSS is the usual package label for the variety of programmes and procedures available in the 'Statistical Package for the Social Scientist.

12. N. Nie, D.H. Bent and C.H. Hull, *Statistical Package for the Social Scientist* (1970).

Table 1: Response in the questionnaire survey

	Households completed at first daytime call	Households completed at second daytime call	Households completed at an evening call	Total households answering the questionnaire	Sample size	Response rate (%)
Fakenham	32	14	20	66	109	60.6
Gt. Ryburgh	12	4	4	20	30	66.6
Stiffkey	11	2	3	16	28	57.1
Sharrington	9	2	2	13	25	52.0
Brinton	10	5	2	17	28	60.7
North Norfolk (total)	74	27	31	132	220	60.0
Barton in Fabis	10	5	5	20	26	76.9
East Bridgford	18	5	10	33	47	74.5
East Leake	35	26	45	106	148	71.6
Kinoulton	12	5	5	22	31	71.0
Normanton on Soar	9	4	7	20	30	66.6
Thoroton	12	8	6	26	36	72.2
Wysall	10	4	6	20	26	76.9
South Nottinghamshire (total)	106	57	84	247	344	71.8

Source: Questionnaire survey 1974/5.

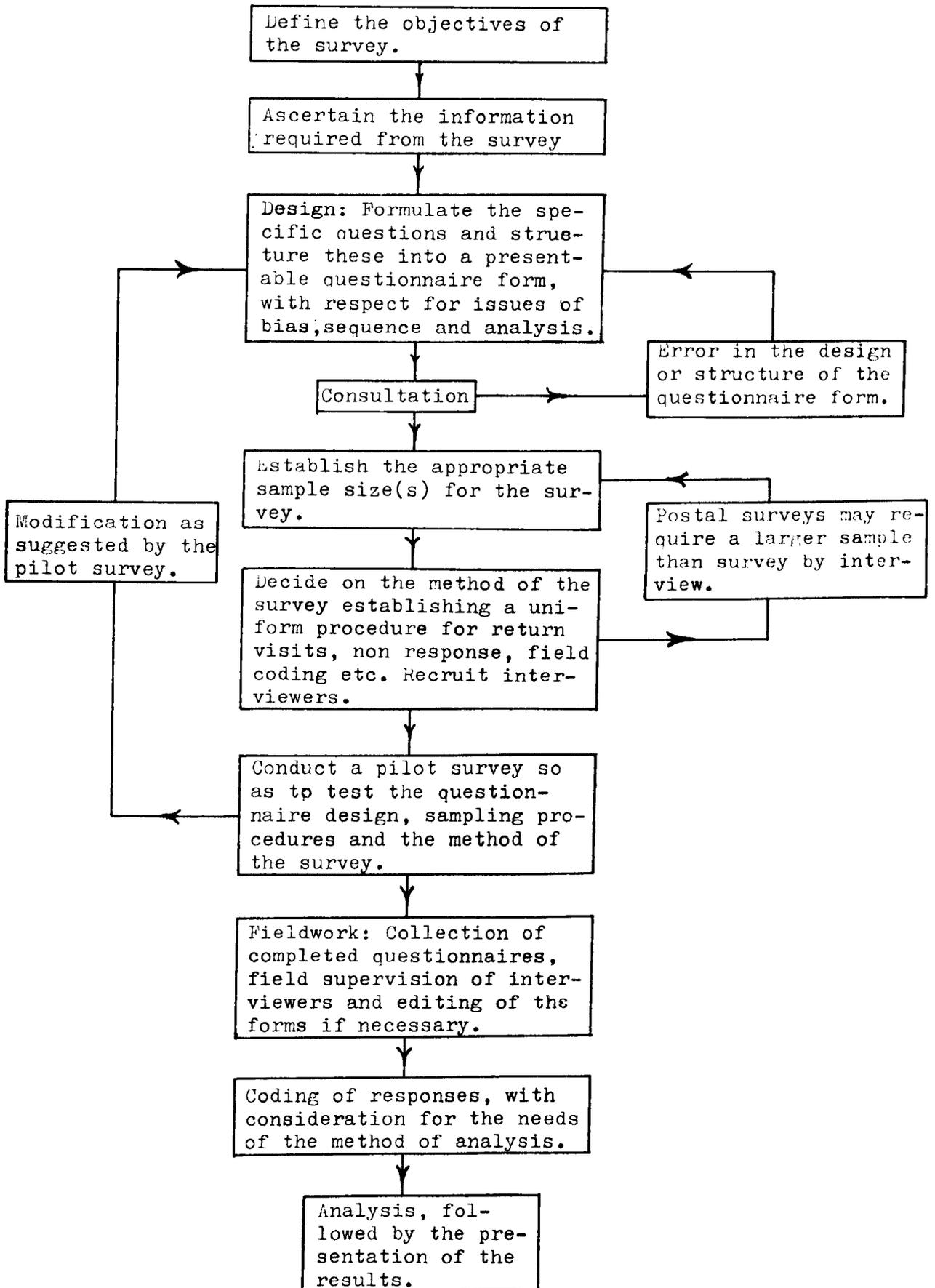
Table 2: Non-response in the questionnaire survey

	Households refusing to answer the questionnaire	Unoccupied households <sup>1</sup>	Demolished households	Other households from which a completed questionnaire was not obtained	Sample size	Non response rate (%)
Fakenham	14	7	1	21	109	39.4
Gt. Ryburgh	3	2	0	5	30	33.3
Stiffkey	3	1	1	7	28	42.9
Sharrington	0	9	0	3	25	48.0
Brinton	0	4	0	7	28	39.3
North Norfolk (total)	20	23	2	43	220	40.0
Barton in Fabis	4	0	0	2	26	23.1
East Bridgford	4	2	1	7	47	25.5
East Leake	14	10	3	16	148	28.4
Kinoulton	3	1	0	5	31	29.0
Normanton on Soar	5	2	0	4	30	33.3
Thoroton	4	3	1	2	36	27.8
Wysall	1	2	0	3	26	23.1
South Nottinghamshire (total)	35	20	5	38	344	28.2

1. Households which show clear signs of being unoccupied or which are said to be unoccupied by next-door neighbours.

Source: Questionnaire survey 1974/5.

Figure 1 The survey process



APPENDIX FOUR

ANNEX

The format of the questionnaire as  
used in the household survey in  
South Nottinghamshire and North  
Norfolk.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

## DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

Household code No.....

House type .....

RURAL SETTLEMENT SURVEY

1. Is this house your permanent home? IF SO, is it:

(a) owner occupied \_\_\_\_\_ (b) rented \_\_\_\_\_ (c) a tied cottage \_\_\_\_\_

IF NOT, is it a holiday home that is:

(a) owned by yourself \_\_\_\_\_ (b) rented \_\_\_\_\_ (please tick)

IF OTHER, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

2. How long has your immediate family, that is yourself, your husband/wife, and any children, lived in:

(a) this house \_\_\_\_\_ (b) this village \_\_\_\_\_ (c) this county \_\_\_\_\_

3. If your immediate family has not lived in this village all its life, in which town or village did you last live (give county also). If the respondents 'family' has lived here all its life enter 'NONE':  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. Have you or your husband/wife ever lived in a town?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

5. Why did you move to this village?

(a) For the village community spirit \_\_\_\_\_ (b) To a job or to be within commuting range of a job \_\_\_\_\_ (c) Property cheaper than in nearby town \_\_\_\_\_

(d) Liked the particular house \_\_\_\_\_ (e) Wanted to be near relatives \_\_\_\_\_

(f) Wanted to be near friends \_\_\_\_\_ (g) Moved to a spouse on marriage \_\_\_\_\_

(h) Offered accommodation by the council \_\_\_\_\_ (i) Born here \_\_\_\_\_

(j) For retirement \_\_\_\_\_ (k) To be in the countryside \_\_\_\_\_

(l) Other reason (please specify)  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. Could you please give me the following simple details for all the people living in this house. (Take a separate line for each person in the house: see notes below the table for marital status and age group codes).

Relationship to the head of Household	Sex	Marital status	Age Group

Single - S                      0 - 4 years old = 1                      25 - 44 years old = 4  
 Married - M                    4 -14    "    " = 2                      45 - 64    "    " = 5  
 Widowed - W                   15 -24    "    " = 3                      65 and over        = 6  
 Divorced - D

7. Please give me the following information for any of the above who are working full time. (Take a separate line for each person and put an 'X' against the line relating to the head of the household).

Sex of worker	Name of town, village or farm where they work	Occupation	Usual method of travel to work

N.B. Usual means of travel to work: Walking (W), Private car (C), Public transport (P), Works bus (WB), Cycle (B), Motor cycle (M) taxi (T).

8. Are there any retired people in the immediate family? IF SO,

(a) How many are there? \_\_\_\_\_ (b) What was their last full-time Occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_

(c) Where did they last live (Give town/village and county)

\_\_\_\_\_

9. If there are any members of this household engaged in full-time education, whether in school or college, could you please say for each of them: which town or village they go to school/college in, whether this is a primary or secondary school or college, and how they usually travel to school/college. (Take a separate line for each person).

Location of school/college	Primary/Secondary/college	Usual means of travel

10. How many cars are there in this household? \_\_\_\_\_

How many motor cycles are there in this household? \_\_\_\_\_

N.B. This includes any cars etc. which are not owned by the family but which they regularly use e.g. company cars and vans, cars being purchased under Hire purchase agreements etc. The term 'household' refers to those members of the family defined before as 'immediate family' plus any other person living in the house e.g. lodgers.

11. The following questions concern your usual shopping habits:

	Daily groceries e.g. bread, eggs & cheese	General Hard-ware, DIY & garden goods utensils etc.	Expensive Household e.g. furniture cookers etc.
In which towns or villages do you normally buy these three different types of shopping?			
Roughly how often do you go to buy these?			
How do you usually travel to the shops when you go to buy these,			



16. Roughly how often do members of this household go to the cinema/theatre?

---

IF NEVER, omit Q's 17 & 18.

17. How do you normally travel when you go to the cinema/theatre

---

18. In which towns do you usually go to see the cinema/theatre, and do you go to one of these more often than the others? (Underline any town more often attended).

