ACCESSIBILITY, DEPRIVATION AND
RURAL PLANNING POLICIES

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ACCESSIBILITY, DEPRIVATION AND RURAL

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SUMMARY

Since the Second World War a range of policies have been implemented by central and local government agencies, with a view to improving accessibility to facilities, housing and employment opportunities within rural areas. It has been suggested that a lack of reasonable access to a range of such facilities and opportunities constitutes a key aspect of deprivation or disadvantage for rural residents. Despite considerable interest, very few attempts have been made to assess the nature and incidence of this disadvantage or the reaction of different sections of the population of rural areas to it. Moreover, almost all previous assessments have relied on so-called 'objective' measures of accessibility and disadvantage and failed to consider the relationship between such measures and 'subjective' measures such as individual perceptions. It is this gap in knowledge that the research described in this thesis has addressed.

Following a critical review of relevant literature the thesis describes the way in which data on 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators of accessibility and behavioural responses to accessibility problems was collected, in six case study areas in Shropshire. Analysis of this data indicates that planning and other government policies have failed to significantly improve rural resident's accessibility to their basic requirements, and may in some cases have exacerbated it, and that as a result certain sections of the rural population are relatively disadvantaged. Moreover, analysis shows that certain aspects of individual 'subjective' assessments of such accessibility disadvantage are significantly associated with more easily-obtained 'objective' measures. By using discriminant analysis the research demonstrates that it is possible to predict the likely levels of satisfaction with access to facilities from a range of 'objective' measures. The research concludes by highlighting the potential practical applications of such indicators in policy formulation, policy appraisal and policy evaluation.

KEY WORDS: ACCESSIBILITY, DEPRIVATION, RURAL, PLANNING, POLICY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ADAS	Agricultural Development and Advisory Service
AONB	Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty
CoSIRA	Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas
DES	Department of Education and Science
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
EAR	Economic Activity Rate
EEC	European Economic Community
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
NCSS	National Council of Social Services
NCVO	National Council of Voluntary Organisations
NFU	National Farmers Union
RCC	Rural Community Council
SCRCC	Standing Conference of Rural Community Councils
SIC	Standard Industrial Classification

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

Since 1947 local planning authorities have had responsibility for controlling development and land-use based on the planning polices laid out in statutory plans. Following the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act, this system has revolved around two sets of complementary documents - Structure Plans at the County level, and more detailed Local Plans for individual Districts, or parts of Districts. These Plans have covered such issues as the role settlements are to play in the County, proposed locations for new development, and policies for transport, conservation of the physical environment and the provision of opportunities for recreation and tourism (Shropshire County Council, 1977).

Implicit, if not explicit within the aims of some of these policies for rural areas, notably key settlement policies, has been the desire to improve, maintain or maximise the degree of accessibility to basic requirements, experienced by the resident population. These basic requirements include work, housing, facilities/services, transport and social contact. In addition other policies have also been implemented in rural areas, which have been formulated at least partly with this aim, for example to provide particular types of job or housing. Despite these policies however, research studies have highlighted the problems which at least some rural dwellers are experiencing, in obtaining access to their basic requirements (notably Moseley, 1979).

Writers have envisaged accessibility both in physical terms i.e. the ability of an individual to physically cover the distance between themselves and the location they wish to visit (notably Moseley 1977, 1979), and in more abstract terms e.g. whether an individual is able to compete in the housing market for owner-occupied accommodation (Shucksmith, 1979). Causes of low accessibility in rural areas which have been identified, include factors related to the basic economic and social structures of rural areas and the country in general (and the changes occurring to these), the vulnerability of particular individuals and population sub-groups, and geographical aspects e.g. dispersed settlement pattern.

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During the late 1970's therefore recognition grew of the problems being experienced by certain rural residents, with regard to their low standard of living and, or poor accessibility to opportunities. It was suggested therefore that those individuals and sub-groups in the rural population which had an 'unacceptably' low standard of living, and, or low degree of accessibility were 'deprived' or 'disadvantaged' (Shaw 1979, ACC 1979). Thus 'rural deprivation' became a major focus of interest. Researchers also began to consider the influence of rural policies as structure plans for most counties were made public (Cloke 1979, Herington and Evans 1980).

A number of important issues were raised in the late 1970's therefore, which formed the basis for the research which is described in this thesis. First of all, it was apparent that rural planning and other rural policies, had done little to alleviate the problems and disadvantages experienced by (at least some) rural dwellers. In fact certain writers suggested that some rural planning policies were actually exacerbating some problems, for example by restricting the supply of housing and causing house prices to rise, above the pockets of 'local' people.

As mentioned above, the existing literature linked the issue of rural disadvantage, with that of accessibility. Thus accessibility was envisaged as either the major cause or manifestation of rural disadvantage, which distinguishes the issue from that of urban disadvantage. For this reason it seemed appropriate, for the purposes of the research described in this thesis, to envisage accessibility as a prime aspect of rural disadvantage. In addition, since the prime focus of the research was to be rural planning policies and accessibility, it seemed appropriate to define disadvantage in terms of people's lack of access to their basic requirements. Whilst rural planners lack the means and the remit to tackle other potential causes or aspects of disadvantage, such as the distribution of power in society or fiscal policies, they do have direct influence over the spatial distribution of resources and people, and therefore on accessibility.

A second issue which became apparent in the mid-to-late 1970's, was the

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lack of empirical research and monitoring which had been undertaken, into the effects of rural policies on accessibility and disadvantage. Some attempts had been made to assess the accessibility of urban facilities from rural locations (Derbyshire County Council, 1977), and the personal accessibility of rural population sub-groups (Moseley et al., 1977). Similarly a limited number of assessments of rural deprivation, using 'objective' social indicator analysis had been made (DoE, 1975). None had however adequately tried to establish links between variations in levels of accessibility/disadvantage and planning policies.

Thus the mid-to-late 1970's saw the recognition in Britain, of the importance of increasing the monitoring of the effects of planning policies, and of encouraging greater public participation in planning. Parallel with this, researchers began to investigate the use of 'subjective' social indicators in the assessment of well-being (Abrams, 1976). There seemed considerable scope therefore, for the use of techniques involving objective and subjective indicators, in the assessment of the effects of rural planning policies on accessibility and disadvantage.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The basic objective of the research which is described in this thesis, was therefore defined as: to assess the effects of post-war rural* planning and other relevant rural policies, on rural dwellers accessibility to their basic requirements, using subjective and objective measures of accessibility. Lack of a 'reasonable' level of accessibility, was envisaged as a prime aspect of disadvantage.

The aims of the research were therefore defined as follows:-

1.   To critically examine the main post-war rural planning and other government policies, which are or were intended to improve or maintain rural dwellers accessibility to their basic requirements, and/or alleviate aspects of disadvantage.

* Foot note
For the purposes of the research, rural was defined as any area used primarily for agriculture or forestry, with a low population density.

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2.　　　　To identify the problems which rural residents face in obtaining a 'reasonable' degree of accessibility to their basic requirements, and to assess the extent to which they may be considered disadvantaged, with respect to this accessibility.

3.　　　　To identify the possible causes of these accessibility problems.

4.　　　　To consider and compare various methods of assessing the incidence of disadvantage in rural areas.

5.　　　　To identify those 'disadvantaged' population sub-groups which have particular accessibility problems, and to assess the incidence of multiple disadvantage.

6.　　　　To assess the extent to which rural planning and other government policies, which are intended to improve or maintain rural dwellers accessibility to their basic requirements, have been successful in doing so.

7.　　　　In the light of the research findings, to critically review the rural planning and other government policies impinging on accessibility, and to suggest ways in which they might be modified or supplemented.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis takes the following form: Chapter 2 reviews post-war rural planning policies, and the other government policies and agencies which have been involved in attempts to improve or maintain people's accessibility to their basic requirements, in rural areas. The chapter ends with a review of attempts which have been made to co-ordinate policies, notably regional and rural development programmes. The criticisms which are levelled at these initiatives illustrate the need for a better understanding of the effects of policies on people's accessibility.

Chapter 3 goes on to consider existing knowledge, with respect to the underlying causes of rural accessibility problems, and the extent to which these problems can be envisaged as a cause or manifestation of rural disadvantage. In order to do this the concepts of deprivation and disadvantage (plus multiple disadvantage) and related concepts of inequality, poverty and need, are examined. The existing

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literature with respect to each of these concepts is reviewed, and methods used to assess deprivation and need are examined. Finally the ways in which social indicators can and have been used in policy-making, are reviewed.

Following on from this Chapter 4 considers existing knowledge with respect to the accessibility which rural residents experience, to their basic requirements of work, housing, facilities/services, travel and social contact. In each case the discussion highlights the ways in which poor accessibility is manifested, possible underlying causes of individual problems, and the ways in which levels of accessibility and problems are thought to be related to government and especially planning policies. The chapter finishes with a review of previous research into the assessment of rural accessibility and the ways in which rural dwellers respond to accessibility problems.

Based on these earlier chapters, Chapter 5 then highlights the need for a piece of primary research designed to collect first-hand information on accessibility and disadvantage, in rural areas, with reference to the relevant post-war government policies for rural areas. The chapter goes on to discuss the development of a piece of research designed to meet this need. The hypotheses to be tested by this research, and the research questions to be answered are discussed. A case study approach was considered to be the most appropriate, and the chapter goes on to discuss the methodology of the study, beginning with the rationale behind the selection of case study parishes. The chapter then describes the methods of data collection used, which revolved around the use of a household questionnaire survey. The chapter ends with a consideration of the design of the questionnaire.

The latter part of the thesis considers the case study work, and the conclusions which can be drawn from the research. Chapter 6 examines the secondary information which is available, with regard to the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage in Shropshire, and the policies which have been implemented in Shropshire, with a view to alleviating accessibility problems and

disadvantage. Reference is made to the situation in other parts of England, in order to establish the extent to which Shropshire is typical of 'rural' counties of England in these respects. After a brief review of relevant underlying factors, notably the geography and population characteristics of the County, policies and issues relating to five basic requirements are considered : facilities/services, employment, housing, social contact and travel.

Following on from this, chapter 7 examines the secondary information which is available, with regard to the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage and relevant policies in the two Districts and six parishes studied. On the basis of this evidence, North Shropshire District and the parishes studied in it, are found to be reasonably representative with regard to these issues, of a low-lying rural area lying in relative proximity to a major conurbation. By contrast South Shropshire District, and in particular the parishes studied in it, are shown to be reasonably representative, with respect to these issues, of an upland rural area which is relatively remote from a major conurbation. The structure of chapter 7 follows that used in chapter 6. Following a discussion of the underlying geographical and population characteristcs, the chapter discusses issues related to facilities/services, employment, housing and travel.

Chapter 8 begins the review of the findings of the case study work. The chapter begins with an examination of the basic characteristics of the interviewed households and respondents, which the literature suggests may influence the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced by a household. The chapter then describes the findings of the case study work, with respect to people's access to facilities and services. The first aspect to be considered is the availability of outlets, followed by the usage made of outlets by the interviewed households. People's attitudes and reactions to accessibility problems are then discussed. Discriminant analysis is used to predict people's level of satisfaction from 'objective' data. Finally a series of conclusions are drawn, in the light of the research

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findings, concerning the extent to which rural dwellers experience problems in obtaining access to facilities and the influence of policies on their accessibility problems and resulting disadvantage.

Chapter 9 goes on to consider the findings of the case study work, regarding people's accessibility to four other basic requirements : employment, housing, social contact and travel, and the extent to which people are disadvantaged with respect to this accessibility, in the areas studied. In each case, the degree to which public policies designed to alleviate accessibility problems and disadvantage have achieved their objectives is discussed. The analyses which were undertaken in order to test the degree of association between results obtained using 'objective' and 'subjective' measures are then described. The chapter ends with a consideration of the extent to which accessibility problems and relative disadvantage are influencing migration decisions. Chapter 10 then draws together the findings of the survey work.

The final chapter, chapter 11, describes the main conclusions of the research. It begins with an examination of the extent to which limited accessibility can be considered an aspect of disadvantage. A number of conclusions are then made with regard to the nature of accessibility problems and disadvantage being experienced in rural areas, and possible underlying causes of disadvantage. The following sections draw together the conclusions of the research with respect to personal and spatial variations in accessibility and disadvantage, and outline the strengths and weaknesses of the two principal methods used for assessing these issues, namely 'objective' and subjective measures. A number of conclusions are reached concerning association between 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators. Conclusions reached regarding the degree to which rural planning and other government policies designed to alleviate accessibility problems and disadvantage have achieved their objectives, are discussed in the following sections. In the light of the research findings, the final sections put forward a series of policy recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2
RURAL PLANNING POLICIES

2.1   INTRODUCTION

England is a highly developed industrialised nation with considerable natural resources. Yet it is also relatively densely populated, and subject to rapid socio-economic changes. As a result substantial and ever-changing demands are placed on its land surface. Since 1947 statutory responsibility for controlling land-use and development has rested with Local Planning Authorities, under the guidance of central government (most recently the DoE). In addition, a number of government agencies have been developed, to support various sectors of the economy, for example MAFF, Department of Trade and Industry, and to protect other land-using interests, for example the Countryside Commission.

Despite the apparent extent of public control over land-use and support given to various sections of the economy however, considerable social problems still exist. Attention has generally focussed on urban areas, but, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, since the late 1970's a number of publications have highlighted the issue of 'rural deprivation', focussing particularly on physical accessibility problems (Neale 1981, Moseley 1979). Paradoxically since the 1970's rural planning policies have been dominated by 'key settlement' policies. These are implicitly, if not explicitly intended to provide rural dwellers with a reasonable degree of accessibility, by means of a network of 'key' settlements, in which most basic requirements can be obtained. These issues form the prime focus for this thesis. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the first aim of this research is:

> To critically examine the main post-war rural planning and other government policies which are or were intended to improve or maintain rural dwellers accessibility to their basic requirements.

This chapter responds to this stated aim, and offers such an examination, which provides the background to subsequent chapters.

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Clearly it is important when reviewing the policies and initiatives of public agencies to see them in the light of their aims and objectives. The policies discussed below have been introduced for various reasons, which may be considered justifications for the support of rural communities (Her Majesty's Treasury 1976, Commins 1978). These include the desire to:

i) Reduce social inequities and disadvantage: based on the belief that people who live and work in the countryside have the right to an acceptable level of living;

ii) Maintain rural industrial production;

iii) Avoid under-use of existing resources of buildings, infrastructure and people;

iv) Reduce urban concentration with its associated physical and social problems;

v) Minimise costs associated with supporting a highly dispersed, declining population e.g. to social and medical services;

vi) Maintain the cultural heritage;

vii) Conserve/preserve 'natural' habitats through the continuance of traditional agriculture and other practices.

However, many of these objectives are not mutually compatible, and all but the first relate to benefits which accrue to the whole society, not just rural communities. Thus policies which may strongly influence levels of inaccessibility and disadvantage, may not have been introduced with a view to reducing them. For example, landscape conservation policies have restricted development in areas of high landscape value, and are thought to have exacerbated problems regarding access to housing in such areas, for the indigenous population (Shucksmith, 1981).

This chapter begins with a critical examination of the post-war planning system, and then focusses on the planning policies relating to rural settlements. Other types of public policy, relating to the five basic requirements of facilities/services,

employment, housing, social contact (policies promoting community life) and transport, are then critically reviewed. The main part of the review excludes any detailed consideration of decisions made by individuals, such as private landowners and businessmen, or of the policies and effects of national and multi-national corporations and organisations, such as OPEC. As yet, the effects of these have only partially been examined in the rural context, and they cannot therefore be considered here. However, it is recognised that they may be highly significant (Moseley, 1980). The chapter concludes with an examination of the role of central government and a critical review of the necessity for, and the attempts which have been made, to achieve co-ordination and reconciliation between the policies of different agencies.

2.2 POLICIES OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Decisions made by central government are obviously of paramount importance, in controlling levels of accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas. Central government has both direct and indirect (via agencies) control over people's lives, partly as a result of its national policies for legislation, taxation, public expenditure, interest rates etc., and also through its control of membership of top levels of public management and administration, and the policies of public agencies. Whilst many of these policies are not formulated specifically with regard to rural areas they may however have a particular effect on rural dwellers, due to such factors as the weakness of the rural economy; the pattern of property ownership in rural areas (e.g. the effects of Captial Transfer Tax); and problems of transport and accessibility in rural areas. Disadvantage in rural areas, as discussed earlier, is often associated with a poor range of accessible opportunities. As a result, any cut-back in public spending and therefore opportunities, may have an exaggerated effect in rural areas e.g. council house sales, charging for school transport, which is often overlooked (Clark 1980a, Gilg 1980).

In addition to the 'nationwide' policies formulated by central government, policies designed for rural areas are also important, though some would suggest, not as important (Shaw, 1980). These policies are discussed in detail, in later sections, and what this section is more concerned with are the general strategies and priorities of central government, towards rural areas and accessibility problems and disadvantage. The policies of the major parties, may be examined by reference to their publications; for example: the Conservative Party (1978), Liberal Party (Philip et al., 1978), and the Labour Party (1981). In addition, the various public agencies, which are considered to increasingly reflect party political interests as a result of Government control over appointments (Brotherton 1983, Lowe 1983), regularly produce policy statements e.g. Countryside Commission (1984).

A number of stages in socio-economic thought and Government, can be

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identified in post-war years, each of which has had a different effect on rural policies. Thus five stages can perhaps be recognised (based on Gilg, 1982): 1945-51 Labour, 1951-64 Conservative, 1966-74 Labour and Conservative, 1974-79 Labour, and 1979 - current Conservative. Both the 1974-79 Labour, and the 1979-current Conservative Governments have pursued basic policies of restricting the money supply, with the Conservative Government also relaxing planning controls, with a view to encouraging economic growth.