---

19. In general do you find this village:

(a) over friendly, i.e. too much 'dropping in' or 'gossiping' \_\_\_\_\_

(b) very friendly \_\_\_\_\_ (c) quite friendly \_\_\_\_\_ (d) not very

friendly \_\_\_\_\_ (e) unfriendly \_\_\_\_\_ (f) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

20. Do you feel you have fitted into the life of the village:

(a) as fully as you wished \_\_\_\_\_ (b) not as fully as you wished \_\_\_\_\_

(c) much less than you wished \_\_\_\_\_ (d) newcomer, not had time to assess  
the situation \_\_\_\_\_ (e) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

21. Do you feel there are any signs of tension or resentment between long-standing residents and recent arrivals in the village?

(a) clear signs \_\_\_\_\_ (b) some signs \_\_\_\_\_ (c) no signs \_\_\_\_\_

(d) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

22. Of all of your friends roughly how many would you say live in this village. (Separate answer for husband and wife, if husband not present ask wife to estimate - stressing that he may have friends at work).

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
None		
Under $\frac{1}{4}$		
From $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$		
From $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$		
Over $\frac{3}{4}$		

23. In the last 10 years there have been many/several new houses built in this village. How do you feel about these?

(a) generally approve \_\_\_\_\_ (b) mixed feelings \_\_\_\_\_ (c) generally disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ (d) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

FOR WHAT REASONS do you hold this opinion on new housing in the village?

---

24. Also in the last 10 years some of the older buildings in the village have been converted to modern cottages. How do you feel about this?

(a) generally approve \_\_\_\_\_ (b) mixed feelings \_\_\_\_\_ (c) generally disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ (d) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

FOR WHAT REASONS do you hold this opinion on converting old houses?

25. How do you feel newcomers have fitted into the village?

---

26. Do you believe it would be right to build many more new houses in this village?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_

Why do you believe this?

---

Would you move to another village or town if more houses were built here?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_

27. Do you think you might move from this village in the future? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, what do you think might be the reason for you moving?

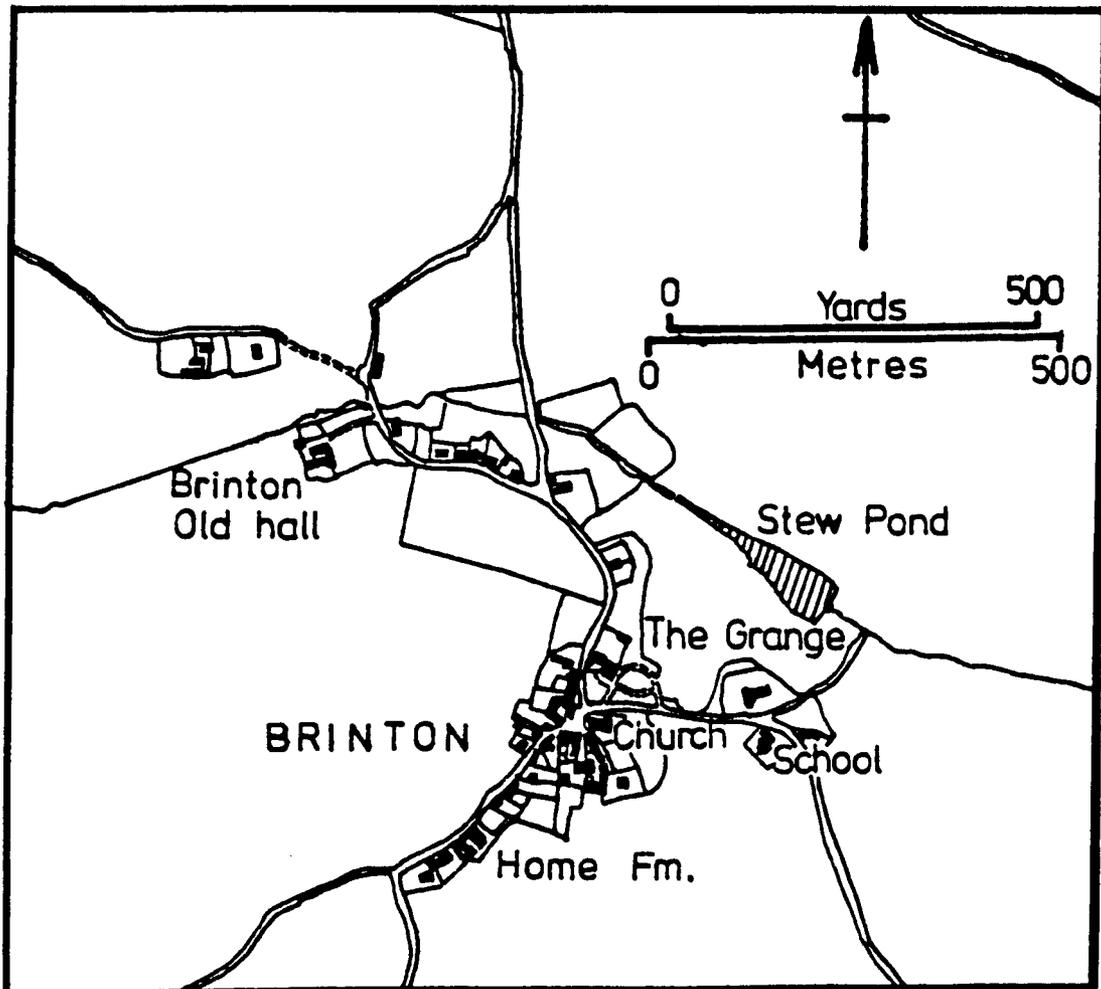
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APPENDIX FIVEMAPS OF THE STUDY VILLAGES

This appendix contains maps of the study villages referred to in the text. The settlement plans are based on the 1:10,560 series of the Ordnance Survey (six inches to the mile) but are photographically reduced where appropriate.

In some cases the most recent revision of the 1:10,560 series is quite considerably out of date, and for this reason all of the village maps, with two notable exceptions, have incorporated housing built since the last revision (as indicated by the field surveys of the individual villages carried out between 1974 and 1975). The two exceptions are the large selected villages of East Leake in South Nottinghamshire (Map 8) and Fakenham in North Norfolk (Map 2). Here the scale of new development is such that only the areas of recent development are included on the maps.

The population size (in 1971) of the appropriate civil parishes, and the planning status of each of the settlements is also included on each of the maps.



Appendix 5: Map 1

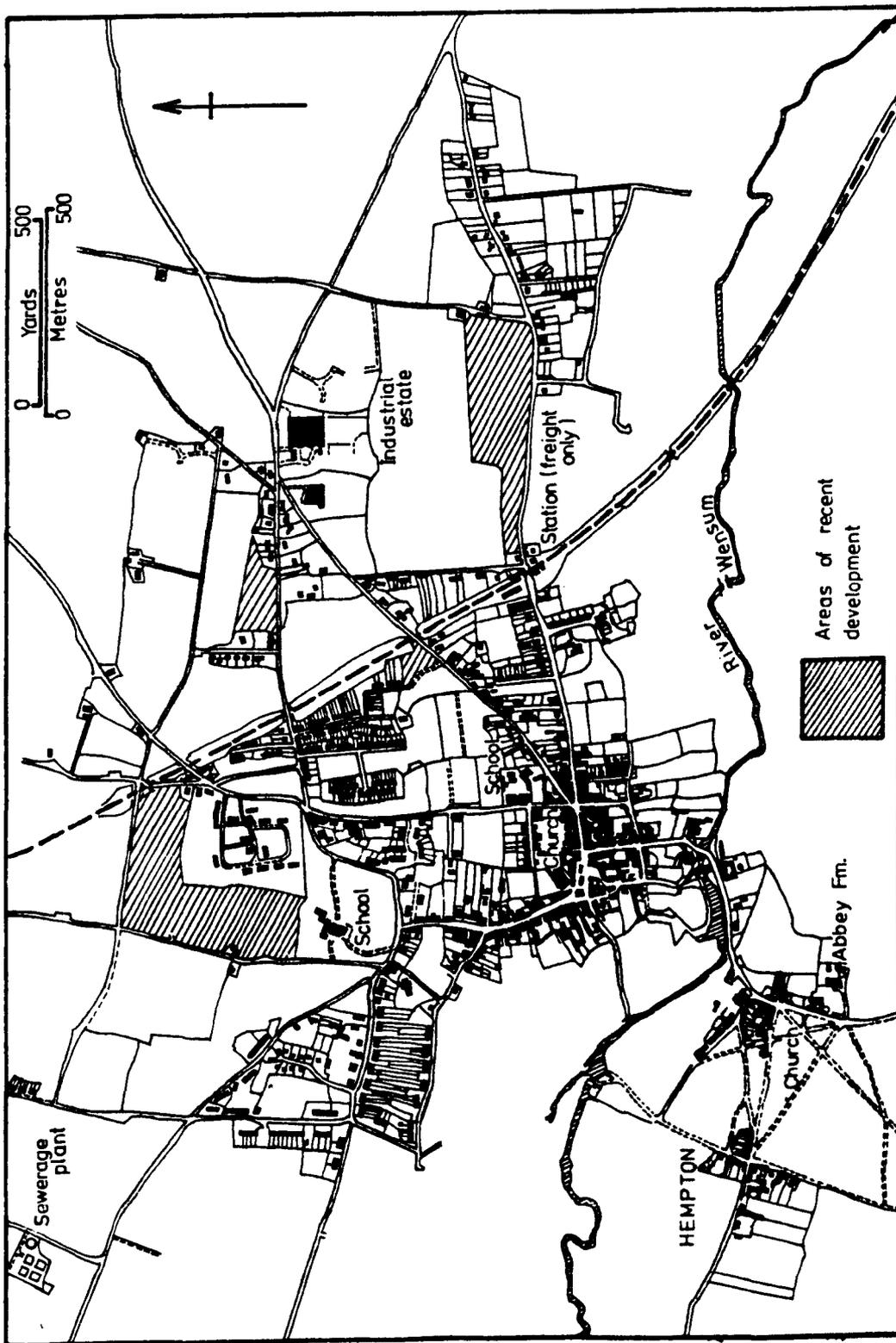
Brinton, North Norfolk

Village without a 'village development area' - nucleated settlement (Category (iv))

Population in 1971: Approx. 90 (This is a joint enumeration ditrict together with the village of Sharrington. The composite population being 187 in the 1971 census).

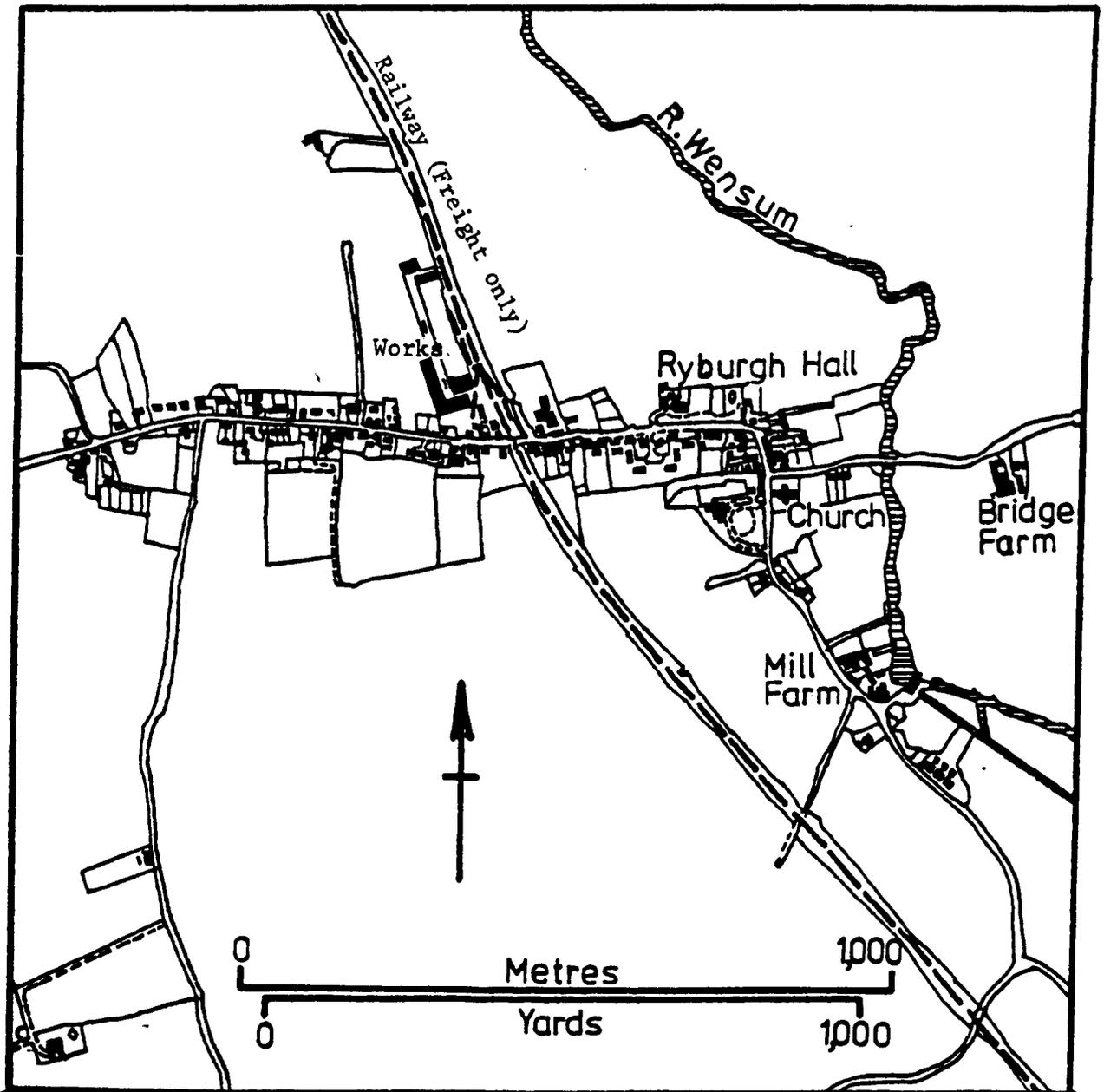
Appendix 5: Map 2

Fakenham, North Norfolk



Selected centre

Population in 1971: 4,467

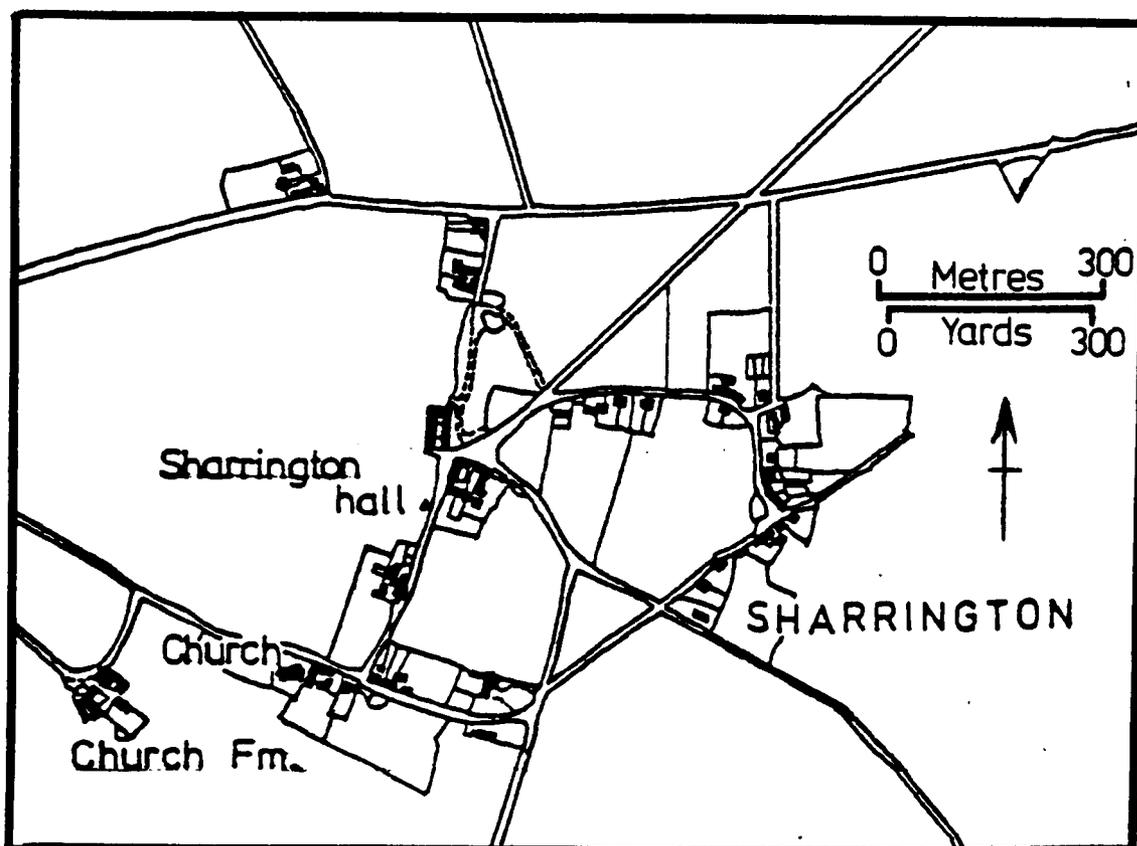


Appendix 5: Map 3

Great Ryburgh, North Norfolk

Village with a village development area which may function as local centres, and where estate development may be appropriate (Category (i/ii))

Population in 1971: 415

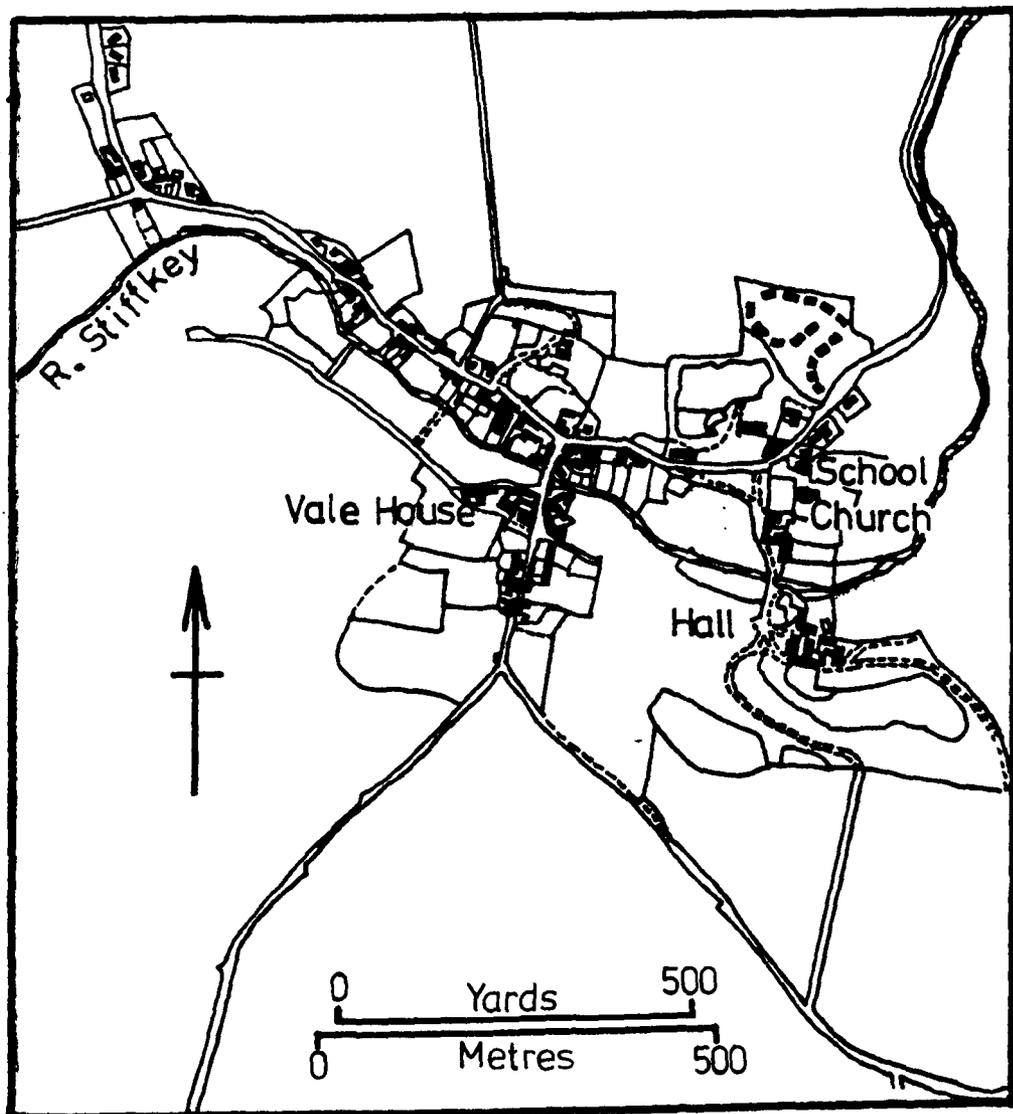


Appendix 5: Map 4

Sharrington, North Norfolk

Village without a 'village development area' - non-nucleated settlement (Category (iv))

Population in 1971: Approx. 97 (This is a joint enumeration district with the village of Brinton. The composite population being 187 in 1971).