Regardless of the political party in power however, policies formulated by central government, at least partly with a view of supporting rural communities and, or alleviating accessibility problems and rural disadvantage, have focussed heavily on financial support to the agricultural industry, plus a limited amount of job creation in manufacturing industry (Her Majesty's Treasury 1976, Association of County Councils 1978). Thus, although the present Government pursues monetarist policies, it does recognise the need for active intervention in the economy of certain areas (generally urban however). This is justified on the grounds that market forces fail to balance supply and demand in the labour and capital markets of certain regions, and that intervention is therefore necessary, to avoid a drift of labour and capital from these regions, and an imbalance in industrial development (Hodgson, 1984).

Other responses to concern over rural communities, have included the placing of statutory responsibility on certain government bodies to consider the welfare of rural residents e.g. National Park Authorities; the setting up of committees to consider issues e.g. Countryside Review Committee (1977); the commissioning of relevant research e.g. University of Aston (1981); the introduction of 'rural' clauses into legislation, designed to protest the interests of rural dwellers e.g. Housing Act 1980; and the continuation of financial support for at least certain 'essential', but high-cost rural services, despite cut-backs in public expenditure. The principle has therefore generally been accepted that certain public services should be available to everyone, regardless of cost, but that some rationalisation in rural areas is inevitable

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(Moseley, 1980b).

Whilst it is difficult to assess the success of many policies, due to the lack of monitoring and the large number of agencies involved (Moseley, 1980b), a number of the present Government's policies have been criticised, for their possible adverse effects on rural disadvantage. In particular, the Government has been criticised for its heavy financial support for agriculture (and land owners) compared to other industrial groups, its placing of financial and other constraints on local authorities, and for its general approach to rural issues and concentration on inner city problems. Each of these will now be discussed.

Firstly, the extensive support for an expanding agricultural industry (MAFF, 1979) compared to other industries, has been criticised, on the grounds that whilst the policy supports land owners, and some farmers, it encourages mechanisation, and therefore job losses, and results in costly surpluses and the neglect of other industries. The unequal distribution of support is seen as inadvisable, in view of the fact that the economic base of many rural areas is narrow, and therefore unstable. Shoard (1980) for example, estimated that in 1980 the Government was subsidising every farmer in England by £8,500 a year, compared to £1,800 for each employee of the British Steel Corporation. British tax concessions to landowners are also substantial, and have included:

> '........the averaging of income for tax purposes; the improved capital investment allowance for buildings; the continued de-rating of agricultural land; the indefinite continuation of arrangements for stock relief; the 50 percent relief from capital transfer tax for the working farmer's business assets; and the deferment of capital gains tax on gifts of business assets.'

MAFF (1979, p.5)

Secondly, financial constraints on local and in particular planning authorities and reductions made to the role of planners, including relaxation of planning controls, have been criticised on several grounds. For example, CPRE (1981) suggest that planning controls are necessary in order to reconcile conflicts

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between the various individual, corporate and community interests; to encourage developments which are beneficial to the community; and to protect the character and the quality of the countryside. On the other hand, the Government saw the planning system as creating undue restrictions, costs and delays for development, and introduced a change in emphasis from 'control' of development to a presumption that development should be allowed, in all but the most sensitive locations.

However, studies have shown that planning policies have not unduly restricted the development of small firms in rural areas (JURUE, 1982). Whilst development may reduce the disadvantage suffered by rural dwellers e.g. by creating new jobs, it may be suggested that a 'laissez-faire' approach may be detrimental in that it fails to ensure that the most beneficial types of development are channelled into the locations which most require them. The Government's emphasis on management agreements rather than statutory control, as highlighted by the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981, has also been criticised (MacEwen and MacEwen, 1982).

Finally, the whole approach to rural areas has been criticised, as rural areas have tended to be neglected, in favour of inner city areas. In addition, such policies as have been introduced, with a view (at least partly) to alleviating disadvantage in rural areas, have tended to lack integration. Thus few attempts have been made to tackle fundamental questions regarding the role of the countryside (Gilg, 1982). An example of the confusion which exists, is provided by the 'rural areas' clause of the 1980 Housing Act. This gave automatic restrictions on sales to council housing in areas of outstanding landscape and recreational value, rather than areas with a low supply of rented accommodation. Such mis-conceptions form a false base for policy formulation.

2.3   THE PLANNING SYSTEM

2.3.1   The Evolution of the Planning System

Until 1932, planning legislation was largely concerned with poor housing and health, particularly in urban areas. A fundamental shift in emphasis occurred in this year however, when the principle of planning for rural areas threatened with development, was introduced by the Town and Country Planning Act 1932. This attempted to give planning authorities control over development on nearly all land. However this Act was rather weak, and it was only after the war, and the influential Barlow and Scott reports of 1940 and 1942 respectively, that a comprehensive, statutory planning system was introduced by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. This system, and its subsequent evolution are described by various authors, notably Cullingworth (1976), and in the rural context Cloke (1979, 1983) and Blacksell and Gilg (1981). Briefly however, the 1947 Act placed a statutory requirement on all developers, to obtain prior planning permission from the Local Planning Authority (County Borough or Council), with the exception of development related to agriculture and forestry.

In order to achieve consistency in the planning system, Planning Authorities were required by the 1947 Act, to produce Development Plans, which would state their policies for land-use and development control. The production of these Plans, was subsequently controlled by various Ministry of Town and Country Planning Circulars which recommended that they should consist of a land-use map, plus Report of Survey and Written Statement. With regard to rural areas, Circular 40/48 (Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 1948) recommended that the Report of Survey should consider 13 points, including 'rural community structure', although the consideration given in fact to this aspect varied between counties, as did the detail given in the Written Statement as a whole (DoE, 1974). Most counties favoured the concentration of rural development (roughly half used a settlement classification), and the restriction of development in areas of landscape quality and outside villages (DoE,

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1974). This precedent, set by the Barlow and Scott Committees, has generally been followed since.

In the 1950's and 1960's the system was refined and strengthened and counties produced Development Plan Reviews, which varied from a continuation of existing policies, to extensive reappraisals (Cloke, 1979). In addition, some counties produced informal settlement plans. By the late 1960's however, a number of changes had occurred, such as the increase in outdoor recreation, pressures for landscape change, and continuing urban sprawl. As a result demands increased for a change to the Development Plan System, to recognise the importance of wider issues than just land-use. Development Plans were also criticised for the great deal of work needed to produce land-use maps, and therefore their slowness of production, inflexibility, and obscuring, in all the detail provided, of broader policy issues (Barrass, 1979).

In recognition of these criticisms the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act introduced a new 2-tier system of complementary Structure and Local Plans, including provision for public participation, which were to include a consideration of broader issues, and the activities of the relevant public and private agencies. Greater emphasis was to be given to the Written Statement than to maps. Following the 1972 Local Government Act, the responsibility for producing Structure Plans was given to County Councils, and for Local Plans, to District Councils. In 1974 development control became the almost total responsibility of District Councils, and this role was strengthened by the Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980.

Certain changes have occurred to the planning system under the Thatcher Government, since 1979. The present Government has taken the view that the planning system has, in the past, restricted the scope for development. As a result the Government has introduced gradual changes to the system, including the relaxation of various planning controls, and reductions to the role of (and finance for) the Local Planning Authorities. The DoE has recommended also, that local plans should not be prepared for areas of low development pressure, and that informal plans should not be

prepared (Swann, 1982).

2.3.2 The Scope and Purpose of Planning

As mentioned in the previous section, early (19th Century) planning legislation was geared mainly towards alleviating poor housing and health, particularly in urban areas. From the outset therefore, the system was concerned with attempts to improve the well-being of disadvantaged groups within society. By the 1940's however, other objectives which were not directly related to the well-being of disadvantaged members of society, had been added, such as the desire to protect agricultural land (Scott, 1944). Land-use had therefore, become an important planning issue.

By the 1960's planning was seen to be primarily concerned with land-use and the new Structure Plan system, as laid down by the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act, was considered to be strictly a system for the control of land-use and development (Bruton, 1974). Early Structure Plans reflected this emphasis, and largely ignored what can be termed 'social' issues and objectives, such as accessibility and deprivation. Thus many put forward policies which followed on from those incorporated in Development Plans (NCSS, 1979).

In reviewing Structure Plans, and in their examination in public, the DoE continued to place considerable emphasis on physical aspects during the 1970's. Thus in 1974 the DoE (1974) stated the functions of Structure Plans to be:

a) interpreting national and regional policies

b) establishing aims, policies and general proposals

c) providing a framework for local plans

d) indicating action areas

e) providing a guidance for development control

f) providing a basis for co-ordinating decisions

g) bringing before Minister and public the main planning issues and

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decisions;

and of Local Plans to be:

a) applying the strategy of the Structure Plan in detail

b) providing a detailed basis for development control

c) providing a basis for co-ordinating decisions

d) bringing before the public detailed planning issues and decisions.

Circular 55/77, a 'memorandum on Structure and Local Plans' produced in 1977 by the DoE reiterated this narrow land-use approach.

Clearly however Structure Plans had the capacity to influence a wide range of aspects with respect to the lives of the resident population. Plans produced in the late 1970's reflected this situation, and the DoE, in Circular 4/79, asked Local Authorities to take social issues into account, when formulating plans:

> 'The County Planning Authority should indicate, to the extent they consider appropriate, the relationship between their policy and general proposals for the development and other use of land on the one hand and social needs, problems and opportunities on the other.... social considerations should be treated as an integral element of all topics....'
>
> (DoE, 1979)

Later Structure Plans therefore tended to show greater awareness of the social impacts of policies and the opportunities which existed for alleviating rural social problems. However 1979 saw the deepening of an economic recession, and the election of a forceful Conservative Government, whose central theme was that economic development and recovery were the key to general prosperity and well-being. This Government was opposed to the involvement of planners in 'social' issues, and in the 1980's the DoE has therefore resisted the earlier trends and attempts to broaden the scope of planning.

Since the focus of the research is on the effects of planning policies on two 'social' issues, i.e. accessibility and disadvantage, the basic objectives of the planning system are obviously crucial. It appears that in the mid to late 1970's, i.e.

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the period preceding the commencement of the research, both the DoE and planning authorities were in agreement that the planning system was suitable for the achievement of 'social' objectives. However during the period of the research, a shift has occurred, with the DoE stressing the physical, land-use objectives of the planning system, albeit with some authorities resisting them. Regardless of this situation however, the policies being used at the time of study, were formulated during the earlier period when the DoE stressed that authorities should consider 'social needs, problems and opportunities....as an integral element of all topics'. Thus one can assume that the planning polices of the late 1970's in particular were formulated, at least partly, with the aim of achieving 'social' objectives.

It is therefore maintained (as Cullingworth 1973), that 'social planning' is one aspect of Town and Country Planning, and not synonymous with it (as suggested by Faludi, 1973), or one possible orientation for it (Lomas, 1973). Whilst all public policies are, at least in theory, pursued in the basic interests of the countrys' present or future population, and therefore 'social', such a definition reduces the value of the term. It is more useful to divide those 'social' policies which aim to directly improve people's quality of living from those which indirectly affect their lives, say by controlling land-use (physical planning) or achieving economic objectives (economic planning). Other definitions of 'social' planning (identified by Williams, 1976) are also considered inappropriate. These see the term as referring to the planning of social and community facilities (merely an aspect of social planning), or the co-ordination of welfare and personal social services, which is an aspect of social administration. The latter term has been used notably in the United States (Gans, 1968).

2.3.3   Shortcomings of the Planning System

One fundamental weakness of the post-war planning system, as a means of alleviating problems related to poor accessibility and disadvantage, therefore

appears to be the inconsistency which has existed, with regard to the fundamental objectives of the planning system. A review of the existing literature, Development Plans and Structure Plans, enables one to identify certain other shortcomings of the system, which reduce its ability to achieve such aims. These provide a useful basis for the case study work, and are therefore considered below.

The following additional criticisms can and have therefore been levelled at the post-war planning system, as a means of alleviating problems related to poor accessibility and disadvantage:-

a) There has been a failure to co-ordinate rural planning policies with those of other government agencies, due to the vertical management structure (Wright, 1982).

b) Structure Plans are too cumbersome and difficult to update, and attempts to maintain flexibility, have often led to the introduction of ambiguities. Since many factors influence inaccessibility and disadvantage, and these may change rapidly, inflexibility will hamper the alleviation of such problems.

c) Planning Authorities have only limited powers to alleviate accessibility problems and disadvantage, and at times even lack the power to implement their physical planning policies. Thus planners have little control over private developers and businessmen, or over certain statutory facility providers, such as Water Authorities. This is partly because the system was originally conceived to achieve only physical planning objectives and planners were therefore envisaged to require only negative controls. Thus the ability of the Structure Plan and development control systems to contribute towards enhancing the level of living experienced by rural dwellers, has not surprisingly been questionned (Derounian 1980, Shaw 1980, 1983). Hanrahan and Cloke are particularly critical:

'....the inability of statutory planning to make much positive and lasting impact upon the problems of the disadvantaged has been deemed a direct consequence of a broad insensitivity towards, or an

interested disregard of, the varying needs of rural dwellers by planners and politicians alike.

(Cloke and Hanrahan, 1982, p.1)

d) Many rural policies have been restrictive, and have been criticised for exacerbating rural problems, by limiting development of opportunities for employment, housing etc.

e) Rural policies have generally failed to recognise the heterogeneity of the rural population, and the diversity of changes e.g. population movements, and have therefore tended to be insensitive to the requirements of particular communities and subgroups.

f) Since planning authorities are public bodies, controlled by the State via legislation and financial control, non-statutory circulars etc., they are constrained by the system i.e. are unable to seek radical solutions, such as a fundamental change to the social structure, if this is seen to be a cause of poor accessibility and disadvantage.

g) The two-tier system of planning and provision of public services by the County and District Councils, has been criticised for splitting decision-making and action.

h) Techniques for monitoring the impact of Structure and Local Plans are yet to be satisfactorily developed. Thus policies have been introduced without a full understanding of their impact on local communities.

All these shortcomings are likely to hamper the alleviation of accessibility problems and disadvantage.

2.3.4   Planning in National Parks and AONB's

Since the 1940's particular emphasis has been given in planning law, to landscape conservation and access to the countryside for outdoor recreation. As part of this policy, under the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, two types of area have been designated, in which these objectives will be pursued most

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vigorously: National Parks and smaller Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB's). By 1981 ten National Parks and thirty-three AONB's had been designated as shown in Figure 2.1. Since these areas are often the more remote, upland areas, in which problems of accessibility and disadvantage are particularly common, the giving of emphasis in them to the 'national' interests of landscape conservation and outdoor recreation, brings into sharp focus some of the land-use and social conflicts, which the planning system has to cope with. These areas and the policies pursued in them are therefore, from the point of view of the thesis, worthy of consideration here.

Beginning with National Parks, of the ten areas so-designated in England and Wales, eight are administered by National Park Committies, and two by Special Planning Boards. Their duties are:-

> 'to preserve and enhance the natural beauty of the Park and to promote its enjoyment by the general public. In carrying out its duties the Committee must have due regard to the interests of agriculture and forestry and to the social and economic well-being of the rural communities in the Park.'

> (North York Moors National Park Committee, 1981, p.3)

This remit therefore involves a clash between conservation, recreation and rural community interests.

Since the Sandford Report's findings (National Park Policies Review Committee, 1974) priority has been given to the role of preserving and enhancing natural beauty. National Park Authorities, do not therefore have a statutory duty to improve the welfare of rural communities, and the requirement that they have 'due regard' for this welfare, was only introduced with the 1968 Countryside Act. However, the Countryside Commission stress, with respect to National Parks, that they:

> 'seek to deploy policy instruments in ways which both support the objectives of designation and provide adequate incomes, jobs and services for those who live in the parks.'

> (Countryside Commission, 1981, p.xiii.)

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Figure 2.1   National Parks and A.O.N.B's in
              England and Wales

Source: MacEwen and MacEwen (1982 b)

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In eight of the Parks, the National Park Committees are Committees of the relevant County Councils, subject to their financial and political control and with certain powers over development control and countryside matters. The two remaining 'Committees" however, take the form of Special Planning Boards which are autonomous, and act as a Planning Authority, with full plan-making and development control powers. Two-thirds of the places on the Committees are given to locally-elected members (mainly County Councillors), and one third to nationally-appointed members (by the Secretary of State for the Environment).

Thus 'local' interests are well-represented and can be expected to receive some support within Committees, particularly where the nationally-elected members are less dominating, and no local conservation pressure group exists (Brotherton, 1981). Even so the Committees tend to be composed of a limited number of social groups, with urban communities, manual workers, trade unionists and women being under-represented (MacEwen and MacEwen, 1982). Since manual workers and women tend to suffer particular problems related to accessibility and, or disadvantage in rural areas, this situation can be expected to hinder the alleviation of their problems.

Following a debate initiated by the Countryside Commission in the late 1970's (Countryside Commission 1978, 1980a, 1980c, SCRCC's 1979), the Commission (1980b) published a revised policy for AONB's, stating similar objectives for AONB's as for National Parks:

'a) the primary purpose of designation should be to conserve natural beauty;

b) recreation should be recognised as an objective of designation when it is consistent with the conservation of natural beauty;

c) in pursuing these objectives account should be taken of the need to safeguard agriculture, forestry, other rural industries and the economic and social needs of local communities.' (Countryside Commission, 1980, p.3)

Two schools of thought exist about the effects of AONB designation on development (and therefore accessibility and the availability of opportunities). The SCRCC (1979)

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suggest that restrictive planning practices were exacerbating the problems of rural communities in AONB's by adversely affecting proposals for development. However Blacksell and Gilg (1977) found that over six years, the percentage of residential building applications approved in East Devon AONB was slightly higher inside the AONB, and the percentage for all types of development was far higher in the AONB than outside it (although this was partly explained by approvals to which conditions were attached to ensure limited environmental impact). Scope appears to remain therefore for further study into the impact of AONB designation.