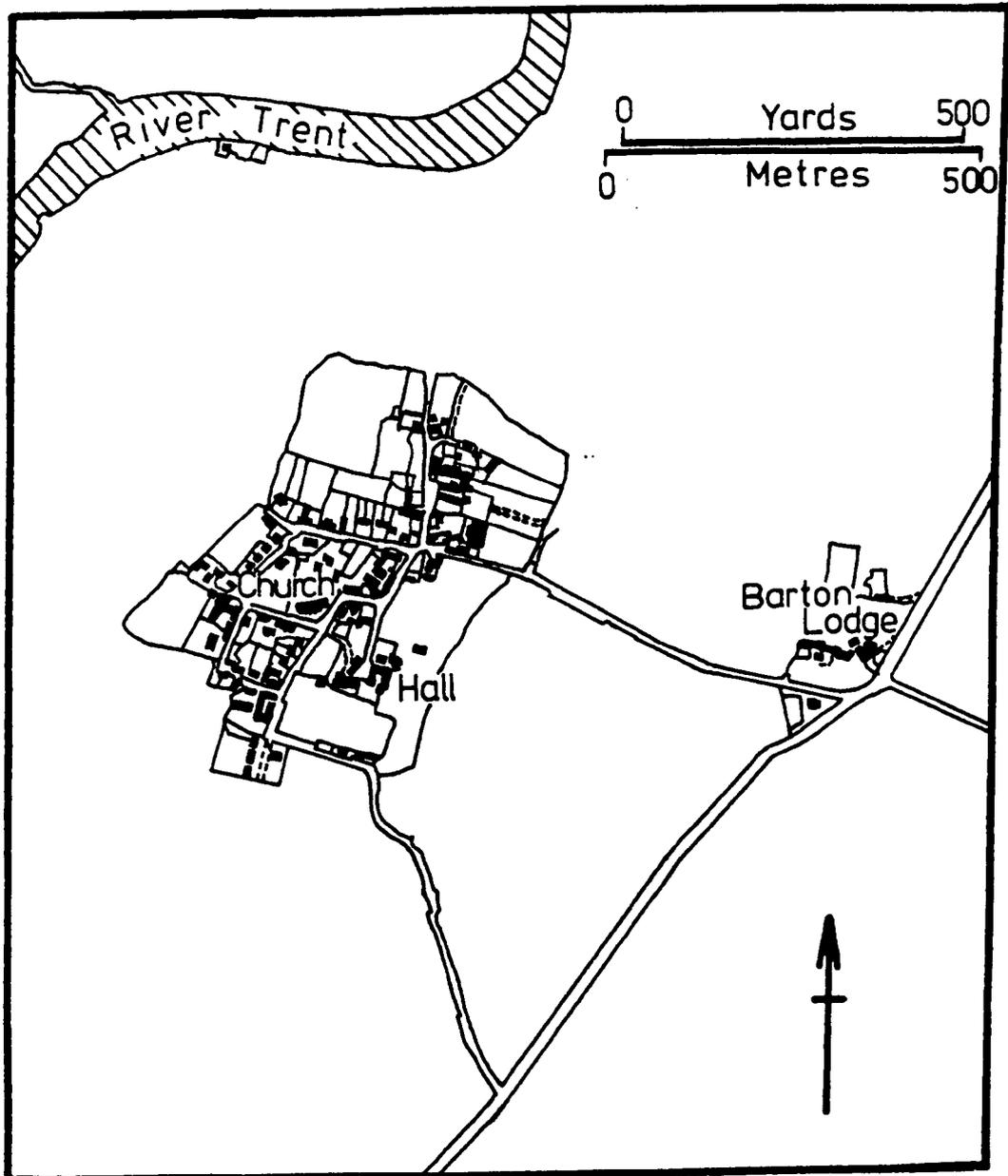


Appendix 5: Map 5

Stiffkey, North Norfolk

Village with a 'village development area' but where estate development of housing would normally be inappropriate (Category (iii))

Population in 1971: 292

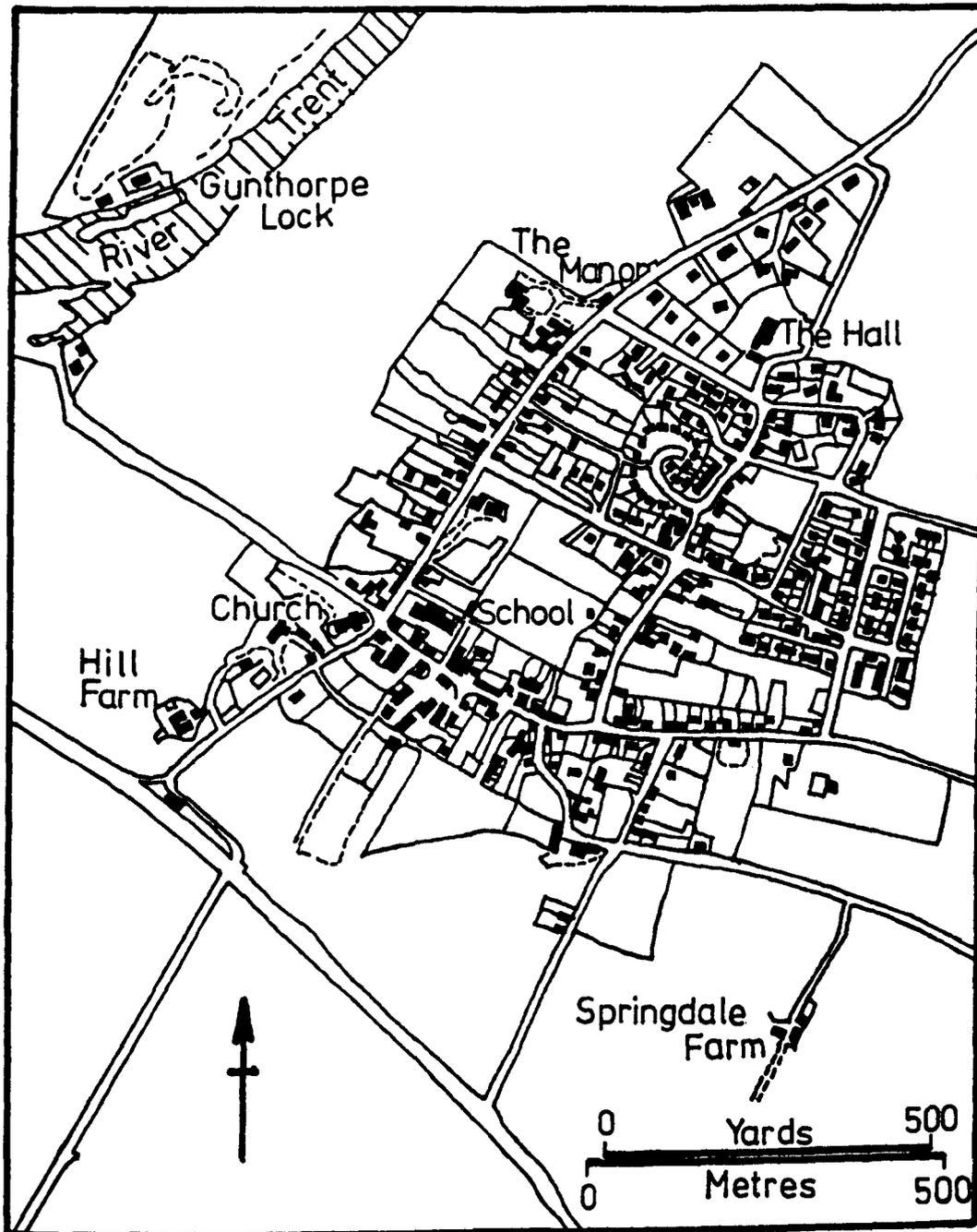


Appendix 5: Map 6

Barton in Fabis, South Nottinghamshire

Restricted development village within the green belt (Group 1)

Population in 1971: 225

Appendix 5: Map 7East Bridgford, South Nottinghamshire

Selected village within the green belt (Group 2)

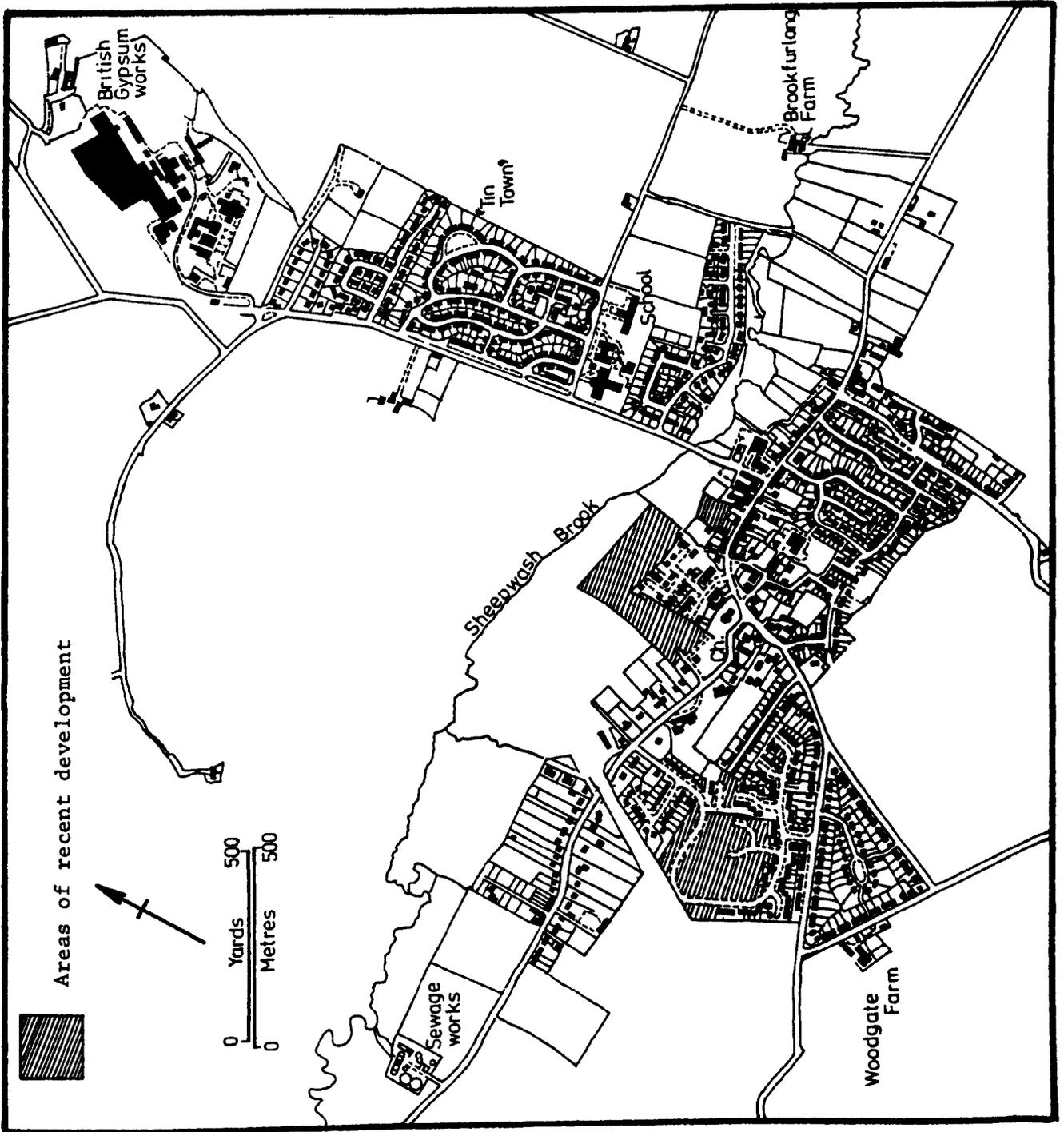
Population in 1971: 1,343

Appendix 5: Map 8

East Leake, South Nottinghamshire

A selected village beyond the  
green belt (Group 3)

Population in 1971: 4,720

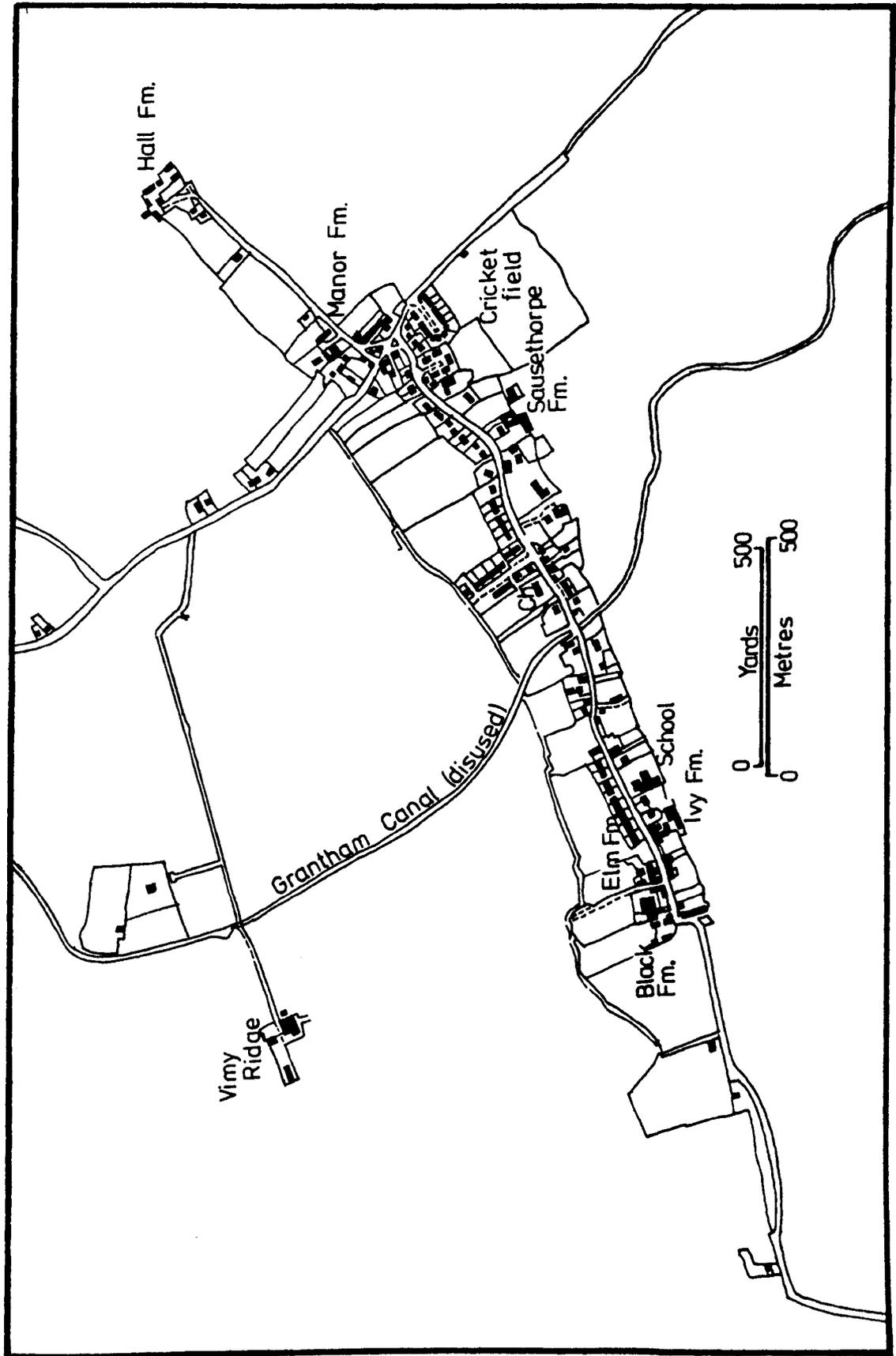


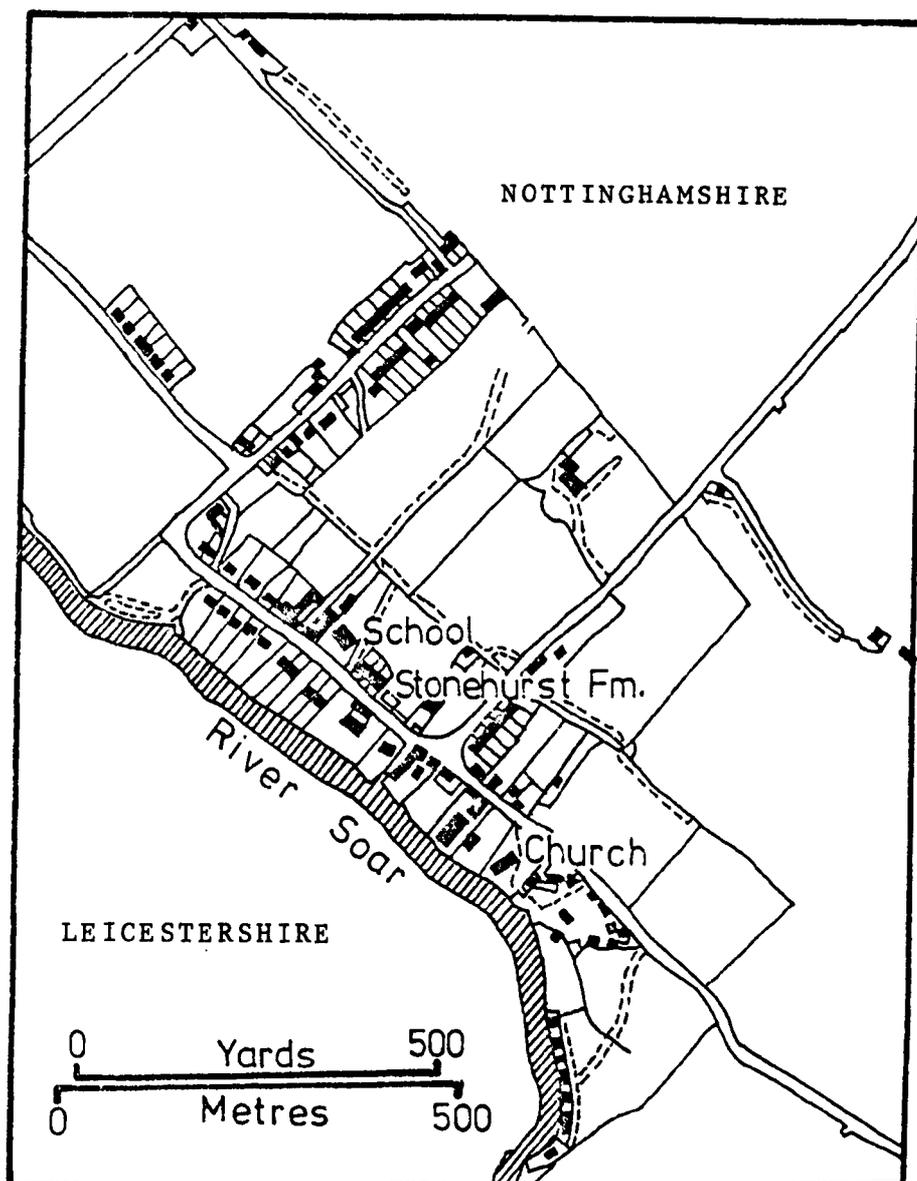
Appendix 5: Map 9

Kinoulton, South  
Nottinghamshire

Minor growth village  
(Group 4)