Responsibility for the designation and over-seeing of National Parks and AONB's lies with the Countryside Commission. In 1982, the Countryside Commission obtained a change of status, becoming a grant-in-aid body, and identified its priorities, for the future, as being: countryside management, conservation and farming, conservation of woods and trees, recreation provision and access, and recreation design and management (Countryside Commission, 1982). Thus the Commission has no obligation to aid local communities despite its influence, although it does stress its concern for them.

One important initiative undertaken by the Countryside Commission recently, has been to sponsor research into the interaction between policies, landscape and rural communities in National Parks (TRRU 1981, Countryside Commission 1981), and upland landscapes (Sinclair et al. 1983, Countryside Commission 1983a). A Discussion Paper based on the findings of this research effort was produced (Countryside Commission, 1983), and a series of consultative meetings held, in order to encourage debate over the future of upland areas. This in turn resulted in production of the report 'A Better Future for the Uplands' (Countryside Commission, 1984), which was co-signed by various agencies, including the Development Commission. It contained various recommendations designed to help identify a clear role for the uplands, strengthen the economy, promote conservation and enjoyment of the uplands, help meet the needs of upland communities, and achieve greater policy

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co-ordination. Amongst the proposals made were greater support for businesses, EEC grants for small non-farming enterprises on farms and co-ordination in LFA and RDP assistance.

During the 1980's therefore the Commission has begun to take more account of the impact of its policies on rural communities, and the fact that it can only achieve conservation and provision of recreational opportunities, if rural areas contain healthy rural communities, pursuing traditional agricultural practices. Thus some convergence between conservation/tourist interests and 'local' socio-economic interests appears to have occurred.

2.4 RURAL SETTLEMENT POLICIES

2.4.1 Justifications for Key Settlement Policies

The main rural settlement policy incorporated into most Development and Structure Plans, has been one of channelling new development into selected, generally larger settlements. Although not all Plans have offered a theoretical justification for this policy, many have put it forward, in the form of a 'key' settlement policy (Cloke, 1983). Most of the early Development Plans which did offer a reason for this policy, justified the channelling of development into 'key' settlements, on the grounds that this would help to restrain development in order to protect agricultural land; reduce costs of service provision; maintain environmental quality; and/or improve the quality of life of rural dwellers (Martin and Voorhees Associates, 1980). The degree of detail used however varied considerably (Cloke, 1979).

Later Plans have generally continued to support 'key' settlement policies, but have tended to include wider reasons for doing so, such as the need for low cost housing for local people, and to counteract the effects of facility losses (Martin Voorhees and Associates, 1980). In addition, the policies were often based on the results of more detailed surveys than before. Few however seriously considered alternatives to the concentration of development into selected settlements (NCSS, 1979). Cloke (1979) suggests that in Structure Plans, a division has generally existed between those counties which faced pressure for rural development, which generally envisaged the policy as a means of restraining growth, and those which were more remote, which tended to see key settlements as centres for the provision of services and facilities.

Overall therefore, many Structure Plans appear to give inadequate consideration to the theoretical basis for 'key' settlement policies. The justifications which have been given either in Plans or in the literature, and which are relevant to the relief of accessibility and disadvantage, are discussed in this sub-section therefore, whilst the following sub-section discusses existing studies of the effectiveness and use

of key settlement policies.

One of the most influential theories, which formed a basis, and therefore a justification for key settlement policies, was that of central place theory. This suggests that a 'natural' hierarchy of settlements exists, based on settlement size and level of service provision, with each settlement or centre providing services to its hinterland (Christaller, 1966). Attempts have been made to assess the centrality of settlements i.e. their level in the hierarchy, in order to select the 'natural' central places as key settlements. These assessments have considered the number of services provided, or the delineation of 'Hinterland' areas (Cloke, 1979). According to this theory therefore, selection of 'natural' central places, should maximise profitability/minimise investment costs, and therefore encourage the retention or even development of services/facilities etc., by following underlying trends.

Based on central place theory, two concepts were introduced into planning practice, the 'threshold' concept of the population required to support a service or facility outlet, and the 'range of a good' defined as the maximum distance that people will travel to an outlet (Cloke, 1979). Attempts to identify these e.g. Green and Ayton (1967), are discussed in Chapter 3. Rural planners have used the concepts to identify the size of rural population in a settlement (or a settlement plus its hinterland) needed to support outlets, and to identify spare capacity in infrastructure, and settlements in which no spare capacity existed. Following this housing development could be located such that it would support existing outlets, make use of spare capacity, and avoid the need for substantial capital expenditure on infrastructure e.g. for sewage disposal (Cloke, 1979).

Another theory which has been suggested as a justification for key settlement policies, is 'growth centre' theory (Cloke, 1979). According to this theory, the concentration of businesses into a limited number of centres, offers economic benefits for the businesses, the centre and its hinterland and infrastructure providers. These benefits are envisaged to cause the centres to grow, as indigenous businesses

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prosper and expand and businesses are attracted to the centre from other areas. Thus growth centres are theoretically seen to have certain characteristics:-

a) The centre may attract development from surrounding areas ('backwash forces', Myrdal 1957);

b) The centre may provide the optimum chance for business to prosper, by offering a concentration of factors of production, and mutual support (external economies);

c) Provision of infrastructure and services in the centre may benefit from economies of scale;

d) Prosperity may 'spread' to surrounding areas from the growth centres. In rural areas therefore, the concentration of development into selected growth centres (key settlements) is seen to offer economic benefits for the businesses located in the selected settlements, and for developers in these settlements through the minimisation of infrastructure investment costs. In turn these benefits can be envisaged to encourage the retention and development of manufacturing firms, services/facilities and housing, to maximise job opportunities, and to reduce prices for the purchaser of services and houses.

The concept of growth centres was devised following national and regional studies, however, and its application for small, rural settlements in areas subject and not subject to pressure for development, has been challenged. For example Moseley (1974) suggests that growth pole attributes only apply to settlements of over 13,000 population. Cloke (1979) suggests that in rural areas, the balance between 'backwash' and 'spread' forces will be highly important, and that evidence suggests that 'spread' forces may be limited.

Another theoretical justification used for key settlement policies, has been the interception of out-migrants. Many largely rural counties showed concern in Structure Plans over the high levels of out-migration from remoter areas, by people in search of a wider range of opportunities, with respect to jobs, housing, facilities etc.

Some counties have therefore seen key settlements as a means of 'trapping' these out-migrants, by providing opportunities on a scale sufficient to meet at least some of their aspirations.

Other justifications offered for key settlement policies have stressed the necessity of selecting a limited number of settlements for development, in order to protect other settlements and communities. Particularly in early Plans, concern was shown over the loss of agricultural land, as a result of development. This followed on from the 1942 Scott Report which similarly stressed the necessity of protecting 'home' agricultural production. The concentration of rural development into selected settlements, so that a minimum of high grade agricultural land is lost, was envisaged to be in the nation's interests, and was therefore supported by many planning authorities.

The same principle has been seen to apply to the protection also of environmental quality and small-scale communities. Concentration of development onto environmentally less vulnerable sites has been supported as a means of protecting those more attractive settlements and landscapes. Small rural communities have been seen as an essential option which should be available for people to live in. Thus certain virtues are often associated with 'village life', such as friendliness, community spirit, which it is considered to be in the nations interest to maintain. The diversion of development away from most smaller rural settlements is therefore encouraged, in order to maintain such communities.

Finally, implicit, if not explicit with many key settlement policies, has been the belief that concentration of development will result in the maximum possible number of rural dwellers (i.e. those who live in key settlements) having a 'reasonable' level of accessibility to their basic requirements, notably facilities and services (as shown in Figure 2.2). In addition, it is argued that as a result of concentration, those individuals who have restricted mobility will have access to their basic requirements. These may be obtained either by living in the key settlement itself, or by means of

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Figure 2.2   Alternative Settlement Policies

a) Concentration
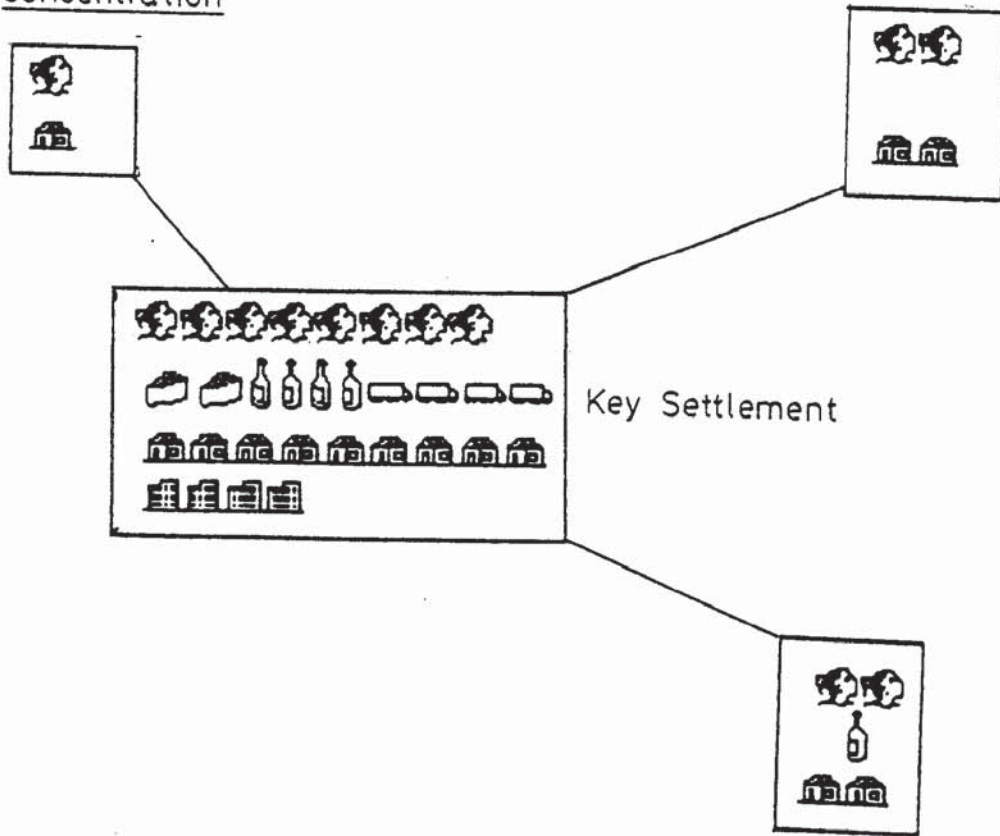
Key Settlement

b) Dispersal
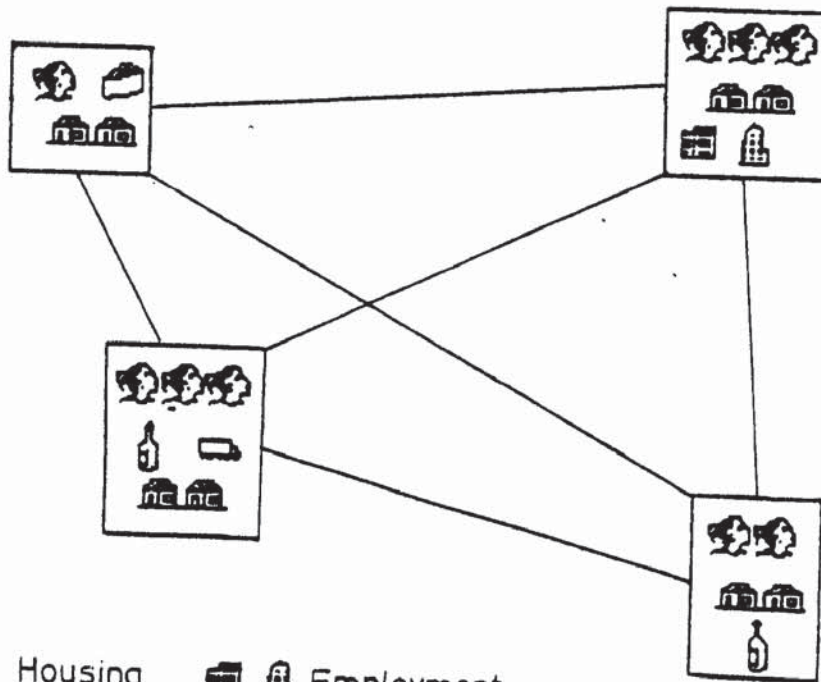
Key:

🏠🏠 Housing   ▦ 🏢 Employment

🍶🧀 Facilities   🌳 People

🚚 Transport

public transport through the key settlement (which the larger concentration of people makes economically more viable). Thus concentration policies are thought to maximise accessibility, especially for the less mobile.

By contrast policies which advocate dispersal of development appear initially to be more equitable, in as much that all households will live relatively close to at least some of their basic requirements and further from others (as shown in Figure 2.2). However difficulties are seen to arise particularly for the less mobile, since public transport is likely to be severely limited, and several different settlements may have to be visited, in order to obtain all the individual's requirements. Few Planning Authorities have seriously considered a dispersal policy.

2.4.2 Studies of Key Settlement Policies

The effectiveness and use of key settlement policies have been studied by various researchers, including Woodruffe (1976), Martin and Voorhees Associates (1980), Blacksell and Gilg (1981) and Lockhart (1982). In addition, Cloke (1979) compared their effectiveness in a 'pressured' and 'remote' area; Harvey (1980) looked at the rates of planning application refusals in Shropshire, with reference to the Main Village policy; and Herington and Evans studied the socio-demographic effects of the use of a key settlement policy, on settlements in the rural fringe of Leicester, where the strategic policy (of population growth for the area) clashed with the designation in the area of a number of 'Restraint' settlements (Herington and Evans 1980, Herington 1981). Herington and Evans like Cloke, concluded that the key settlement policy was not being successful in the area studied. Martin and Voorhees Associates (1980) concluded that the policy is unsuitable for areas which are not subject to pressure for development. Harvey (1980) on the other hand, concluded that the control aspect of the policy had been successful, as the villages selected were likely to grow anyway, but agreed that the policy is unsuitable for positive action i.e. achieving development in settlements where it would not 'naturally' occur.

Thus the use and concept of key settlement policies has been criticised in the literature on a number of grounds. In particular, it has been suggested that policies were formulated by some counties to demonstrate that planners were tackling rural problems, without adequate regard for the theoretical framework for their use, at least until after their formulation (Cloke, 1979). The perceived economic benefits of concentration policies have also been questioned. Whilst some studies of predicted costs of supply of mains water (Warford, 1969) and public services (Norfolk County Council Planning Department, 1976) have suggested that the future use of concentration policies offers substantial savings, others have suggested that the situation is not straight-forward (Gilder 1979, Curry and West 1981). Gilder suggests that economies of scale apply to only a few services, and that because of the infrastructure already provided in rural areas (not considered in the studies discussed above), economic arguments favour the maintenance of the present settlement pattern i.e. dispersal. Curry and West (1981) considered the relationship between costs per pupil and number of pupils, for primary schools in Cotswold and Forest of Dean District Council areas. They concluded that whilst economies of scale did exist, in fact they were greater in the Cotswolds District, which had a more dispersed settlement pattern.

In addition, policies have been criticised for their inability to be implemented. Planners have only limited negative powers of development control, and may be unable to resist undue pressures for development, or to encourage positive action to solve social problems and encourage development and facility provision in key settlements, in areas not attracting development. Thus planners may be largely following 'natural' or unplanned socio-economic forces (Martin and Voorhees Associates 1980, Harvey 1980).

Finally, the full costs and benefits of concentration policies have yet to be properly assessed e.g. congestion (McLaughlin, 1976), and policies have been criticised for failing to take into account the diversity of rural dwellers and areas. It is

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felt that restrictive policies may aggravate existing imbalances and therefore the disadvantages experienced by some sub-groups, by favouring the affluent e.g. via house prices (Herington, 1981), and the residents of key settlements, and by constraining the development of small firms in rural areas (and therefore job opportunities). This latter suggestion has however been dispelled by the study of the planning problems of small firms in rural areas, undertaken by the Joint Unit for Research into the Urban Environment (1982). It seems possible however, that key settlement policies may have undesirable consequences for non-key settlements (Cloke 1979, Martin and Voorhees Associates 1980).

2.5   POLICIES FOR FACILITIES AND SERVICES

One key aspect of disadvantage which has been identified in the literature, has been the problems which rural dwellers experience in obtaining access to one of their basic requirements: facilities and services (excluding those which are provided to every home by statute). In general little government support has been given to private operators to provide services and facilities in rural areas, although a number of RCC's are beginning to offer non-financial support e.g. Shropshire. Many services and facilities however are provided by Local Authorities and government agencies, such as the DHSS. Authorities and agencies generally aim to give the best service they can to rural areas, given their financial constraints and high costs of rural provision. Cut-backs in public spending, as have occurred under the post-1979 Conservative Government, therefore encourage withdrawals of rural services.

Local Authorities have responsibility for the provision of various services and facilities, in accordance with the Structure and Local Plan policies discussed earlier, and central government directives. Services provided by County Councils include education (which takes the bulk of expenditure), highways, waste disposal, planning, social services, police and fire services, and magistrates courts (North Yorkshire County Council, 1982). Finance for provision comes from central government (principally via the Rate Support Grant), rates and charges for services. The post-1979 Conservative Government has however reduced its grants to local authorities (Planning, 1981f). In addition the proportion of the Rate Support Grant received by urban and metropolitan areas rose from 42% in 1974-5 to 48% in 1978-9, with the introduction of a new method of calculating the 'needs' element (Association of County Councils, 1979). Thus rural authorities, which have traditionally spent less on services anyway (Development Commission, 1982) have been forced to reduce services considerably in recent years.

Various attempts have been made to establish the size of population in villages needed to make an outlet economically viable (threshold population) so that

planning policies can be used to maintain services. Shropshire County Council (1981b) for example suggested two thresholds for the County - twenty houses for any facility and fifty for a range of facilities. Norfolk County Council (1974) found that no clear threshold existed for retail outlets. The application of such thresholds can be criticised on the grounds that it ignores many socio-economic factors and any consideration of the services people require (Pacione, 1983).

In addition various County Councils have identified the facilities that a village should have, including Devon (1964), Cambridge and the Isle of Ely (1968), and Shropshire (1981b, 1982c) i.e. emphasising the importance of provision to people's lives. For example, Shropshire County Council (1981b) selected seven 'key' facilities for study: primary school, general store, village hall, doctor's surgery, church, pub, and post office, which the Structure Plan (Shropshire County Council, 1977b) had suggested (along with recreation facilities) were important to village life and essential to 'Main Villages'.

In order to try and maintain levels of service and facility provision in rural areas, facility providers (private and public) have attempted to find innovative methods of provision. These have included:

a) Mobilisation of outlets or practitioners;

b) Delivery services;

c) Co-operatives and community schemes e.g. community shops;

d) Commmunity support for less profitable outlets e.g. 'use it or loose it' schemes;

e) Part-time opening;

f) Sharing of personnel between outlets;

g) Inter-agency co-operation and job amalgamation;

h) Government support e.g. financial, advisory;

i) Notification and consultation over closures, to enable communities to find ways of preventing closure or reducing impact;

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j) Use of new technology and communications networks (SCRCC's 1978, NCVO 1982a, 1984a, 1984b). Some of these schemes are already widely used, whilst others are not.. Thus Moseley and Packman (1982) place individual rural mobile services on a continuum from 'virtually ubiquitous' e.g. milk delivery, to 'isolated' e.g. mobile daycentres, and 'non-existent' e.g. mobile pharmacies. Considerable scope appears to remain for the development of such unconventional schemes therefore, as a means of overcoming accessibility problems and disadvantage in rural areas.

2.6   RURAL EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

2.6.1   Support to Agriculture

Another basic requirement of many rural dwellers identified earlier, is that of employment. A range of initiatives have been introduced, with the aim of strengthening various parts of the rural economy, and improving rural job opportunities (Hodge and Whitby 1981, NCVO 1982b, Development Commission 1983). Those relating to agriculture are considered here whilst policies relating to forestry and manufacturing industry are considered in subsequent sub-sections.

The Common Agricultural Policy (C.A.P.) provides the framework for agricultural production in the E.E.C. The policy emphasises technological innovation, high productivity, farm amalgamation and increased capital investment. It has been criticised however, for the high cost to member countries, and the creation of agricultural surpluses (MacEwen and MacEwen, 1982b). The level of income received by farmers in the community, is closely related to C.A.P., and is dependent on three factors: 'common prices', the 'green currency', and 'capital grant' payments. The Council of Ministers fix 'common prices' for products each year in units of account, which are then converted into prices for each member country using a special rate of exchange - the 'green currency'. In addition, various capital grants are provided by the E.E.C. and these are administered in Britain, at the discretion of M.A.F.F.

British policy for agricultural production in the 1970's and 1980's, has been one of support for agricultural expansion, at a rate of some 2.5% p.a. (M.A.F.F., 1975). This policy has been justified on the grounds that it is in the nation's interest to reduce imports of foods, which are liable to unexpected world shortages and price rises, as a result of the world's rising population (M.A.F.F., 1979). The Government aim to achieve this expansion, through a number of policies, including:

i) improvements in the skill of the workforce, in order to increase

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productivity;

ii) protection of agricultural land;

iii) striking a balance between amenity, conservation and farming interests;

iv) assistance to farmers in hill and upland areas;

v) incentives for capital investment via grant aids and fiscal measures to assist agriculture;

vi) encouragement of improved marketing

(M.A.F.F., 1979).

The Government has provided financial aid, advice (via the Agricultural Development Advisory Service or ADAS for short), and assistance in marketing (via Marketing Boards etc.) for some time. Since 1946, hill and upland farmers have received special assistance, first under the Hill Farming Act of 1946, and since 1975 from the E.E.C. The aim of this assistance under both policies, has been two-fold: to maintain the output of the farms in hill and upland areas, and to sustain the social and economic well-being of the communities concerned (Economic Development Committee for Agriculture, 1973).

Thus British farmers can obtain EEC financial support, with higher rates and certain additional payments being available to farmers in designated Less Favoured Areas or LFA's (EEC 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1980). Administration of payments is at the discretion of the Member States, and M.A.F.F. can and does alter the rates paid therefore. Three categories of LFA are recognised: 'mountainous', 'other LFA' and 'areas with specific handicaps'. Following the introduction of the system in 1975 roughly one fifth of UK farms fell into the 'other LFA' category, as shown in Figure 2.3 (House of Commons, 1982), and this has recently been extended (M.A.F.F., 1984).

The financial support given to LFA farmers currently includes:

a) Hill Livestock Compensatory Allowances. These are available to farmers only in

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Figure 2.3   Less Favoured Areas   in the U.K.

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source : House of Commons (1982)

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LFA's, and take the form of headage payments, for cattle, sheep and goats.

b) <u>Suckler Cow Premium</u>. All farmers can claim a premium on each suckler cow they keep.

c) <u>European Sheepmeat Regime</u>. An extra headage payment is available on sheep, and this is paid to all farmers, with a higher rate for farmers in LFA's.

d) <u>Farm Modernisation</u>. A number of grants are available for farm modernisation, with a view to helping middle-income farmers achieve an income 'comparable' to an average industrial wage (E.E.C., 1972). The grants are provided via the AHDS and AHGS Schemes, and farmers in LFA's can claim a higher level of aid (M.A.F.F., 1980a, 1980b).

e) <u>Joint Investment Scheme</u>. Aid is provided under E.E.C. Directive 75/268, for farmers who operate pasture and hill grazing land jointly.

f) <u>Socio-economic guidance</u>. Finally, Directive 72/161 (E.E.C., 1972) provides funds for the socio-economic guidance of, and the acquisition of occupational skills by persons occupied in agriculture.

In 1982 some £53 millions in LFA grants were paid to English farmers, of which £33 millions took the form of HL Compensatory Allowances for sheep and £9 millions for cattle. In total some £11 millions were paid in capital grants. Thus M.A.F.F. has considerable resources for the support of British farmers, as well as substantial influence with central and local government (Walne, 1979). Agricultural policies have however been criticised for reducing agricultural employment, for dominating support to rural areas, at the expense of other sectors of the economy, and for giving too large a proportion of available grants to large-scale farmers (Shoard 1980, MacEwen and MacEwen 1982).

2.6.2   <u>Support to Forestry</u>

In Britain support for the forestry industry is provided by the Forestry Commission (created in 1919). According to the Forestry Act 1967, the Forestry

Commission are charged with:

> 'the general duties of promoting the interests of forestry, the development of afforestation, the production and supply of timber and other forest products in Great Britain and the establishment and maintenance of adequate reserves of growing trees.'

<div align="right">(Forestry Commission, 1978, p.3)</div>

The Forestry Commission (1978) identify a dual role for the Commission - as a 'Forestry Authority' responsible for the industry as a whole (public and private), and as a 'Forestry Enterprise' responsible for the management of the public forestry industry. The Commissioners must comply with directions from the Forestry Ministers (M.A.F.F. and the Secretaries of State for Scotland and Wales).

The area of land for which the Commission is responsible is huge. Woodlands cover roughly 7% of the landsurface of England, and 11% of Wales, although they produce only some 8% of the country's total consumption of wood and wood products including paper (Forestry Commission, 1978). Imports are substantial therefore - perhaps £3 billion in 1980 (Erlichman, 1980a). By the beginning of the 1980's the Forestry Commission owned roughly 390,000 hecatares of woodland in England and Wales, or 28% of the total woodland area of these countries (Forestry Commission, 1978), and had a budget of £93 million (Forestry Commission, 1980).

The Forestry Commission has operated a number of schemes for private woodland owners to encourage afforestation, primarily through the provision of grants. Expenditure by the Forestry Commission on grants in 1982/3 was £1.2 million (Countryside Commission, 1984). In addition, private woodland owners receive large tax concessions, including the exclusion of profits from woodlands from Income Tax and Capital Gains Tax, and the offsetting of costs of buying and planting against other income. The Commission has also operated a Dedication Scheme, whereby private woodland owners may obtain grants, if they agree to work according to an approved plan and agree to a legally binding agreement that they, and their successors in title, shall not use the dedicated land for any non-forestry purpose, for

the life of the crop. In addition the Commission offers grants for planting of 0.25 to 10 hectare areas, in order to produce timber and maintain tree cover in the landscape, under a 'small woods scheme'. The importance of taxation was seen in 1975 when the introduction of Capital Transfer Tax led to the sale of woodlands by owners who feared death duties (Erlichman, 1980a).

The Forestry Commission's influence on the rural economy is therefore more indirect, through concessions and grants to woodland owners, than through direct employment. It has no remit for promoting socio-economic well-being. However some 20,000 people work in forestry in England, with roughly 12,500 being employed directly in producing timber (Forestry Commission, 1978). The Forestry Commission provides a useful source of male employment in remote areas, however small, as its activities concentrate on upland areas. Thus it may help reduce depopulation, and provide manual work outside agriculture. However Her Majesty's Treasury (1976) report showed that the cost, in 1972, of creating each job in public forestry was £24,000, compared to £900 in a rural factory, £1000 in a small new hotel, and £1300 - 1400 in agriculture.

Present Government policy for the forestry industry is to continue planting at a rate roughly the same as over the past 25 years. However, the Government seek to place greater emphasis on the private sector, and in 1980 instructed the Commission to sell-off some of its holdings (M.A.F.F. et al., 1980). The move was opposed by various groups, including private landowners who feared a drop in land prices (Erlichman, 1980b). However, the Forestry Commission is to continue its programme of new planting (at roughly 35,000 hectares per annum), particularly in the more remote and less fertile areas (M.A.F.F. et al., 1980).

2.6.3   Support to Manufacturing Industry

Dependence on primary production, with increasing emphasis on capital investment, is however a potential source of employment problems. Policies of the

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Development Commission and agencies such as the EEC Department of Trade and Industry have therefore been geared to supporting rural manufacturing industry, in the belief that expansion in this industrial sector, can act to alleviate accessibility problems and disadvantage in several ways. In addition to providing support to marginal businesses, it can help to attract businesses to rural areas, increase the availability and range of job opportunities, broaden and therefore stabilise the economy, and help to raise wage rates and working conditions in England. The initiatives undertaken with the aim of supporting manufacturing industry, are examined below. Support to service industries has been discussed in section 2.5.

One of the main Government bodies concerned with rural development, is the Development Commission. The Commission was established in 1909, and was given the role of advising central government on how to spend the Development Fund. This fund was a sum provided annually by central government (and voted annually by Parliament), for the support of any development project, which would benefit rural areas of England, and help to reduce depopulation. Over the years the role of the Commission as an agency concerned with rural development has remained much the same, although it has widened its scope and powers considerably. Thus in 1968, an executive agency was created: the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas (CoSIRA), as the Commission took on a more initiatory role.

The work of the Development Commission received a boost from the Interdepartmental Report on Rural Depopulation (Her Majesty's Treasury, 1976), which suggested that the most cost-effective way of creating jobs in rural areas, was to create factory jobs in manufacturing (a major part of the Commission's work). The most recent review of the Commission, resulted in the Development Commission being given wider powers still, greater operational freedom, and becoming a grant-in-aid body in April 1984 (Development Commission, 1984b). The Commission's budget in 1982/3 was over £13 million (Development Commission,

1983).

The Commission suggests that the problems of rural areas are 'complex and diverse', and often the result of a combination of inter-related factors, so that its approach to the alleviation of these problems must necessarily be a comprehensive one (Development Commission 1983, 1984). The Commission state:

'We aim simultaneously to strengthen the economy of the rural areas and to support the social fabric of the communities that live in them. We believe that employment will only be successfully created if it is in an area where people want to live and feel they can enjoy a reasonable quality of life; and conversely, employment must be available if a balanced and self-sustaining community is to be maintained.'

(Development Commission, 1983, p.5-6)

The Development Commission concentrates its resources into selected areas, which are considered to be those in 'greatest need', and in fact, some types of aid are only available in these areas (Development Commission, 1984b). Until 1984 these areas were termed Special Investment Areas (SIA's), which were selected on the basis of Action Plans produced by local authorities (generally County Councils), in consultation with the relevant local organisations. Following the review of the Development Commission in the early-1980's however, the Commission was given full responsibility for selecting areas, and as a result a new system of Rural Development Areas (RDA's) was introduced.

'RDA's' were selected largely on the basis of certain criteria which were stipulated by the government. These can be considered to be indicators of accessibility problems and disadvantage: above average unemployment, inadequate or unsatisfactory range of employment opportunities, adverse effects of population decline or sparsity, net outward migration of people of working age, elderly age structure, and poor access to services and facilities. In addition however, the Development Commission laid down several guidelines over the size of area to be covered, excluded towns of over 10,000 population, and drew heavily on its past

experience. Thus it restricted the areas it considered to the old SIA's, plus a ring of one parish around the old SIA's; previously identified 'pockets of need'; areas for which local authorities had applied for SIA status, but over which the decision had been deferred; and any area suggested by local authorities or other bodies. In fact, nearly half of rural England was considered (Development Commission, 1984b).

The selection involved three stages - firstly the collection of information and data, secondly consultation with local organisations, and thirdly the selection itself (Development Commission, 1984b). The collection of data proved problematic, due to lack of suitable data solely for rural areas. Census data for parishes (the basic unit) in 1971 and 1981, was therefore used where possible, and presented in a mapped form, supplemented by information from local organisations.

Consultations with local organisations generally involved County Councils, District Councils, CoSIRA and Rural Community Councils (RCC's). Following the consultations, the Commission then reached a final decision regarding RDA's, and the areas selected are shown in Figure 2.4. The Development Commission (1984b) suggests that the boundaries should remain for 5-10 years, unless dramatic socio-economic changes occur. Overall 28 counties contain RDA's, compared to 19 with SIA's, but the area covered is 95% that of SIA's, and the population covered 90%. Whilst coverage in northern and south-western counties is slightly reduced, there is increased coverage in other areas, particularly the East Coast and Welsh borders. For the first time, the Commission has also designated areas within metropolitan counties. Generally however RDA's are further away from urban areas, than SIA's. The Development Commission (1984b) proposes to implement its comprehensive approach to dealing with problems in RDA's, on the basis of Rural Development Programmes. These Programmes are to look 5 to 10 years ahead, and to take effect from 1985/86 onwards. The Programmes are drawn up according to guidelines laid down by the Development Commission (1984a), and 1984/85 represented a traditional period.

Figure 2.4   Rural Development Areas in England

Source: Development
Commission (1984 b)

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The Development Commission provides two main types of support to rural manufacturing industry. First of all, the Commission provides advice and assistance to small firms, generally through its agency: CoSIRA. By 1982/83 CoSIRA was providing assistance to over 15,000 firms, employing nearly 73,000 people. CoSIRA's aid involves technical and managerial assistance, financial advice and support, and training facilities. In addition, the Commission also supports some local enterprise agencies, which operate schemes aimed to regenerate a particular town or area.

The second main method by which the Commission supports the provision of employment opportunities, is through its financing and building of factory workshop premises, under the auspices of English Industrial Estates Corporation. The Commission has pursued a programme of rural small factory and workshop building for some years, and by the end of 1983/84 almost 1000 units, involving 1.9 million square feet had been completed, with approximately 800 units and 1.2 million square feet waiting to be built (Planning, 1984b). The Commission either meets the full cost itself, or in some cases, enters into a '50-50' scheme with local authorities, who build the premises, and share the cost and income with the Commission. In recent years, the Commission has also begun to give 25% grants to the private sector, for the conversion of redundant buildings. Overall, the Development Commission aims to create at least 1300 jobs per annum, and employment initiatives currently take up about 75% of the Commission's budget (Development Commission, 1983, 1984b).

Research conducted into the Commissions' factory and work-shop building programmes has concluded that they are cost-effective and worthwhile. JURUE (1983) found that estimated annual costs per net new job created within SIA's varied between areas, from £400 to £2,400, and that in three of the four case study areas, the additional local income generated outweighed these costs.

Hodge and Whitby concluded that the investment was:

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'a worthwhile one, both from the point of view of the exchequer, which over twenty-five years gains returns sufficient to pay for the factory programme using a 10 percent discount rate, and from the point of view of social benefits exceeding social costs.'

(Hodge and Whitby, 1981, p.195)

Given the emphasis placed on small firm development, by the present government, the Development Commission is likely to continue to act as a form of 'rural development agency', in the forseeable future. In addition, it also seems likely to increase its role in developing initiatives designed to tackle social problems. It seems unfortunate therefore, that the selection of 'priority areas', which receive a large part of the Commission's efforts, was not based on a more rigorous analysis of the data.

The Department of Trade and Industry provides financial aid to industrialists, either in, or moving into 'Assisted Areas', and to the local authorities controlling these areas. The purpose of this aid has been to encourage industrial development in areas of declining population and unemployment. Aid has included grants towards capital expenditure, selective assistance (normally a loan or interest relief grant) and the provision of government factories (perhaps with an initial rent-free period). The Manpower Services Commission provides grants towards removal expenses of workers in incoming firms and free training facilities to all firms in, or moving into Assisted Areas.

Three categories of Assisted Areas are designated at present: Special Development Areas for particular assistance (22% grants on capital expenditure), Development Areas (which receive 15%) and Intermediate Areas which receive discretionary aid. Until 1979, large areas of the rural south-west, Wales, northern England and Scotland qualified for 'Development Area Status', or in the case of the north pennines 'Intermediate Area' status. The present Conservative Government has reduced the coverage of rural areas considerably however so that the number of rural

areas covered are much reduced. Further cuts have been announced (Guardian, 1984), involving the complete removal of Special Development Areas and massive reductions in the amount of cash available (by £300 million to roughly £400 million by 1987-8). Coupled with the introduction of urban 'Enterprise Zones' for special support (Hall, 1984) this represents a shift towards aid for urban industry (Gilg, 1980). The areas currently designated as Assisted Areas in 1979 and 1982, are shown in Figure 2.5. The Assisted Area policy influences disadvantage in rural areas in two ways - in a limited number of areas it may offer financial aid to industries, but for the majority of rural areas it may be thought to increase employment problems, due to the aid it offers to urban - based industries. Depopulation and poor rural employment opportunities are often explained in terms of the greater opportunities offered in urban areas.