Population in 1971:  
594



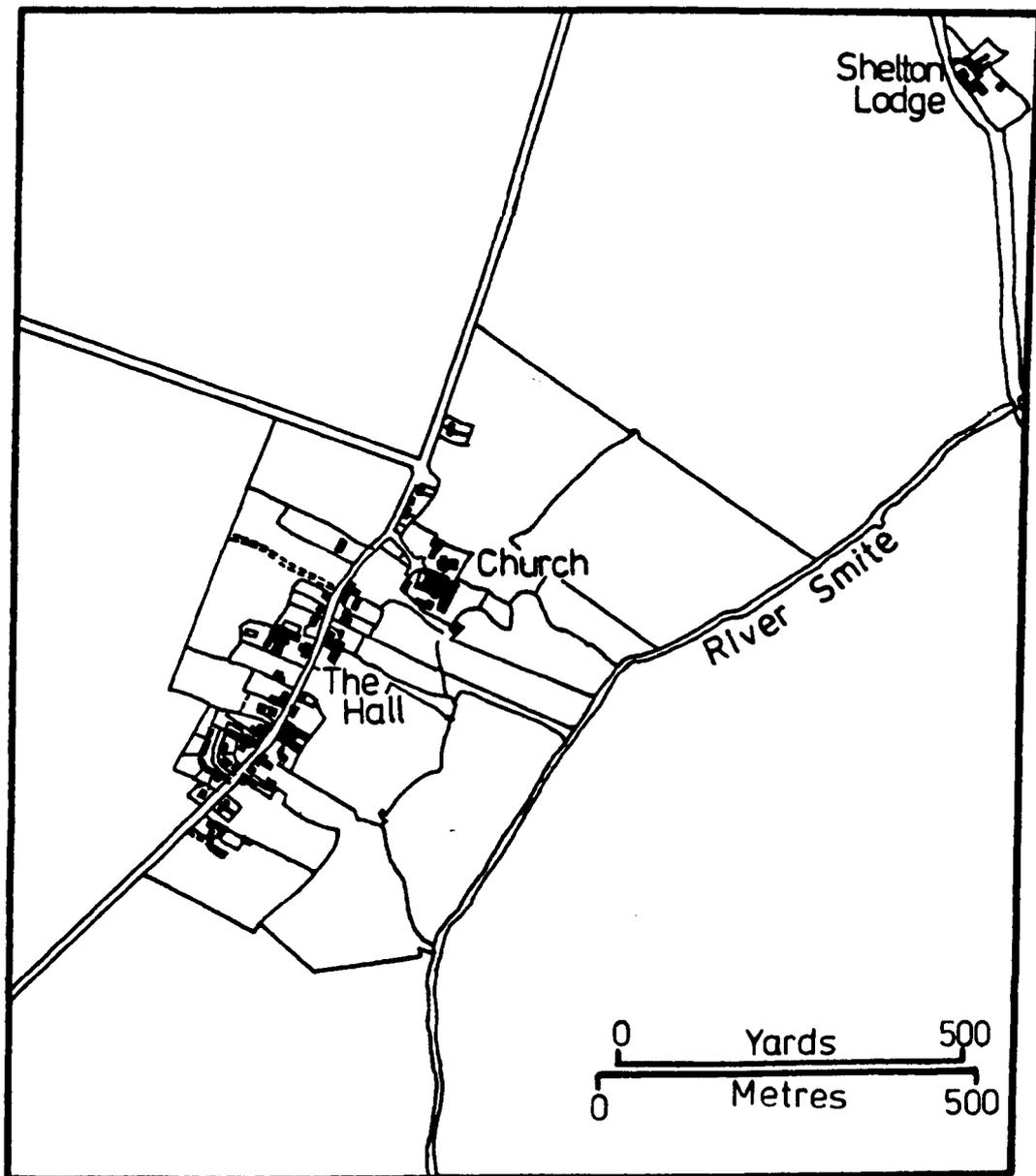


Appendix 5: Map 10

Normanton on Soar, South Nottinghamshire

Restricted development village beyond the green belt (Group 5)

Population in 1971: 377

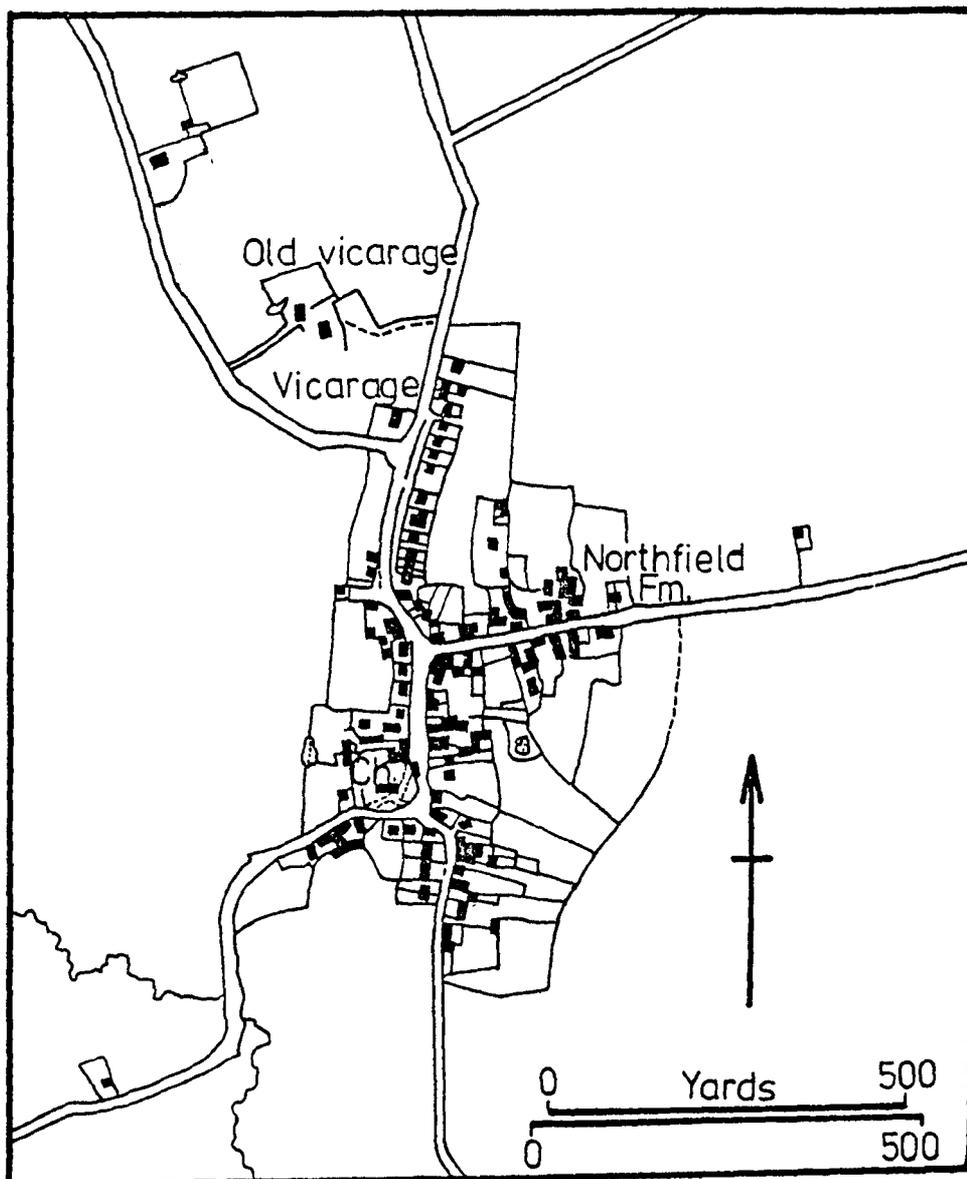


Appendix 5: Map 11

Thoroton, South Nottinghamshire

Restricted development village beyond the green belt (Group 5)

Population in 1971: 90



Appendix 5: Map 12

Wysall, South Nottinghamshire

Special amenity (conservation) village (Group 6)

Population in 1971: 207

APPENDIX SIXSOCIAL POLARISATION : SOME  
PROBLEMS OF MEASUREMENT

This appendix examines some of the methodological problems of measurement highlighted by the analysis of social polarisation in this study, and in the subsequent developments of this subject by the author<sup>1</sup>.

The report by Harris and Lyons<sup>2</sup>, referred to in Chapter Nine, suggests techniques that might be used to measure and examine a similar phenomenon in the social geography of parts of Greater London. However, the structure and availability of data for urban districts and wards is rather different to that for rural civil parishes. Consequently, because of this recurrent problem of a lack of suitable published data in rural areas at the level of the civil parish or individual village, few of the methods suggested by Harris and Lyons are of use to rural studies of social polarisation.

Hamnet has suggested that local authority improvement grants may be used as an indicator of the process in Inner London, but acknowledges the limitations of this approach for measuring in detail the influence of this process<sup>3</sup>.

In measuring the socio-economic characteristics of fringe expansion and suburbanisation around Greater Nottingham, Giggs<sup>4</sup> has used four indices: Proportion of household heads in the Registrar Generals Socio-Economic Classes I and II; households with cars; owner occupied dwellings; and exclusive use of all household amenities. These factors

are a useful measure of general socio-economic characteristics but the last three indexes are unlikely to distinguish between a socially polarised rural population in, for example, a fashionable conservation village, and a more broadly based middle class population in a developing 'key' village with a large adventurous component in its population.