The Manpower Services Commission was established in 1974:

'to run the public employment and training services and to develop and execute a comprehensive manpower policy'

(NCVO, 1980a, p 1.1.6)

In particular, it meets these aims, through the provision of training and work experience for young people, via the Youth Training Scheme, and for adults, via the Community Programme Scheme. Problems often arise in rural areas however for young people seeking access to training schemes such as the Youth Opportunities Programme, due to transport difficulties. Thus flat-rate allowances for travel do not take account of the problems, and school-leavers, who are unlikely to have a vehicle of their own, are particularly hard-hit. The Development Commission and Manpower Services Commission are trying to overcome this problem (Development Commission, 1982).

Finally, the European Economic Community offers various different types of assistance to manufacturing firms located in problematic areas of member countries. The European Regional Development Fund has offered help for any region

Figure 2.5   Assisted Areas in Britain 1979 / 1982

Source: Gilg (1980)

1979

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

1982

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

with high unemployment rates, industrial and population decline and low income per head, through financial assistance for schemes which aim to provide employment, advance factories, road construction, tourism and general infrastructure. Secondly, the European Investment Bank has offered grants, loans and guarantees to businesses or authorities; giving priority to projects which promote economic development or balance in 'Less Favoured Areas'.

A further source of aid has been the European Social Fund which has offered financial assistance to employers setting up factories, in order that they may obtain suitably trained manpower. This aid has included grants for training schemes, and has been provided partly in order to combat unemployment. Finally the E.E.C. has introduced three Integrated Development Programmes for rural areas, designed to complement financial support of the agriculture and fishing industries, and widen the economic base (Western Isles of Scotland, Lozere in France and south-east Belgium), and 12 research studies into integrated rural development. Three of these latter studies have been undertaken in Britain; two of which were designed to quantify and evaluate existing developmental policies (one relating to Exmoor, Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor, and a second to Radnor District of Powys, and part of Eden District of Cumbria); whilst the third, in the Peak District, involved a new experimental 'integrated' grant system (McNab, 1984). The latter study involved the provision of £50,000 in grants, for a wide range of developments in two trial areas (Peak Park Joint Planning Board, 1984).

Thus a range of initiatives have been introduced in rural areas, with the aim of alleviating problems related to the rural economy, and improving people's access to jobs. In particular it has been suggested that these initiatives can help by :

a) Increasing the viability of marginal businesses and incomes for those involved;

b) Broadening the local economy, and therefore making it more stable;

c) Increasing the number and distribution of jobs available in rural

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settlements, and therefore alleviating accessibility problems for the less mobile, such as school leavers;

d) Increasing the range of job opportunities available, which has tended to be restricted, particularly in the manufacturing sector. This can especially benefit population sub-groups which have in the past, experienced only restricted opportunities e.g. unskilled women;

e) Introducing types of industry which generally have higher wage rates and working conditions, than primary industries. Increased competition between employers may also have this effect.

As described in this section the initiatives which have been undertaken, have involved extensive support to agriculture (via MAFF), plus more limited support to forestry (Forestry Commission) and manufacturing industry (Development Commission and associated agencies, Department of Trade and Industry, EEC). It appears however, according to the literature, that this pattern of support has done little but reinforce the existing domination of the rural economy by agriculture and existing trends regarding the contraction of employment in the primary industries, by supporting capital investment within them. Initiatives encouraging factory development have not been on a scale sufficient to redress the imbalance in the economy, or make up the numbers of jobs lost.

2.7 RURAL HOUSING POLICIES

A third basic requirement of all rural dwellers is that of accommodation. Public control over the location of housing development, via settlement policies, has already been touched upon in section 2.4. In addition District Councils have direct control over the sector of rented housing which they provide (council housing). Building rates of local authority accommodation have however consistently been low in rural areas, averaging a ratio of roughly 1 in 5. For example, Shucksmith (1981) suggests that in 1979 the average English local authority spent £62 per capita on housing. For rural local authorities however, this average fell to £53. Various reasons have been suggested for the low level of expenditure and provision (Shucksmith 1981, Phillips and Williams 1982), as follows:

1) Political Factors

    a) Bias of central government towards conurbations in allocating financial support.

    b) The rural voter often returning Conservative representatives who are ideologically opposed to extensive public spending.

2) Planning Policies

    The use of key settlement policies and concentration of building in centralised locations.

3) 'Hidden Rural Need'

    The underestimation of rural housing need due to households failure to register their problems, for example via the council house waiting list.

The provision of local authority housing has also tended to be lower in smaller settlements, due to the higher unit building costs incurred (NCSS, 1980).

The present Conservative Government has pursued a policy of particularly low levels of local authority building. In addition it has also acted to reduce the size of the existing publically rented stock, by giving council tenants the

right to buy their home, under certain conditions. The policy of selling council accommodation to sitting tenents is not a new one, and had been used by some Rural Districts, e.g. South Oxfordshire (Beazley et al., 1979), for some time. However, it was encouraged by the 1980 Housing Act, which gave tenants the right to buy (Clark, 1980b). In recognition of the particular problems of rural areas, the Act gave authorities greater control over re-sales, and the right to include pre-emption and buy-back clauses in designated 'rural' areas. National Parks and AONB's were automatically given this status, despite the fact that these are areas of recognised landscape value, not housing problems. However, few other Districts which applied were so designated, except in the south-west and National Park fringes (Planning 1981b, 1981d).

A whole range of initiatives and innovations have been introduced, with a view of increasing rural housing opportunities and alleviating disadvantages with respect to housing in rural areas. In particular local authorities have entered into partnerships with private developers; helped tenants with removal expenses in order to reduce under-occupation and therefore free larger houses for other families; built 'sheltered' housing for vulnerable groups, such as the elderly; attempted to protect the interests of 'indigenous' rural dwellers, with Section 52 agreements (discussed below); and examined the issue of 'need' for housing, by compiling registers of people's stated housing demands. Other initiatives which have been introduced, have included the setting up of various associations e.g. self-build associations, and housing trusts and associations (National Federation of Housing Associations 1982, Richmond 1982), co-operatives, and of schemes (such as short-letting schemes, 'starter-home' schemes). In addition, various groups have built innovative premises, such as the craft residential/workshop premises, provided by the Development Commission (1983).

One of the main problems facing local authorities with respect to providing housing opportunities, is their limited power to influence the building and

occupation of private accommodation. Planners possess the power to control development, yet often face considerable pressure to permit development, and can do little to generate development in areas which private developers do not consider remunerative. With regard to occupancy, many draft Structure Plans expressed a policy of allowing development in certain settlements, to meet 'local needs' (Elson et al., 1979). The policy proved unacceptable to central government however and many were rephrased by the Secreatry of State for the Environment to read 'locally generated demand' (Rural Voice, 1982).

A limited number of local authorities have attempted to restrict occupancy of new dwellings, through the controversial use of Section 52, of the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act. This allows planning authorities to make voluntary agreements with private developers, regarding the control of occupancy, and has been widely used to restrict occupancy of dwellings in the open countryside, to use by agricultural workers. Some authorities extended this to the majority of new dwellings, and ruled that they must be sold to those who had, or would work locally. The policy has however been opposed both by central government who finally rejected it in August 1985 in connection with the Lake District (Guardian, 1985), and by researchers, who suggest that such restrictive policies simply worsen the situation, and that Building Societies may be reluctant to advance loans, on properties subject to Section 52 agreements (Shucksmith 1981).

The Development Commission has also become concerned with the housing issue, and has taken a number of steps to facilitate the provision of low-cost housing. These have included rent guarantees, experiments with new housing types, and contributions towards new construction. In particular the Commission has encouraged local authorities to consider their housing programmes, in relation to other development sponsored by the Commission. In addition help is now being provided to finance the provision of shared equity housing, and craft houses (combined workshop and residential accommodation).

A fourth basic requirement which rural dwellers require access to, is that of social contact. Only a limited amount of effort has been made by public agencies to improve opportunities for social contact, and these have generally relied heavily on voluntary effort. Some efforts have been made for example to increase the recreational facilities available in villages, such as halls and playing fields.

In recent years the most active agency in the sphere of community development has been the Development Commission, which primarily offers support to the voluntary sector. The Commission provides financial support to various voluntary groups, including the Naitonal Countil for Voluntary Organisations, Rural Community Councils, and the National Federation of Women's Institutes, who:

'promote and encourage communities, largely through self-help, to improve their quality of life....'

(Development Commission, 1983, p.7.)

Schemes introduced by these groups, have included village newsletters, village hall development, voluntary car schemes, and promotion of village-based facilities. In addition, the Development Commission has begun to examine possibilities for the conversion of redundant buildings into multi-purpose village centres and the use of integrated development schemes in rural areas. One such scheme is that tested in Derbyshire recently, under the auspices of the EEC, which involved job creation schemes and a range of different community projects (Peak Park Joint Planning Board, 1984). The possibility of appointing community development officers to RCC's has also been examined (JURUE, 1983), and in 1983 the Commission has established a 'Rural Initiatives Fund' which is designed to provide pump priming finance for local projects. Considerable scope appears to remain therefore for government support for these types of initiative, which can enhance rural community life, and reduce the disadvantages experienced by rural dwellers, with respect to lack

of access to social contact.

2.9   RURAL TRANSPORT POLICIES

Accessibility to more distant facilities/services, jobs and opportunities for social contact, is dependent on the availability and quality of transport provision. Obviously one way of improving rural dwellers 'physical' accessibility, and therefore alleviating associated problems and disadvantages, is to increase public transport provision. However Britains' public transport has been caught in a spiral of declining usage, higher fares, and service withdrawals (Moseley, 1979). This spiral is largely the result of problems created by economic, social and political changes, and the difficulties of providing a service to match demands which vary through time and space (Dobbs, 1979).

Widespread service withdrawals for economic reasons began in the 1960's with rail cuts, following the Beeching report. As a result local authorities became involved in attempting to minimise the effects of cuts, and then under the 1969 Transport Act were given the means to support unremunerative services. The Act also provided support via the New Bus Grant and Fuel tax Rebate Schemes, the creation of the National Bus Company, and the introduction of the public use of school contract vehicles.

The policy of supporting unremunerative services continued in the 1970's, with the 1974 Railways Act placing an obligation on the Railways Board to support unremunerative services of social value. In addition legislation was introduced which was designed to increase forward comprehensive planning and budgeting and co-ordination of services. This included the introduction of two systems by which policies could be clearly stated: the Transport Policy and Programme (TPP) system in 1974 (referring to all aspects of transport), and the Public Transport and Plans (PTP) system in 1978 (for public transport). The 1978 Transport Act also widened revenue support still further.

The present Conservative government has however reversed some of the

earlier legislation and policies, in the belief that less controls and greater competition between bus operators, will increase efficiency, reduce fares and lead to a closer match between provision of services and demand. Thus the 1980 Transport Act relaxed the Public Service Licensing system for bus services, and introduced trial areas in which the effects of complete removal of road service licensing could be tested. The Act also removed certain restrictions over insurance and advertising, which allowed more scope for innovative schemes (NCVO, 1980f). Thus the Government supports the 'free-market' option and the development of innovative schemes, such as were tested in the 15 RUTEX rural transport experiments discussed in Chapter 4 (Transport and Road Research Laboratory, 1979).

More recently the Department of Transport has introduced further relaxations to the system of control and support, and has informed passenger transport executives to expect a cut-back in fare support of 30% by 1987 (Planning, 1984b). During 1985 legislation has been passed through the House of Commons, allowing further relaxations to controls over public bus services, and reduction of the role of the National Bus Company (as proposed in the White Paper, Department of Transport 1984). In addition, a number of proposals were also put forward for the closure of rail services which were making substantial operating losses where buses could offer a cheaper substitute (Johnson, 1984b). A review of rural railways by the Association of County Councils and British Rail (1984) also considered similar cut-backs.

2.10 RECONCILING CONFLICTING INTERESTS

The preceding sections have reviewed the various agencies and initiatives which have been involved, with the aim of improving people's accessibility to their basic requirements of facilities/services, employment, housing, social contact and transport, and of alleviating particular aspects of disadvantage, in rural areas. From this review it can be seen that the main approach used, has been one of pumping funds into public agencies, each of which has a remit to assist one or more sectors of the rural economy e.g. M.A.F.F., Development Commission. The main agencies involved are shown in Table 2.1 which illustrates the high degree of overlap involved. In addition, a number of agencies which are involved with rural areas, but whose prime concern is not the well-being of rural communities, have been given a statutory responsibility to consider this well-being e.g. Countryside Commission.

Table 2.1: Main Agencies Involved in Rural Areas

	EEC	Central Government	Local Auth	MAFF and ADAS	Forestry Commission	Dept. Trade & Industry	Development Commission	Housing Corp.	Statutory Providers
Employment initiatives in: Agriculture	X	X		X					
Forestry		X		X	X				
Manufacturing	X	X	X			X	X		
Provision of: Housing		X	X				X	X	
Transport		X	X				X		X
Facilities/Services	(X)	X	X				X		X
Better social life	(X)	X	X				X		

The approach has therefore tended to be fragmented, with conflicts occurring between the statutory aims of the various agencies, and even between the aims of the same agency e.g. National Park Authorities. Thus agencies seem to have pursued their objectives in isolation, with only limited attempts being made at

integrated rural development and the reconciliation of conflicts (Wright, 1982). In fact it has been suggested that agencies are 'expected' to provide an independent voice, with regard to the interests which they promote (Potter, 1980). Given this situation, it is not surprising that, according to the literature, agencies have not been successful in substantially alleviating rural dwellers problems regarding accessibility and disadvantage.

However, a number of attempts have been made by various bodies, to produce a package of policies for rural areas, which they suggest, would help to reconcile these conflicts in one way or another and promote rural development. Thus the major political parties have put forward their proposed policies for rural areas (Labour Party 1981, Philip et al., 1978), as have many of the agencies mentioned previously, such as the Association of District Councils (1982) and Countryside Commission (1984). In addition, a number of inter-organisational committees or groups have considered and put forward suggestions regarding rural problems and policies, including the Interdepartmental Working Group on Rural Depopulation (Her Majesty's Treasury, 1976), the Countryside Review Committee (1976, 1977), the House of Lords Select Committee on European Communities (1979), and Rural Voice (1981, 1982).

These reports have put forward a number of different solutions for the reconciliation of conflicts, and the promotion of greater integration in policy-making for rural areas. Briefly these can be summarised as follows:

i)   The use of a management approach, with the countryside being seen as a multiple use resource (Countryside Review Committee, 1976). This approach has been pursued for forestry areas in the uplands in recent years (Small, 1979).

ii)   The creation of a Minister or Ministry of Rural Affairs (Philip et al., 1978) or a standing select committee (Smart and Wright, 1983). These seem to offer the possibility of co-ordination, but in practice seem likely

to only create another, probably powerless level in an all-too-bureaucratic system.

iii) The placing of responsibility on departments to consider interests outside their normal remit. This has already been tried with some success; for example National Park Authorities are required now to consider the socio-economic well-being of Park communities. However much depends on the departments' reaction to their new remit.

iv) Widening the remit of an existing agency. This appears to be the solution which is being adopted, with the Development Commission gradually attaining such powers. However it seems preferable that the organisation which is given wide ranging powers over rural communities should be controlled by locally-elected representatives i.e. be local authorities.

v) The creation of new regional or rural development agencies.

vi) The formulation of an integrated rural development strategy (IRD), either at a local, regional or national level to link agencies.

With respect to the creation of new regional or rural development agencies, a number of such agencies have been created in the past, although these have varied in their aims, powers and levels of success (McNab 1984, Capstick 1980). In 1967 the Labour Government introduced the strongly interventionist 'Rural Development Boards', but only one (Northern Pennines) was ever created, and this met stiff local opposition, and was scrapped in 1971 by the Conservatives. The grant-aided Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) met with early failures following its creation in 1965, due to concentration on grandiose schemes. However it has recently met with more success, using community initiatives and co-operatives, in its attempts to improve the socio-economic conditions of the

Scottish Highlands and Islands (HIDB, 1982). Finally the Development Board in Rural Wales (created 1967 from existing organisations) has achieved some success in improving the socio-economic opportunities of rural Wales, by attracting manufacturing businesses and encouraging the expansion of small towns (Broady 1981, Hedges 1981). Six factors seem to have influenced the success of these agencies: the balance between local and central government control; the practicality and acceptability of the boundaries drawn; the size of the area involved (agencies have generally been regional or national in character); the clarity of the national guidance given; the particular remit and extent of powers invested in the agency; and local conditions, such as the severity of the local situation, the success of previous projects, and the individuals involved (Davidson and Wibberley 1977, Capstick 1980).

The final suggestion made above is for the formulation of an integrated rural development (IRD) strategy, either at the local, regional or national level, to link agencies. McNab (1984) defines 'IRD' as a process by which:

'- agricultural development is integrated with other economic sectors to increase incomes and create employment opportunities;
- social development is integrated with economic development;
- local involvement in plan-making is facilitated;
- policies are integrated to assist implementation.'

(McNab, 1984, p.21)

The concept has received support from various bodies, including the EEC, Development Commission (1984b), local authorities (Association of District Councils 1979, Association of Country Councils 1979, Hereford and Worcester County Council 1978), and the Countryside Commission (1984).

Structure Plans would seem to offer the potential for such a strategy. As yet however, IRD in Britain has tended to involve only the combination of individual and un-related policies, pursued by individual agencies, as a result of government structure and the process of decision-making. The IRD schemes

undertaken recently using EEC funding (discussed in sections 2.6 and 2.8) represent rare exceptions, but illustrate the potential.

Thus various attempts have and are being made to promote reconciliation of conflicts, co-ordination, and in some cases integration between policies and agencies. However it appears that inadequate thought has been given to the formulation of agencies and policies. In addition little information is available on the effects of policies, on the lives of rural dwellers; monitoring of many local authority policies for example, has only recently been introduced, and in many instances remains rudimentary. The studies by TRRU (1981) and Smart and Wright (1983) represent two of the few attempts made to evaluate the effects of policies on rural communities, and rural decision-making processes. Considerable scope remains therefore for improvement in our understanding of the processes at work.

CHAPTER 3
ACCESSIBILITY - AN ASPECT OF
DISADVANTAGE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter has provided a critical review of the policies which have been applied to rural areas, with a view to alleviating aspects of limited accessibility and resulting disadvantage. Throughout the thesis the basic theme is that, despite government policies, some sections of the rural community experience limited accessibility to their basic requirements, and that this limited accessibility is a form of disadvantage. This chapter aims to explore this contention in greater depth, and addresses five questions:

i) What is meant by the concept of disadvantage?

ii) What makes the concept of disadvantage a more useful focus of research than other similar concepts?

iii) To what extent have, and can assessments of disadvantage be used in the policy - making context?

iv) Is it correct to envisage limited accessibility as a form of disadvantage?

v) Are the forms of disadvantage experienced in rural areas different from those experienced in urban areas?

To set these issues in context the early sections to this chapter provide a critical review of existing theories and research into the nature, incidence and causes of inequality (3.2), poverty and need (3.3), deprivation and disadvantage (3.4) and multiple disadvantage (3.5). Theories of inequality and studies which attempted to define and assess the incidence of poverty and need not only formed a basis from which later studies of deprivation, disadvantage and multiple disadvantage emerged, but also have much to offer in the understanding of the nature and incidence of these aspects. The overall picture is one of a broadening of concern, and increasing recognition with time of the complexity of the issues involved and their inter-relationships. It is maintained therefore, that it is essential to study not only individual aspects such as low income, but also to study the ways in which issues

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combine and their inter-relationships, through the study of disadvantage. It is also maintained that study should occur both at the macro-scale, and with respect to individuals and single households (multiple disadvantage). Section 3.6 reviews the most common approach used in the assessment of the incidence and extent of disadvantage and deprivation, that of social indicator analysis, and examines the scope which exists for the greater use of social indicator analysis in the policy-making context. Section 3.7 then examines the relative neglect of the issue of disadvantage in rural areas, and the development of interest in this issue in the late 1970's. The final section (3.8) responds to the last two questions raised above, and examines the link between limited accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas, and the differences which exist between disadvantage in urban and rural areas.

3.2 THEORIES OF INEQUALITY

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, the purpose of this section is to critically review existing theories and research into the nature, incidence and causes of inequality. The purpose of this review is to provide a basis for the subsequent examination of issues related to disadvantage; a concept closely linked to that of inequality. It is maintained in this thesis that disadvantage is the result of various processes, one of which involves the hierarchical social stratification of society, and resulting from this, the unequal distribution of the resources available to its members, i.e. inequality. The theories and research discussed below are therefore those which have something to offer towards the understanding of why this stratification takes place in societies such as Britain's (i.e. capitalist). These are discussed in chronological order, so that the evolution of thought can be traced. Throughout the discussion reference should be made to Figure 3.1, which illustrates the key studies produced, arranged in this order.

Since the 19th Century various theories have been developed, especially by political economists, which have explained inequality as an inherent product of the structure and workings of capitalist society. The following provides a critical review of these theories, drawing on the critiques of such writers as Hurst (1979), Berthoud and Brown (1981), and Bilton et al. (1981). Marx (translated 1954) produced one of the earliest such theories. He envisaged society as divided primarily on the basis of economic factors, into two principal classes - those who do, and those who do not possess the means of social production (property). Marx suggested that inequality is maintained by a number of mechanisms: the state (which represents primarily the interests of the ruling class), the ruling class (which provides the dominant ideology), and the capitalist structure itself (which creates a proletariat which believes in the system).

The theories of Marx can however, be criticised on a number of grounds. Perhaps the most serious criticism which can be made of them is that they are rather

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DATE	THEORIES OF INEQUALITY	POVERTY AND NEEDS	DEPRIVATION AND DISADVANTAGE	
			STUDY BY OBSERVATION / OBJECTIVE DATA	STUDY OF ATTITUDES

1870

CAPITAL Marx
CLASS
STATUS
POWER → POLITICS
Weber Pareto

CLASSIC ECON-OMICS
SUBSIS-TENCE → INCOME
Smith Rowntree

inequality theory
INDIVIDUAL INADEQUACY
STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

poverty theory
CONCERN OVER INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS e.g. housing, low wages

1910

FUNCTIONAL THEORY
Parsons Davis, Moore

WELFARE BENEFIT SYSTEM

Census
AVAILABILITY OF 'OBJECTIVE' DATA

MEASUREMENT OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION
Stouffer et. al.

1950

CONFLICT Dahrendorf
Lupreato Lewis
SYNTHESIS Lenski
Barber

CRITICISMS OF WELFARE BENEFITS
REDISCOVERY OF POVERTY
NEEDS ASSESSMENT Bradshaw Harvey
WIDER CONCEPT OF POVERTY Townsend
SUB-CULTURE OF POVERTY Lewis

RECOGNITION OF INNER-CITY PROBLEMS
AREA-BASED POLICIES AND PERSPECTIVE

MEASURES OF LEVEL OF LIVING U.N.O Drewnowski
OBJECTIVE SOCIAL INDICATOR ANALYSIS Craig and Driver Little and Mabey Knox, Holtermann

REFERENCE GROUPS AND RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY Merton Runciman

SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL INDICATOR ANALYSIS Rojek, Abrams McKennel Andrews

MODELS EXPLAINING OBJECTIVE ↔ SUBJECTIVE RELATIONSHIP Kruskal, Fienberg and Goodman Campbell et al. Murray

1970

DUAL/RADICAL LABOUR MARKET THEORIES Edwards et al Wachtel
Abrah-amson

CYCLE OF DEPRIVATION Joseph Richards et. al.
CYCLES OF DISADVAN-TAGE Rutter/Madge
WEB OF DEPRIVATION Coffield et al.
STRUCTURAL EXPLANATION Newby
MULTIPLE DEPRIVATION
MCLaughlin

AREA: URBAN = DEPRVN Davis et al. Jones
DRAWING TOGETHER TO FORM CONCERN OVER DEPRIVATION
inequality poverty and needs theory
SUB-GROUP see Townsend
RURAL DEPRIVATION Dart, Moseley, Assoc. District County Councils, Shaw, Neate, Fabes et al etc.

DEVELOP-MENT OF THESIS

DEVELOP-MENT OF USE OF INDICATORS POLICY-MAKERS Carlisle Milbrath

COMBINED USE OF OBJ / SUBJ INDICATORS Andrews, Gall + Leiden

REFERENCE POINTS Andrews

1980

ASSESSMENT OF POVERTY IN UK Townsend Berthoud/Brown

unrealistic. Marx envisaged that classes would become polarised and that this would lead to revolution. However this fails to take into account people's ability to adjust to inequality, and human selfishness. Quite clearly inequality does not lead to revolution, in many situations. In addition, Marx emphasised the importance of property in determining class divisions. He thus failed to take into full account such factors as power, in determining divisions in society (Hurst, 1979).

Subsequent theories have, to some extent, taken account of these weaknesses, and have emphasised not only the division of capitalist societies according to economic factors, but also divisions based on status and power. Thus Pareto (translated 1935) emphasised power divisions and the effects of pyschological characteristics. According to his 'elite' theory society is divided into the 'elite' (who dominate due to certain personal 'drives' or 'residues'), and the 'non-elite' (who fail to dominate), the two being linked in dynamic equilibrium. Pareto believed that the elite maintained their dominance not only through their continuing possession of the required personal drives, but also through the complicity and apathy of the dominated, ideology and sentiments amongst the dominated favouring inequality, such as desire for order (Hurst, 1979).

Weber (translated 1947) on the other hand suggested that capitalist societies could be divided into many groups, according to the distribution of prestige (status), economic goods or services (class), and power in influencing communal decisions (power). Webers' recognition of the complexity of the divisions in society is arguably an important step forward therefore.

Later theories have either reiterated the idea that inequality is the result of class, status, and/or power; or (as shown in Figure 3.1) have explained it in terms of other factors, such as function performed (for example Barber, 1957); or focussed on economic aspects, such as the workings of the labour markets and consequent inequalities in income and earnings distribution (for example Edwards et al., 1973). The second and third of these types of theory are discussed below.

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One of the main theories of inequality to be produced in the mid 20th Century was that of the functionalist theory of stratification. According to this, societies are seen to be social systems, which have a number of problems to solve or functions which must be undertaken, in order for the society to survive. Not everyone is considered able to perform each task however, and therefore role differentiation is necessary. Because of this a society, in order to survive, must have an unequal system of rewards to ensure that the most qualified people take either the jobs:

i) which are more important to the society or which only a few people in the society can undertake (Davis and Moore, 1945); or

ii) those which are considered by the society's members to be the most valued, as well as being, in fact, functionally the most important (Parsons 1940, Barber 1957).

The theory of stratification however, has several weaknesses, and has been subjected to heavy criticism. Most fundamentally, the theory is highly abstract, and assumes the free-flow of talent through the society, and ignores the role which power plays in an individual obtaining a particular level of rewards. Thus studies designed to assess the existance of functional stratification in reality have produced conflicting results, for example Abrahamson (1973), Lopreato and Lewis (1973). Furthermore proponents of the theory have tended to confuse the importance of functions (Hurst, 1979), and to ignore the disadvantages which stratification must have for the society, such as the phsychological effects on lower strata (Tumin, 1953). Finally the theory assumes that stratification is inevitable, but it is possible that a society could value occupations equally.

During the mid-1950's, Dahrendorf (1959), in particular, criticised the functionalist theories, and proposed an alternative theory based on the existence of conflict, rather than integration, in society. Dahrendorf (1959) based his theory on that of Marx, but suggested that in industrial societies of the 1950's, ownership and control of the means of production, were no longer necessarily united (the 19th

Century capitalist society being only one type of industrial society). So Dahrendorf (1959) suggested that it was authority, not property, which should be seen as the basis for class division in society. Dahrendorf envisaged social conflicts in isolation, and suggested that they resulted from latent interest groups which become class conscious, in certain conditions. Each conflict was seen to create two main groups - the dominant, and the subjected. However Dahrendorf envisaged these to be related in a dichotomous, not hierarchical manner.

Thus, in contrast to earlier writers, Dahrendorf (1959) emphasised the importance of authority, and suggested that conflict will occur only in certain conditions. However his theory is rather ambiguous, and the suggestion that authority relations are dichotomous, rather that hierarchical, seems dubious. In addition, the theory contains major weaknesses in that it fails to explain conflict within classes and the factors which lead to conflict (Hurst, 1979).

Following on from the functionalist and conflict theories described above, Lenski (1966) attempted to synthesise the two approaches. Lenski envisaged people as competing for a pool of resources, for which supply does not meet demand. Assuming that people are basically selfish, but dependent on the survival of others, Lenski suggested that people will only share resources, up to the point at which the survival of others is ensured. After this point, Lenski suggested that surplus resources would be distributed, according to power. Thus Lenski envisaged power as the source of privilege and prestige. The theory therefore allows for the comparison of societies, with the amount of conflict (caused by competition for surplus resources) being seen to increase with increased availability of technology (the level of technology being proportional to the amount of surplus resources being produced).

The theme of differential rewards for jobs done is also inherent in 'labour market' theories (discussed by Edwards et al. 1973, and Appleton 1979 amongst others). According to 'labour market theory', in a free-market economy, people compete in the 'labour-market' and exchange their labour for the highest wages they

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can obtain. The resulting differential in wages can therefore be seen as a cause of inequality. A refinement of this theory is provided by the 'dual labour market theory' (Piore, 1969). This theory is similar, but suggests that two labour markets exist: a primary market of essential jobs which offer stable employment, reasonable pay and conditions etc.; and a secondary market, under which labour may be taken up, or let go depending on economic fluctuations, and which is associated with poor pay etc.

This approach was carried further by a number of radical economists, who introduced concepts of class into the theory, and suggested that wages are determined by the operation of the market system and ability, plus class divisions in society and the distribution of social investment between classes e.g. Wachtel (1973). Thus, according to such 'radical economic theory', the labour market is seen as being divided into manual and non-manual groups, which are themselves sub-divided into strata (depending on levels of skill and qualifications). Each strata is then seen to negotiate separately with employers, to establish wage levels.

Labour market theories contain two major weaknesses however. Firstly, they generally concentrate too heavily on economic aspects, and secondly, they envisage a free-market economy existing, in which wages are solely determined by bargaining power in the 'market-place. This situation does not exist in any modern Western economy, due to the high degree of state intervention and other non-economic influences, such as status, which may well determine success in the labour market.

Thus each of these theories and approaches has its strengths and weaknesses, and each, undoubtedly, has something to offer to the understanding of inequality in society. An amalgam of theories therefore seems to offer the best explanation, with divisions in society being envisaged as the result of differences in people's ability to perform functions required by society, or to compete for finite resources, or the result of the possession, by people, of unequal amounts of power, status or property. The result is the inevitable, and hierarchical social stratification of society, and the unequal distribution of the resources available to its members.

3.3 MEASURING THE INCIDENCE OF POVERTY AND NEED

Another focus of interest since the 19th century, has been that of defining and measuring the incidence of poverty and need. In the strictest sense poverty is defined as a 'want of means' (Oxford Dictionary, Fowler and Fowler, 1969). However it has generally been defined more narrowly, in terms of low income, partly because income is readily quantifiable. In the 19th Century poverty tended to be studied and discussed from a rather paternalistic viewpoint. Poor people were seen to be those who, largely through their own inadequacy, could not adequately support themselves (Berthoud and Brown, 1981). The relief of poverty was therefore seen as an act of charity. This attitude remained dominant, at least until the turn of the Century when studies began to emerge which concluded that large numbers of 'poor' people existed who were poor, not because of their personal inadequacy, but due to their position in society.

Some of the first studies were concerned with assessing the incidence of poverty (Booth 1889, Rowntree 1901). For example, Rowntree (1901) assessed the number of 'poor' families in a sample of families taken from York. Rowntree calculated the number of poor families by using a 'subsistence' definition of poverty, based on the level of income and food consumption required for survival. Any family with an income below this level was therefore deemed to be 'poor'. Following Rowntree's study, which he subsequently repeated (Rowntree 1941, 1951), the 'subsistence' definition of poverty became widely accepted.

As a method of measuring the extent and incidence of poverty the subsistence definition has the advantages of being clear-cut, and of being adjustable over time. Clearly however it has several drawbacks, notably in its being highly arbitrary and rather narrow. Thus it took only income into account, and lacked any consideration of how families spent their money, or what their requirements were (Holman 1978, Townsend 1979). Despite these weaknesses, Rowntree's studies and the 'subsistence income' definition proved highly influential in the introduction of the

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welfare benefit system in the 1940's, and the approach has remained influential since. From their introduction, welfare benefits have been paid at a level which was considered sufficient to live on, but not sufficient to act as a disincentive to obtaining employment or the performance of more demanding (often more highly paid) work; a situation which, it was thought, would lead to the collapse of the society.

By the mid-1960's however, it became apparent that, despite the improvement in living standards generally, some sections of the population were still experiencing poverty (Townsend and Abel-Smith, 1965). In particular the situation of people living in the inner-city areas attracted concern. As a result criticism of the welfare benefit system grew, and workers began to seek alternative methods of defining and assessing poverty. Thus workers began to take into account the distribution of additional resources or criteria, other than just income, and therefore to take a wider approach to the issue of poverty. Notable amongst the researchers advocating this 'wider' approach was Townsend (1970, 1979). Thus Townsend suggested that:

> "Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong."

> Townsend (1979, p31)

The definition is therefore highly comparative, and defines poverty, not according to the normative judgement of one or a limited number of 'observers', but in relation to the standards considered 'acceptable' by the actual society in question. Whilst the concept is more comprehensive, it is also difficult to assess in practice, particularly as Townsend uses a wide definition of 'resources', which includes status and power.

In the 1970's therefore researchers began to look closely at the various methods of assessing the extent of poverty and identifying those 'in need' of assistance. Amidst the criticism and confusion, Bradshaw (1972) drew together the various approaches to the assessment of 'need' which could be used by

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administrators, and suggested that four possible methods existed: the measurement of 'normative', 'comparative', 'felt' and 'expressed' need. According to Bradshaw (1972), the assessment of 'normative need' involves the comparison of the individual's situation to a standard set by an 'observer' of the situation. This then was the approach used by Rowntree (1901), in formulating the 'subsistence income' definition of poverty (described above). In contrast, the assessment of 'comparative need', according to Bradshaw (1972), involves the comparison of people with each other, in order to identify the least well-off. This approach has been used particularly in studies aimed at identifying deprivation rather than poverty, and is therefore discussed in the following section.

The third type of assessment identified by Bradshaw (1972), was that of 'felt need' which, he suggested, could be assessed by examining the feelings of the individual concerned with regard to his situation, i.e. by asking the individual concerned if they feel they have a particular problem. This has not been used in determining eligibility for benefits, but is linked to those studies which have attempted to assess deprivation, using subjective indicators (discussed in section 2.4). Finally Bradshaw (1972) suggested that 'expressed need' could be assessed, in terms of the demand placed on services designed to alleviate that need. This approach has been used, for example, in the assessment of 'need' for council housing by reference to the length of the council house waiting list.