Three other techniques may be of value as indicators of social polarity in rural populations. The use of rating assessments is an interesting possibility. Local authority rating books have been used in other areas of geographical research, but not in this context. Field work in the two case study areas of South Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk suggests that there is a broad relationship between the extent of social polarisation of the middle class population in villages and the standard of residential property. Villages in which there is a high degree of polarity in the middle classes are characterised by extensive modernisation of older village housing (including the less popular late nineteenth century semi-detached or terraced property), and also widespread conversion of former non-residential buildings (chapels, former schools, large outbuildings and barns) to housing, although this process is obviously not exclusive to socially polarised settlements. Where new development has occurred in such settlements, the new housing is almost exclusively detached, relatively high value properties. Consequently, if rateable value is a genuine reflection of the standard of residential property then rating books may be used to compare the degree of polarity in comparable rural settlements.

In practice, however, this technique would need to be used with extreme caution because, firstly, the rateable value of a given property is not a straight forward function of the standard of that

property, but includes valuation for other factors such as the physical amenities of the settlement in which it is situated. Unless these 'other' factors could be compensated for in this technique, it is clear that they would distort any analyses. Secondly, although there is a broad relationship between social polarisation and the standard of residential property, we must be careful about how we interpret this. There is an obvious danger in the application of this relationship that the existence of a modernised cottage, or of a high value detached house, is taken as conclusive evidence that a bank manager, company director or social peer, lives in that property. In settlements with social polarisation of the middle classes this assumption is quite likely to be correct, but clearly if it is to be used as the basis of a statistical indicator of the degree of polarity, it would need to be supported by more direct evidence.

Field surveys may also be a useful general assessment of the impact of social polarisation on individual villages. One could measure such physical factors as the extent and type of modernisation and conversion of village property, the ratio of modernised to non-modernised residential property, and the valuation of recently built property. However, there are important limitations to this approach, and notably that as with the use of rating assessments, it is based on an indirect measurement of the degree of social polarity by reference to property standards.

The most direct method of analysing social polarisation of the middle classes in rural populations is obviously to examine the social structure of individual settlements. In practice the most useful framework for this approach is the seven fold socio-economic classification defined by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (shown

in Table One). However, the required information on the occupational structure (of the chief economic supporter of each household) for the individual villages (or the related census unit the enumeration district) which is needed to develop this classification, is not included in the published reports of the national census. Consequently, information on the social structure of individual villages must be found by household questionnaire survey.

The social survey is a less convenient research technique than the other methods that we have examined. But even when we consider the problems of bias and error that must occur even in the most rigorously designed and tested questionnaire survey, the social survey can be seen as the most effective tool with which to examine social polarisation in rural settlement. This was the approach adopted in this study. Its application and the results are discussed, more appropriately, in Chapter Nine. Technical details of the development and design of the household survey for the study villages are given in Chapter Six, and in Appendix Four.

APPENDIX SIX : FOOTNOTES

1. D.J.Parsons, *Village development in England : An examination of the process of social polarisation*. Paper presented to the conference of the Institute of British Geographers Rural Study Group, University of Lancaster, 1977.

Also, shortly to be published,

D.J.Parsons, *Social polarisation : The influence of rural settlement planning policies*. Discussion paper. Department of Geography. University of Sussex.

2. M.Harris and J.Lyons, 'Social polarisation'. *Research Memorandum No. 324*. Department of Planning and Transportation (Strategy Branch and Intelligence Unit), Greater London Council (1971).

3. C.Hammet, 'Improvement grants as an indicator of gentrification in Inner London' *Area* 5 No.4 (1973), pp.252-261.

4. J.Giggs, 'Fringe expansion and suburbanisation around Nottingham' *East Midland Geographer* 33 (1970), pp.9-18.

ADDITIONAL READING

A.Homes, 'Better than no place' *New Society* 17 15th April (1971).

G.A.Tindall, 'A street in London' *New Society* 17, 14th January (1971).

C.Hall, 'Village growth and strife' *The Guardian* March 1st (1976).

Table 1Socio-Economic Classes as defined by the Office of Population  
Censuses and SurveysSocio-Economic Class I (I)

- (a) Professional Workers - own account.
- (b) Professional Workers - employees.

Socio-Economic Class II (II)

- (a) Employers and managers in central and local government, industry and commerce.
- (b) Farmers - employers and managers only.

Socio-Economic Class III (III NM)

- (a) Intermediate non manual workers - ancillary to the professions.
- (b) Junior non manual.

Socio-Economic Class IV (III M)

- (a) Foreman and Supervisors - manual.
- (b) Skilled manual workers.
- (c) Own account workers (other than professional).
- (d) Farmers - own account.

Socio-Economic Class V (IV)

- (a) Personnel service workers.
- (b) Semi-skilled manual workers.
- (c) Agricultural workers.

Socio-Economic Class VI (V)

- (a) Unskilled manual workers.

Socio-Economic Class VII (VI)

- (a) Armed forces.
- (b) Occupation inadequately described.
- (c) Others (not classified) in economic activity.

For the purposes of this study the Socio-Economic Class of a given household was determined by the occupation of the household head, or in the case of retired households by the last full time occupation.

The class suffix in brackets refers to the S.E. Class labels used in the OPCS classification. To eliminate confusion over the division between Classes III (NM) and III (M) I have used separate roman numerals for each of the classes.

Source: HMSO, Classification of Occupation. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys. (1970).

APPENDIX SEVENTHE COMMUNITY BUS SERVICE SCHEMEIntroduction

"Hunworthy, Stody, Sharrington, Brinton, Gunthorpe, may sound like a large old established firm of solicitors; they are in fact six isolated villages in North Norfolk which last week became the scene of an experiment in public transport which, if extended, would improve communications in similar rural areas across Britain". 1

The article from which this quotation was taken gives a fairly optimistic view of the future of the community bus service scheme, as applied to these Norfolk villages. The six villages in the experimental scheme are a few miles south-west of Holt, and four of the settlements, Sharrington, Brinton, Gunthorpe and Bale, lie within the boundaries of our study area. For many households in these villages this service is now an important feature in the pattern of local mobility since none of these villages has an existing regular bus service. For this reason alone the service deserves special mention even though at the time of the questionnaire survey, which included two of the villages (Sharrington and Brinton), the community service had not started stage services and was only operating a few evening and weekend excursions. The fact that some transport economists (such as Cook, as quoted in the passage above) see the community bus service scheme as a prototype for a service concept that could improve the pattern of mobility in many other rural areas, makes the Norfolk scheme particularly worthy of attention.

### The organisation of the scheme

The original idea for the scheme has been attributed to John Madgett, the traffic manager for the Eastern Counties Bus Company. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that ECBC has had an important role in the development of the community bus service, by providing the Ford Transit twelve seater 'bus', and by training the volunteer drivers for the Public Service Vehicles Licence. The service started in November, 1975, although delays in getting sufficient drivers through the PSV licence examination had put back the formal opening. However, for some time prior to this date the service had been used for excursions from the villages.

The basis of the service is a core of twenty-four volunteer drivers who have all passed the PSV licence (for which the group organises training via ECBC) and who commit an average of four hours each week to driving the bus. The service provides daily stage services to both Holt and Fakenham, although the route used by the service is constrained by the ECBC regulation that the community bus must not operate on roads that are part of the existing ECBC stage services. In addition, the bus can be hired (for approximately £8.00 per evening at the start of the service) by villagers or village societies, for visits during the evenings to more distant major towns, notably Norwich. This structure inevitably places great demands on the organisation of the service which is largely the responsibility of a committee drawn from interested individuals from the six villages, although executive responsibility remains with ECBC. Consequently this is a genuine 'community' bus service, not only driven by local drivers but largely organised by a inter-village committee.

The economics of the service introduces the Norfolk County Council, without whose backing the service would probably never have been developed. The community bus itself was bought by ECBC via a County Council grant (under section 34 of the 1968 Transport Act). In addition, the County Council has agreed to underwrite the losses of the service. Press articles have reported that a limit of £2,000 has been given by the Council on the extent to which they will write off losses, although according to the Secretary of the bus scheme no figure had been fixed as a limit for the first year<sup>2</sup>. This difference, however, may be of little relevance since the indications from the first few months of operation of the service, suggests that the scheme is unlikely to make a loss of much more than a few hundred pounds. The scheme uses unpaid labour and consequently operating overheads are very low, about £1,500 is estimated for the first year. By the middle of 1976 the average weekly takings were between twenty and twenty-five pounds each week. In terms of operating costs alone the scheme may be seen to be approaching break-even point (although this takes no account of the original cost of the bus and of investment necessary for the eventual replacement of the existing vehicle). It is an interesting feature that a substantial amount of the income is derived from hirings for weekend and evening excursions, so these may be seen as supporting the less economic daily stage services which are so important to the social value of the scheme.

The community bus service scheme is relatively cheap in terms of the County Council subsidy and we can see that it may be approaching a point when it requires no subsidy on its operating costs. In contrast ECBC have estimated that a conventional forty-two seater bus with a paid driver/conductor, would cost them about £15,000 a year to run over the same route. It is doubtful if this figure is strictly

comparable to that for the operating costs alone on the community service, but nonetheless this indicates a major difference in the relative running costs. There are consequently major financial advantages to community schemes. The social advantages are rather more obvious:

"There is a simple choice for areas such as this, either they run a community bus service themselves or they have no service at all. There is no question of us being able to support a service which would be so uneconomical if all the normal running costs had to be covered". 3

This statement from the chairman of the Norfolk County Council Transport Committee draws attention to the fact that prior to the community bus scheme, there was no public transport in these villages. In Brinton, for example, a village where we have already seen that nearly one in every three households has no car and where this may actually understate the real degree of immobility (see Chapter Ten), the nearest bus service was nearly two miles walk from the village. This would be a very considerable distance for both elderly people and young children. It is not surprising, then, that the reports on the community bus scheme have stated that services are quite well supported.

Given the widespread concern amongst the rural population and in central government about the increasing inadequacy of rural public transport, and the lobbying of local government, it is not surprising that the Norfolk scheme has led to interest in the possible duplication of the scheme in other rural areas. This research, however, suggests that there are a number of specific problems in the extension of the scheme as applied in Norfolk, and it is appropriate to consider these here.