This division of approaches is useful conceptually, although the categories clearly overlap in practice. For example, every approach depends to some extent on 'normative' judgements. Only two of the four approaches have generally been used by administrators of benefits: the 'normative' and 'expressed' methods of assessment. Considerable debate has occurred over the best approach, with most commentators suggesting that no perfect single method exists for measuring 'need', and that different approaches may well be required, for different elements of 'need' (Harvey, 1973, Holman 1978).

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Along with the re-definition of poverty in the 1960's, renewed interest developed in the possible causes of poverty. Economic explanations of inequality in resource distribution (discussed in the previous section) provided an input into this debate, as did the long-held view that poverty was the result of individual inadequacy. In the 1960's this latter concept was expanded by certain researchers, into the concept of a 'sub-culture of poverty'. This was proposed by Lewis (1965), when he suggested (as a result of his studies of life in poor Mexican families), that the poor were a distinctive, self-perpetuating group, with a sub-culture of their own.

The theory shows strong links with subsequent theories, which propose the inter-generational continuity of deprivation (Joseph, 1972). These are discussed in the next section. Such theories can and have been strongly criticised however (Holman 1978, Townsend 1979). For example, Holman (1978) has maintained that the poor and non-poor are not different but share common attitudes, values and practices; a view supported by this thesis. This debate, which continued during the 1970's, fuelled the shift in interest, from a concern with poverty, as assessed in relation to income alone, to concern with the much wider concepts of 'deprivation' and 'disadvantage', and with the identification of underlying causes of them. It is to these concepts that the chapter now turns.

3.4 DEPRIVATION AND DISADVANTAGE

3.4.1 Deprivation and Disadvantage as a Focus of Interest

As described in the previous section, an increasing amount of evidence emerged in the 1960's, which suggested that despite absolute improvements, poverty and inequality in British society had not been substantially reduced. As a result attention began to be increasingly focussed on the concepts of 'deprivation and disadvantage', and on the circumstances and factors which were perpetuating their existence. The concepts were broader than the previously-used concepts of poverty etc., and involved the integrated study of various aspects of people's lives, including income, employment, health, facility and service provision and accessibility, transport availability, and social interaction and the inter-relationship between these aspects. In particular researchers became concerned with the variations between people, with respect to these aspects, and began to look therefore at people's 'relative deprivation', i.e. using a comparative approach and comparing people's situation to either that of some other appropriate individual or group, or to the norms of the society being studied. Thus several researchers began to develop theories to explain the existence of deprivation or disadvantage (for example Newby, 1978); to assess relative deprivation/standards of living/quality of life (for example Knox, 1975); and to undertake studies into the nature and extent of various aspects of deprivation or disadvantage (a useful bibliography of such studies is provided by Neate, 1981).

Unfortunately, the term 'deprivation' has not been consistently defined in the literature. In its strictest sense 'deprivation' refers to the removal of a basic human right or resource. Thus the Oxford Dictionary (Fowler and Fowler, 1972), states that deprivation is a 'felt loss'. The term is therefore, by definition an emotive one. However in the literature it has generaly been defined differently, for example Southwark Community Development Project suggested deprivation is:

"an unjustifiable gap between those can and those who cannot secure for themselves the living conditions and standards generally regarded as

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necessary, in a particular society, at a point in time".

<div align="right">Davis et al. (1977)</div>

Strictly this is a definition of 'relative deprivation'.

On the other hand, 'disadvantage' is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as 'dis-': 'to deprive of' and 'advantage' : 'stronger position, superiority'. Disadvantage is a similar term therefore, but less emotive, broader, and it involves a stronger emphasis on comparison, rather than on the removal of something. It has also been less widely used and abused in the literature (being used notably by Rutter and Madge, 1976). For these reasons, it is chosen as the focus of concern in the research described in this thesis. However, where the term 'deprivation' has been used in the literature it is still retained, and should be considered as broadly synonymous with disadvantage when used in this context.

In the stream of studies and research into disadvantage and deprivation which have been produced since the early 1970's, two distinct approaches to their study may be identified. These are summarised in Figure 3.1. The first approach has concentrated on people's observed circumstances, as assessed by an observer (i.e. a person other than that experiencing disadvantage). Analyses of disadvantage made in this way involve the use of so-called 'objective' measures, and the approach is equivalent to that referred to by Bradshaw (1972) as the 'normative method' for assessing need. The second approach has concentrated on people's attitudes to their circumstances (equivalent to Bradshaw's definition of assessment of 'felt need'). Measures of this type have generally been referred to in the literature as 'subjective'. The major studies and theories relating to these two approaches are discussed in the following pages.

3.4.2   The Study of Disadvantage from an 'Observers' Viewpoint

This approach to the study of disadvantage involves theories and studies based on the observations and judgements of people who are 'outsiders' to the situation, i.e. not disadvantaged themselves.

<div align="center">78</div>

<u>Theories concerning the causes of disadvantage</u>

As shown in Figure 3.1 some of the theories relating to the causes of disadvantage (deprivation) which define disadvantage in this way, have been based on those dealing with inequality and poverty which were described in earlier sections of this chapter. Thus disadvantage has been envisaged, firstly from an economic viewpoint to be the result of <u>inequalities in society</u> inherent in the system (Newby, 1978), and secondly to be the result of <u>individual inadequacy</u> (Joseph 1972, 1973, 1974). Joseph in fact, produced a highly controversial theory based on individual inadequacy, in which he suggested the existence of a 'cycle of deprivation'. According to this theory, weaknesses in an individual's character cause him to experience deprivation as an adult, which his children also experience. These children then tend to experience the same problems in adult life, resulting in inter-generational continuity.

Joseph's theory has several major weaknesses however, particularly in that it suggests that poor parental care produces maladjustment in adult life, yet this has not always been found to occur. The theory therefore fails to explain discontinuities, and overlooks the influence of other factors on behaviour, such as other social groups and the physical environment. In addition, the theory suggests that it is possible to compare the behaviour of adults of two generations. However, changes in society, over such a long period of time, may well make this difficult. For example, rising crime rates reduce the validity of comparisons in criminality between two generations (Rutter and Madge 1976, Holman 1978). Attempts to identify inter-generational continuity in practice have generally failed, and Coffield et al. (1980), following their in-depth study have suggested that the 'web' of deprivation would be a more accurate concept, in view of the considerable and complex interaction of factors involved.

The third explanation of the existence and perpetuation of disadvantage put forward, has envisaged disadvantage to be the result of the <u>environment</u> or area in

which a person lives. One interesting theory which links environmental and inherited causal factors is that put forward by Richard's et al. (1972), which stressed the inter-generational effects of a poor environment. This is illustrated in Figure 3.2. As this figure shows, factors amongst parents such as poor health and lack of educational skills were envisaged by Richards et al., to give rise to problems being experienced by children, such as reduced birth weight and low aspirations leading to inter-generational continuity (as Joseph did). But Richards et al. suggested that the root cause of these problems was poor environmental conditions, e.g. poor working conditions.

Area-based aid and objective social indicator analysis

The identification of environmental causes of disadvantage grew out of the study of inner city problems in the 1960's. Recognition of the areal concentration of problems and the existence of deprived groups within the inner city areas of major conurbations led to demands for Government action. As a result, a number of area-based schemes were introduced in the 1970's through which selected 'deprived' or priority areas were provided with special aid. One of the first such schemes to be established in Britain was the result of the Plowden Report (Central Advisory Council for Education-England, 1967), which suggested that areas could be identified in which social deprivation was contributing to educational failure. The scheme involved the identification of 'Educational Priority Areas', into which extra funds were to be channelled. Other area-based policies of this kind to be introduced in the late 1960's and 1970's have included the Community Development Programme, General Improvement Areas, the Urban Programme, and more recently Enterprise Zones.

In each case, the schemes required some credible and publically accountable method for selecting the 'deprived' areas which were to receive aid. The most accurate data which was easily available concerning people's living conditions was the census, and so census data became widely used as means of selecting areas (for example Craig and Driver, 1972). The specific items of data ('variables') used from the census were often chosen because it was believed that they would indicate the

Figure 3.2 The transgenerational effects of a poor environment
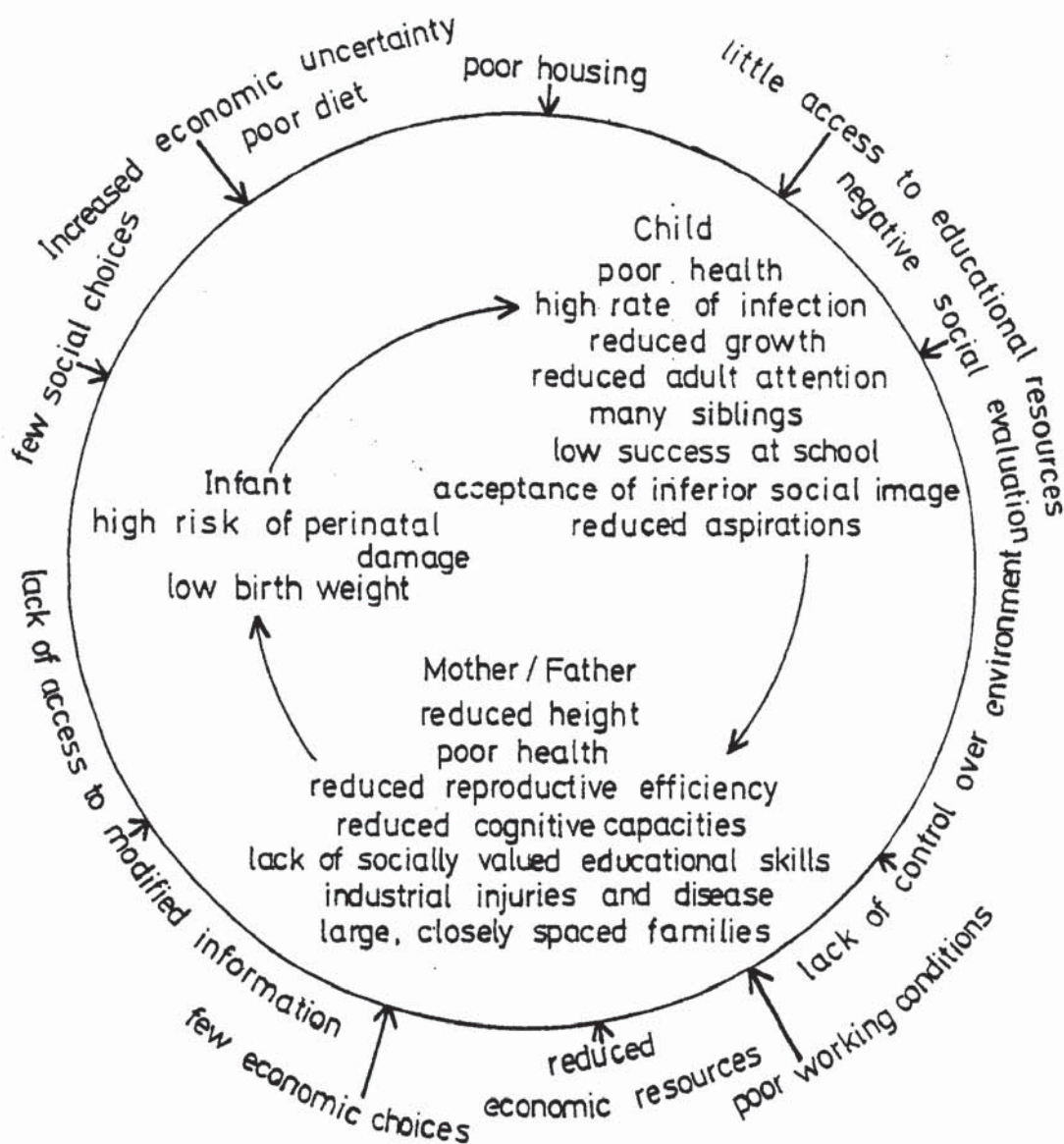
Source: Richards et al. (1972)

existence and degree of disadvantage (deprivation) in its widest sense. Thus for example, data relating to the percentage of households lacking basic household amenities was frequently used not just to provide information concerning housing conditions, but also as an indicator of general disadvantage (deprivation).

Thus the area-based aid policies were associated with the development in Britain of a new field of research concerned with the assessment of variations in standards of living or deprivation, using carefully selected variables which were often taken from the census. The variables became known as 'objective social indicators', and where these were used to compare areas, the analysis involved was termed 'territorial social indicator analysis'.

The scale of the geographical and administrative areas which have been considered in territorial social indicator analyses to date, have ranged from countries (Scheer, 1980) to wards and enumeration districts (Holtermann, 1975). In all these analyses the populations have been compared according to selected criteria, which are either considered to be indicative of wider standards (levels) of living, or well-being, or of deprivation. This comparison has been made using multivariate analytical techniques such as principal component analysis (Nottinghamshire County Council, 1975) or cluster analysis (Burbridge and Tan, 1978). The terms 'level of living' and 'standards of living' are here considered synonymous (as Smith 1979), although they have been defined separately as referring to the factual circumstances in which the person/people considered live and the circumstances he/they aspire to (Knox, 1975).

Macro-scale social indicator analyses

Although the bulk of this type of research has focussed on urban areas, a number of studies have either included, or solely considered rural areas. To begin with, a few studies have used data for such large areas that rural and urban areas have not been separated in the analysis. For example, the Urban Planning Directorate (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1970) compared the Economic Planning Regions of England and Wales, on the basis of 5 'reliable' indicators of well-being,

(annual personal income, households with 2 plus cars, dwellings of £200 or more rateable value, product of 1d rate/population, professional workers) and fifteen variables concerning the presence of certain facilities thought to indicate high 'standards of living' (such as universities). Such studies offer little information about the extent of deprivation in rural areas however.

Social indicator analyses involving data for urban and rural areas

Obviously information concerning the extent of deprivation in rural areas can only be obtained through the use of data for smaller areas. A number of studies have used such data, and these may be separated into two groups: those which have considered and perhaps contrasted data for both urban and rural districts or parishes/wards in one analysis (discussed below) and those which have considered only rural districts or parishes/wards (discussed subsequently). The data used have varied from parish and ward data, through to data for entire rural districts, urban districts and municipal boroughs (1971 Census); the total areas covered, from a county, to the country as a whole.

An example of a single study which used data for both rural areas and urban areas is provided by Knox (1975). Knox used four variables:

- i) the average number of persons per room
- ii) % of households without exclusive use of a fixed bath
- iii) % of economically active persons out of employment
- iv) % of persons aged 60 or more

to produce an index of level of living, first for counties and county boroughs, and then for rural districts, urban districts and municipal boroughs and wards, in England and Wales. Knox (1975) concluded from his analyses, that county/county borough scores hid considerable variations in levels of living between their constituent districts etc., and therefore that levels of living vary over comparatively small distances. The conclusion is significant, in that it emphasises the importance of using data for relatively small areas.

Another example of this type of analysis is that undertaken by Craig and Driver (1972), who used five indicators to identify small areas of 'adverse social conditions' in England and Wales. The indicators used were as follows:

i)   % of population aged 0 - 14

ii)   % of population aged 65 (females 60) or over

iii) % males in Social Class IV and V

iv)   % households with no hot water tap

v)   % households living at more than 1.5 persons per room.

The data used were for Enumeration Districts, and were taken from the 1966 Census. An interesting aspect of the study was that Craig and Driver presented the results separately for Rural Districts, using an index score of 2 or over, to indicate the existence of social need or deprivation. Thus Craig and Driver concluded that 'deprived areas' were fairly widely dispersed, and that 60% of Rural Districts contained 'deprived' enumeration districts (although generally only one or two).

One problem of the studies undertaken by Knox (1975) and Craig and Driver (1972), however, is that both involve only a small number of indicators. Selection of indicators is always a crucial factor in determining the end result obtained from this type of analysis, as discussed later, but use of only 4 or 5 indicators makes the choice of each one critical. Neither Knox or Craig and Driver appear to have given sufficient thought to the differences between urban and rural areas in terms of the ways in which deprivation (disadvantage) is manifested. Because of these differences, a variable which may be a good indicator of disadvantage in urban areas may not be a good indicator of disadvantage in rural areas. This is true of housing density which both studies use. Overcrowding is a problem in urban areas often associated with other forms of disadvantage, but is not generally a problem in rural areas. Housing density is a less useful indicator of disadvantage in rural areas therefore. Thus when it is used in a social indicator analysis comparing urban and rural areas, particularly with only 3 or 4 other variables, it will lead to results being obtained showing an artifically

high concentration of disadvantage in urban areas. Use of more variables is advisable therefore, in order to help safeguard against this problem.

The study of deprivation in Cumbria undertaken by Webber overcame some of these problems (Webber, 1977). Webber used forty indicators taken from the OPCS small area statistics, and cluster analysis, to classify Cumbria's wards and parishes according to their levels of 'social deprivation'. The result was 5 'families' of areas, which were described as:

    i)   high status residential

    ii)   agricultural areas

    iii)   areas of older settlement

    iv)   areas of recent settlement

    v)   urban local authority housing.

Of these the first four all included rural areas, but most rural areas fell into family 2: agricultural areas, which were characterised by;

    i)   low population

    ii)   economic dependence on agriculture

    iii)   high percentage of self-employed

    iv)   two plus cars per household

    v)   large houses

    vi)   few non-manual workers, many skilled manual

    vii)   high percentage of privately rented, unfurnished houses and low percentage of council tenants

    viii)   low use of public transport for journeys to work

    ix)   low rate of unemployment

    x)   large household size, but due to large number of rooms per dwelling, only average number of persons per room.

This study is useful in that it clearly identifies those characteristics associated with most rural areas. However the rural : urban distinction is blurred since all the

'families' contained urban and rural wards/parishes. The information gained from the analysis, was then used in the formulation of Structure Plan policies. Particular attention was paid in the plan, to the special problems of the areas which had been identified as having a high level of social deprivation, such as West Cumbria (Cumbria County Council and Lake District Special Planning Board, 1976). The analysis, and its application, marked one of the most significant attempts which have been made, to use social indicator research in the identification of relatively small areas of deprivation within a non-metropolitan county.