The extension of the community bus service concept

At the time of writing the community bus service scheme has been operating in Norfolk for over two years and as an experimental project it has been successful. However, apart from a similar scheme operating in the Cuckmere valley in East Sussex, there have been no similar experimental projects in other parts of the country designed to test the concept of community services in different locations. Consequently, proposals for the extension of this concept must draw largely on the experiences of the Norfolk project. Our examination suggests that there are a number of important limitations:

(a) Drivers Volunteer drivers form the basis of the scheme, and as a result training costs are not high. In the six Norfolk villages there has been no difficulty in recruiting trainee drivers but the situation in these villages may be atypical. Many of the volunteer drivers are middle class retired residents, with the interest, and sufficient spare time (to say nothing of driving experience) to devote to initial training and to the daily stage services. This is a simple reflection of the high proportion of this sector of the population in these villages (as indicated by the village studies in Brinton and Sharrington). Whilst this is not an exceptional feature it does suggest that the application of community transport to other rural areas without a similarly high proportion of retired middle class households, may reveal problems of recruiting suitable drivers.

(b) Organisation One solution that might be developed to overcome the previous problem would be to recruit a larger number of volunteers who would be required to commit propor-

tionately less time to the scheme. In this way more housewives, and possibly self-employed villagers and other residents with flexible working hours, might be encouraged to join as trainee drivers. However, this might create new problems which are essentially organisational. Firstly, there would be the problem of arranging a training schedule for volunteers with a very limited time commitment. There would also be simple problems of scale which should not be underestimated. As the Secretary of the Norfolk project has summarised:

"If they [the drivers] were paid, the organisation committee could say - Mr. Smith drives the bus at such a time. Mrs. Brown at another, but these are volunteer drivers and you cannot arrange things as simply as that. In practice to overcome this, you need a large number of drivers and this creates further problems of organisation by virtue of the actual numbers involved". 4

If this was said of the Norfolk scheme using only twenty-four drivers, one can easily imagine the considerable difficulties in a scheme using a larger number of drivers.

(c) Trade union and commercial objections These may seem to be unusual bed-fellows but in this case both act as a strong lobby, both locally and nationally, against the extension of community transport schemes. The commercial objections would come principally from the National Bus Company and from those small independent operators of stage services affected by proposed extensions of community based schemes. The community bus service operated over existing stage service routes, or only parts of such routes, would be a threat to the livelihood of bus operators. One may find it surprising that a bus operator would actually object to having an uneconomic bus service taken off their hands, but the attitude of the Eastern Counties Bus

Company (who were after all instrumental in setting up the experimental project) makes it quite clear that such objections would be strong<sup>5</sup>.

Objections from the trade unions are based on concern for the jobs held by the conductor/drivers on rural routes. In North Norfolk the Transport and General Workers Union was concerned about the threat that the community scheme posed to the jobs of regular bus drivers. Negotiations with the Union reached a compromise agreement based on the fact that the community bus scheme was in no way intended to replace any existing services. We should remember that the good-will of the unions is particularly important since it is their members which provide the training for volunteers.

In North Norfolk the scheme was able to go ahead through an agreement that the service would be restricted to roads and settlements not covered by existing service routes. This applied equally to the village with a once-a-week market day service, as to those with several daily return services each day. If this formulae were applied to other potential schemes it is clear that it would severely restrict the extension of community transport to other English villages.

(d) Communication An interesting problem encountered in the Norfolk project, was the communication of the service timetable to residents. In these villages the most convenient agent was a written timetable, posted on an appropriate notice board outside the village hall or sub-post office (as shown in Plate 10.2). Two of the Norfolk villages had no village hall or

sub-post office and in each of the villages not all households visited either the hall or sub-post office, particularly the outlying households. This was a problem which could be overcome by time with the stage services of the scheme, but which represented a persisting difficulty for the important weekend and evening excursions.

In North Norfolk each of the villages is a strongly nucleated settlement. In other areas with a greater degree of dispersion it is quite possible that this problem of communication might be a considerable limitation on the use of community transport schemes.

(e) Finance We have seen that the Norfolk scheme is approaching self-financing in operating costs, but nonetheless a small subsidy is required. More significant as a financial limitation is the capital required to establish the scheme, not the least being the purchase of the vehicle which (at 1978 prices) would require a capital input of about £4,000. In the Norfolk scheme this was provided by a grant from the County Council under section 34 of the 1968 Transport Act, which provides that local authorities may:

"...afford assistance to any person by way of a grant, loan, or both, for the purposes of securing the provision, improvement or continuance of any bus service ... if it is in the opinion of the council ... that the service is, or will, be for the benefit of persons residing in rural areas". 6

Section 34 payments are more commonly used for providing subsidies for existing services<sup>7</sup> and their application to the support of new services is comparatively rare. There is, consequently, an immediate problem of whether local authorities

would follow the example established by the Norfolk County Council. In the current situation of severe economic constraints on local government spending this becomes a critical limitation to the extension of the concept, unless the new scheme was to replace an existing service and therefore reduce spending on direct subsidies to bus organisers. However, as we have already noted, the replacement of existing services would encounter great pressure from trade unions and bus organisers.

The financial problem assumes a further dimension when we realise that the community bus would eventually require replacement. Yet it is unlikely that a community service, except perhaps in the most favourable of circumstances, could generate sufficient investment to purchase a replacement vehicle. For this reason provision would need to be made for perhaps a quinquennial local government grant to purchase a new vehicle.

### Conclusions

This has been a brief study of the North Norfolk Community Bus Scheme, but we are able to indicate several problems which might act as limitations to the extension of principles of community transport to other rural areas. More research is needed on this important subject to review its potential application. The problem which this examination considers the most difficult to overcome is the attitude of trade unions and bus organisers to community transport. Whilst their opinions are understandable they do represent a parochial attitude which is not in the best interests of all rural residents. Nonetheless it is difficult to see how community transport schemes could be developed without their consent and active support. If the

active support of trade unions and bus organisers is to be obtained then without a change in their attitudes this can only be at the expense of the more general applicability of the community bus service idea, since it would restrict the community services (as in Norfolk) to groups of villages and to routes which have no form of existing public transport provision.

Appendix Seven : Footnotes

1. C.Cook, 'Drive your own bus' The Guardian, November 6th, 1975.
2. This was certainly the case in September, 1975, when I discussed the scheme with the Secretary of the local committee.
3. Part of a statement issued at a press conference in Norwich to mark the formal commencement of the service.
4. From the discussion with the Secretary of the Norfolk scheme.
5. In the case of the smaller independent bus operators this may be due partly to the financial importance of local government subsidies granted to certain uneconomic routes. With the larger organisations the reasons are more complex. The Eastern Counties Bus Company, for example, sees these smaller uneconomic routes as feeders to the main road and inter-urban routes. As such their policy is to keep open rural services to the more isolated villages wherever economically possible. There can be little doubt that subsidies are important in this approach and there may also be substantial tax advantages. As such one might comment that the current policy of subsidisation of rural bus routes may be actively discouraging the establishment of community transport schemes, by forming one of the bases of bus organisers objections.
6. HMSO, Transport Act of 1968. Section 34 (i). See also provision for rural bus service support under section 30 and section 34(ii).
7. See for example the study of rural bus service subsidies in

**Northumberland:**

A.D.Mennear, *Northumberland County Council's experience of implementing section 34 (subsidies) of the Transport Act, 1968.*

Paper presented to the rural transport seminar, Central London Polytechnic, November 3rd 1972.

APPENDIX EIGHTSELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OFFURTHER READING MATERIAL

As was mentioned in Chapter One, a considerable amount of literature was consulted in the course of this research study. This appendix present a selected bibliography of some of this material, as suggestions for further reading on and around the subject matter of the thesis. As such, this does not attempt to be a comprehensive bibliography and for more detailed assessments of related literature readers are directed to the following bibliographies:

Centre for Urban Studies, *Land use planning and the social sciences: A selected bibliography, 1930-1963* (1964).

Centre for Urban Studies, *Land use planning and the social sciences: A supplementary bibliography, 1964-1970* (1971).

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by supplementary appendices.

The selected bibliography presented here is divided in ten subject areas. These are not, of course, mutually exclusive, but for the purposes of simplicity those references which are applicable to more than one section are referred to only in the subject area to which they are most significant. There are, however, a number of 'general' texts, and these are considered separately.

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G.A.Hillery, 'Definitions of community: Areas of agreement', *Rural Sociology* 20 (1955), pp.111-123.

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There is also a now extensive body of literature concerned with studies of individual rural settlements or groups of settlements. These generally relate to an examination of community phenomenon in a given local society at one point in time, and are not specifically concerned with an analysis of changing patterns and processes. These studies are catalogued in many of the above references.

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POSTSCRIPT

Due largely to the the length of this thesis and to the nature of its written preparation through part-time work, there has been quite a large time gap between the preparation of the first draft and submission. During this period there have been two particularly important developments relevant to our study of selected village development.

Recently (1978) Cloke<sup>1</sup> has presented a Ph.D thesis to the University of London which examines the use of 'key settlement' policies in village planning. Cloke's work is not a parallel study to this thesis since it adopts a rather different perspective by examining in greater detail the philosophical basis of selected village development policies, particularly in respect of regional economic growth centre theory. However, Cloke does examine the validity of these policies and arrives at the same conclusion as this study, that selected village development policies, suitably modified, represent the most practical policy alternative for rural settlement planning in this country. The importance of this parallel finding is emphasised by the fact that Cloke examines two different case studies to those of this thesis.

The second recent development is the intention<sup>2</sup> of the Department of the Environment to sponsor a study of the implementation and effects of the operation of key settlement policies within the context of the 'concentration versus dispersal' controversy. This study, if it survives major public expenditure cuts, is a

welcome development from the DoE, and it is hoped that the study may fulfil the need for a review of rural settlement planning policies, and a DoE initiative on revision of certain processes and procedures, as suggested in the conclusions of this thesis (section 13.12 and 13.13).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. P.J.Cloke, *The use of key village policies in the planning of rural settlement*. Ph.D Thesis, Wye College, University of London (1978).

2. From a personal communication with Professor Smart, Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University College London. April 1979.