Social indicator analysis involving only rural areas

Studies which have concentrated specifically on rural areas have varied in scope. On a fairly limited level Norfolk County Council Social Services Department (1979b) used four indicators taken from the Census, to compare enumeration districts in various rural areas of Norfolk, in order to identify areas of high need. The indicators and technique used were based on those applied by Craig and Driver (1972), and were therefore not selected specifically for use in a rural area. This constitutes a significant weakness in this study. The study was, however, backed up by a more detailed questionnaire survey of one of the areas which had been identified as being an area of high need (Norfolk County Council Social Services Department, 1976a). This latter study was designed to provide detailed, first-hand information on the community's occupational structure, patterns of migration, social structure and participation, and housing, and to identify key figures and issues. The study was designed for possible input into the Structure Plan process, and as a complement to the social indicator study. Since a number of the questions tapped people's attitudes, the two studies may be considered in a limited sense to be forerunners of the combined use of assessments involving subjective and objective measures of deprivation, in the policy-making process.

Two, more comprehensive rural indicator studies, were undertaken by Holtermann for the Department of the Environment (1975) and Burbridge et al. (1978)

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for the Scottish Office. The study of rural deprivation commissioned by the Department of the Environment, was intended to complement their main study of urban deprivation. Holtermann used nine indicators taken from the 1971 small areas statistics for the Rural Districts of England and Wales, to identify areas of rural deprivation. The nine indicators were taken from the urban indicators studies, and were selected on the grounds of their relevance to rural areas:

 i) % households lacking a bath

 ii) % households lacking an inside W.C.

 iii) % households living at over 1.5 persons per room

 iv) % households lacking exclusive use of all three basic amenities

 v) % economically active males unemployed but seeking work

 vi) % economically active females unemployed but seeking work or sick

 vii) % males aged 50-64 not economically active

 viii) % females aged 15-59 not economically active

 ix) % households with no car

Holtermann concluded from her study of rural areas, that some rural areas were severely deprived, although such areas were less numerous than areas of urban deprivation, and did not constitute a 'very great' proportion of deprived areas in England and Wales. However, since the emphasis in this research was very much on analysis of urban deprivation, it is not surprising that Holtemann dismisses rural deprivation in this manner.

Burbridge and Tan's (1978) study of Scotland was based on the use of District and Island data from the 1971 Census. They performed two cluster analyses, one on 14 indicators of socio-economic structure, and a second on 11 indicators of socio-economic problems, and produced therefore two classifications (each of six clusters plus urban areas). These two classifications were then combined, to give a five-fold classification of the rural areas of Scotland: growth areas 1961-71, island,

lowland and highland areas, and rural areas with average conditions. As with other such studies involving cluster analysis the end result is a categorisation of areas by type rather than by degree of disadvantage. From Burbridge and Tan's classification for example, it is not immediately apparent which of the categories produced includes disadvantaged areas. In this respect techniques such as principle components analysis provide a more relevant end product for policy-makers, in the assessment of disadvantage, because they clearly identify which areas have the greatest incidence of problems. Results can therefore be used directly in making decisions with regard to area-based aid programmes and the allocation of local authority expenditure.

To recap, studies of deprivation or disadvantage which have been based on judgements made from an 'observers' viewpoint, i.e. based on non-attitudinal data, have offered three explanations of the existence of deprivation or disadvantage in society : one theory which envisages it to be the result of inherent inequalities in capitalist society, a second which suggests it is the result of individual inadequacies and the transmission of inadequacies within families, and a third which suggests it is the result of an inadequate environment. This latter theory has been associated with assessments of deprivation based on the use of 'objective' social indicator analysis. The debate over these theories has tended to lead to researchers rigidly supporting either one or other theory (Coffield et al., 1980). However, it is maintained here that all three can contribute to the explanation of the incidence of disadvantage or deprivation amongst certain members of society. Thus the experience of disadvantage or deprivation by certain members of society can be seen to be the result of the structure of society and personal and environmental factors, linked together in a

Figure 3.3 Simplified hypothetical interaction of social and environmental deprivation factors in social problem areas Flynn (1977)

———— Material deprivation
---- Cultural deprivation
—·—· Health handicap

SYMPTOMATIC INDICES
Various tyes of crime, delinquency, deviancy, etc.

EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION INDICATORS
Emotional handicaps, absentism, low levels of attainment

income deprivation (can) result in anomie, low morale, feelings of inadequacy, low achievement, motivation, alienation, dissent from prescribed norms, etc.

CHILD/FAMILY SOCIALISATION DEPRIVATION INDICATORS
Family breakdown, child emotional deprivation, delinquency, mental illness, isolation including elderley

Emotional deprived children suffer cognitive, linguistic handicaps and behavioural difficulties which adversely affect educational performance

Poor housing conditions adversely affect educational and mental performance

Physical handicaps childs limit mortality

Housing/environmental deprivation contribute to emotional stress due to overcrowding, insecurity of tenure, residential mobility of social isolation and lack of kin support

Inability to manage limited financial resources

Low level of educational qualifications results in poor access to employment markets

Income deprivation minimises access to educational resources

INCOME EMPLOYMENT DEPRIVATION INDICATORS
Low pay, interrupted earnings, short/long term unemployment dependence on inco -me supplements

MULTIPLE NEED INDICATORS

LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, COMBINED WITH OTHER VARIABLES:
Elderley
Large Families
One-Parent Families
Mental/Physical Handicap
Transient/Immigrant

SYMPTOMATIC INCOME/HOUSING BASED INDICES
Rent arrears, evictions, etc.

Poor health physical or mental decrease employment earning potential

Low income: poor access to housing market resources environmental potential

Low income: poor access to associated environmental resources

Environment subject to vandalism

Health handicaps contribute to emotional stress

Low standards of child rearing

HOUSING PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL DEPRIVATION INDICATORS
Overcrowding, multi-occupancy, lack of amenities in hous-ing/environment, insecurity of tenure

HEALTH HANDICAP INDICATORS
Low standards of maternity/infant health, socio-medical conditions associated with low standards hygiene/ health education, poor adult health

Income and housing deprivations as-soc. with low standards of health, e.g. due poor standards of nutrition, damp, etc.

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complex fashion, in the manner suggested by Flynn (1977), as shown in Figure 3.3.

3.4.3   The Study of People's Attitudes to Their Circumstances

The second major approach to the study of disadvantage or deprivation, as explained earlier, has been that involving the use of attitudinal data. This approach is based on the assumption that people are able to formulate and express opinions about the circumstances in which they live. The assessment is directly related to the person's circumstances therefore, and does not reflect the judgement of an outside 'observer', who may bias the assessment by imposing his/her own concepts and values on it (for example an observer who is 'middle class', well-educated etc., may consider a person disadvantaged when they themselves do not). The approach involves the use of questionnaire surveys to obtain information about people's attitudes to their own circumstances, and subsequently the comparison of the attitudes of the people whose lives are being investigated, and the study of possible reasons for variations which exist in these attitudes. The deprived or disadvantaged are therefore defined as those who express the opinion that they are deprived or disadvantaged. The approach is particularly appropriate to policy-makers whose ultimate goal is to improve people's satisfaction with their lives or aspects of their lives.

Theories and Studies

The term 'relative deprivation' is generally considered to have been introduced in the first study which adopted the approach described above (according to Mitchell, 1979). This study was that undertaken by Stouffer et al. (1949), to explain soldier's attitudes to army life. Stouffer et al. found that soldier's levels of satisfaction with various aspects of army life varied with certain of their personal characteristics, education, experience in the army etc., but that their levels of satisfaction did not always reflect what Stouffer et al. as observers perceived to be their actual situation. For example, they found that Air Corps soldiers were less satisfied with their chances of promotion, than were Military Policemen, despite the fact that Air Corps soldiers

had, statistically, a far better chance of promotion.

Stouffer et al. (1949) suggested that this apparent discrepancy might be the result of soldier's comparing themselves to their immediate colleagues. Thus, for example, they suggested that Air Corps soldiers felt deprived, with regard to promotion, because they compared themselves to other Air Corps soldiers who were rising through the ranks. Thus Stouffer et al. (1949) introduced the concept that a person's level of satisfaction with a particular aspect of his life, may be strongly influenced by his perception of his situation, relative to that of the persons with whom be compares himself, as well as by his actual situation.

The theory was formalised by Merton (1957), who suggested that the persons used in the comparison were an individual's reference groups. Runciman (1966) took the theory a step further by suggesting that people feel deprived, either because of their position within a group, and/or because of their group's position in society. Thus he identified four groups: those who accept their position in their own group in society, those who want to improve their position within their group, those who want to raise their group's position in society, and those who want to raise both their own position in their group and their group's position in society. Runciman considered the second and fourth of these most relevant to the study of relative deprivation. The major weakness of the theory however, is that it fails to consider those who want to move upward into another group, with little concern for the other members of their group.

A more recent version of the theory is that of Andrews (1981) who suggested that a person compares his perceived situation with reference points (not people). Thus a person may compare his perceived situation with:

(1) The gap between it and the excellence he expects or aspires to achieve;

(2) The degree to which it meets the standards he expects or aspires to achieve;

(3) A neutral reference point;

(4) Other reference points, which may include a zero or low point, a person's

perceived 'needs' or multiple reference points.

It would seem likely that in fact both versions have some validity, with people comparing themselves both to reference groups and reference points.

The use of attitudinal data for the assessment of relative deprivation received a boost in the 1970's with the development of statistical techniques designed to assess variations in standard of living or deprivation (social indicator analysis). At first these techniques were used only in conjunction with 'objective' indicators, as described previously, but in the mid-1970's sociologists began to apply the technique to measurements of people's attitudes, i.e. 'subjective' indicators. Figure 3.1 shows the cross-linkages involved.

Clearly the study of people's attitudes requires the collection of first-hand data. So the development of subjective social indicator analysis, has been closely associated with the collection of such data, generally using questionnaire surveys. Since its development numerous studies have been undertaken of this type, and the key studies are reviewed below, with particular reference to rural areas. These studies have tended to concentrate on questions related to such concepts as : happiness with/attitudes to/perceptions of/or levels of satisfaction with either : people's quality of life in general; community life; inequality in society, or aspects of their life, such as service provision, or their preferences with regard to public spending. In particular, researchers have investigated people's levels of satisfaction with their 'quality of life' (for example McKennel et al., 1980 and with respect to rural areas, Dillman and Tremblay, 1977), and have attempted to identify the issues which determine a person's overall level of satisfaction with life. Results have shown that some 50% of variance in individual's preceived 'quality of life' could be explained by a combination of their satisfaction with 12 separate aspects of their life (Andrews and Withey, 1974):

Dwelling   Job

Leisure Activities   Trust in the National Government

Family Life	Self-efficacy
Health	Things done with the family
Amount of fun	Consumption
Time to do things	Finances

However, the term 'quality of life' is rather vague and emotive (Szalai, 1980), and as a result researchers have searched for surrogates which, it was thought, respondents could identify with more easily, notably satisfaction with community services (Rojek et al., 1975). This choice was backed up by the findings of Dillman and Tremblay, which suggested that the provision and availability of services make a fundamental contribution to the quality of life in rural areas (Dillman and Tremblay, 1977).

Two key studies of this type which have specifically considered rural areas, are those undertaken by Molnar et al., and Goudy. Molnar et al. (1979) studied satisfaction with aspects of service provision and Goudy (1977) correlated levels of satisfaction with the 'community' with satisfaction with community attributes, such as utilities, police protection and public transport availability. Goudy concluded from his analysis that although the two were moderately related, evaluations with local services and social variables could not fully account for variations in community satisfaction.

Miller and Crader (1979) also examined the levels of satisfaction with services, as a surrogate for satisfaction with life. In this case however, they compared levels of satisfaction between urban and rural residents in Utah, and found that the two were significantly different. Molnar et al. (1979) also studied satisfaction with selected community services, in three non-metropolitan areas of Alabama, comparing the levels of satisfaction exhibited by businessmen, government officials and randomly-selected households. They found that levels of satisfaction varied between these groups, being higher amongst the households. However, they also concluded that changes in satisfaction with individual services had little to do with changes in overall community satisfaction.

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The assumption that satisfaction with services is a useful surrogate for satisfaction with wider issues can and has however been questionned. The examination of people's satisfaction with services is an interesting study in its own right, partly because of its relevance to policies, but research to date does not support its use as a surrogate in this manner. This is not surprising, since provision of services is not the only factor likely tô influence people's attitudes to wider issues, such as their life in general. Thus Cambell (1976) found that (in a nationwide survey) only 19% of satisfaction with the community was explained by nine attributes relating to satisfaction with service provision. In recognition of the weakness of this approach Molnar and Smith (1982) used the concept of spending preferences in a study of satisfaction with services (asking respondents if they would like to see more public money spent on particular services), in the belief that this might be more tangible to respondents. For research designed to provide a direct input into planning of service provision, this appears to have something to offer, in as much as that it is directly related to public expenditure. However, it must be questionned as to whether all residents have the ability and information which will enable them to balance the benefits of one type of increased public expenditure against another.

Finally, in recent years researchers have attempted to measure people's perceptions of 'inequality' directly with regard to various aspects, and create an 'index of perceived inequality (Smith and Bylund, 1983). Thus Smith and Bylund explored the 'cognitive maps of social inequalities' with respect to social class, race and Appalachian residency, of Appalachian residents. This was done by means of a questionnaire survey, by which residents were asked to respond to fourteen statements using a five-point scale, which ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Scores were given to the responses, which were then alaysed. Smith and Bylund concluded that social class was perceived to be the more important factor controlling inequality and race the least, and that perception of inequality resulting from living in Appalachia was not generally associated with perception of class or racial inequality.

Although the technique can be criticised for allocating numerical values to a non-numerical scale, it marks an interesting attempt to evaluate rural dwellers perceptions.

3.4.4. Models and Assessments of Objective : Subjective Interactions

Thus two types of measure exist which may be used in the assessment of disadvantage, involving objective and subjective indicators, both of which have their strengths and weaknesses (discussed in more detail in section 3.6). Especially in recent years writers have begun to try to explain the translation of an individual's conditions, as assessed by means of objective indicators, into their expressed satisfaction with their situation, particularly by means of models (for example Campbell et al., 1976). In addition, they have attempted to assess the correlation between the results obtained using the two types of measure (for example MacLaren, 1981), as shown in Figure 3.1. These are discussed below, beginning with the models.

Models of the relationship between objective and subjective measures

A number of researchers have considered the factors which may influence the translation of an individual's conditions (as assessed by 'objective' measures') into expressed levels of satisfaction. Firstly there have been the explanations mentioned earlier which suggested that people make judgements according to the comparisons which they make between themselves, and either reference groups or points (Stouffer et al., 1949, Merton 1957, Andrews 1981). In recent years however, attempts have been made to represent the processes involved by means of simple models. These have been particularly useful as a means of understanding the relationship between objective and subjective measurements and the factors pertaining to the environment and person's character, which may influence this relationship. Unfortunately, all the models are largely theoretical and unsubstantiated, owing to the difficulty of assessing people's thought processes in reality. The following describes some of the models

which have been produced, drawing particularly on the review provided by Abrams (1976). It should be noted that the definitions of 'objective' and 'subjective' used by a number of the researchers referred to, may differ somewhat from the definitions used in this thesis.

One of the first models to be produced was the '2 x 2' analytical model, supported by Kruskal (1970) and Fienberg and Goodman (1974). The model explains the relationship between so-called objective and subjective phenomena of interest (i.e. the issues being studied) and modes of measurement. According to the model both phenomena of interest and modes of measurement may be objective or subjective. In other words, phenomena may be directly observable (objective) or in the mind (subjective), and modes of measurement may be direct statistical measurements of actual occurrences (objective) or opinions (subjective). Four options are therefore possible, as shown in Figure 3.4. This double use of the terms 'objective' and 'subjective' seems confusing however, and it is preferred in this thesis to use the terms to refer to the types of measurement only.

Subsequent models have attempted to explain not only the relationship between objective and subjective 'phenomena' and measurements, but also to illustrate the effects which an individual's character and emotional state might have on this relationship. They have therefore marked an important step forward in our understanding of the relationship, with reference to the individual. One such model was the 'generic model' proposed by Murray (1974). Murray suggested that the perception of actual conditions by an individual (which is influenced by his personal history), is translated into a particular level of satisfaction by the individual comparing the conditions he perceives with his expectations and aspirations (also influenced by his personal history) as shown in Figure 3.4. Murray also suggested that the emotional state of an individual will have an important effect on the individual's level of satisfaction. This model is useful in that it gives emphasis to the individual's personal history and the effects that this has on his/her expectations and aspirations,

Figure 3.4   Models of the Relationships between Objective and Subjective Measures

Model 1   '2x2' Analytical Model

Modes of Measurement

	Subjective	Objective
	a	b
	c	d

Phenomenon of Interest → Subjective / Objective

Taken from: Fienberg and Goodman (1974)

Model 2   Generic Model of factors controlling domain satisfaction

Objective Conditions → g(.) → Perceived Conditions (a) → f(a,b) → Satisfaction

Personal History

Expectations and Aspirations (b)

Emotional State
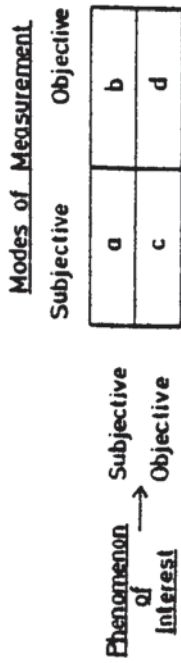
Source: Murray (1974)

Model 3   Relationship between objective attribute and domain satisfaction

Objective attribute → Perceived attribute → Evaluated attribute → Domain satisfaction

Standards of Comparison
Aspirations
Expectations
Etc.
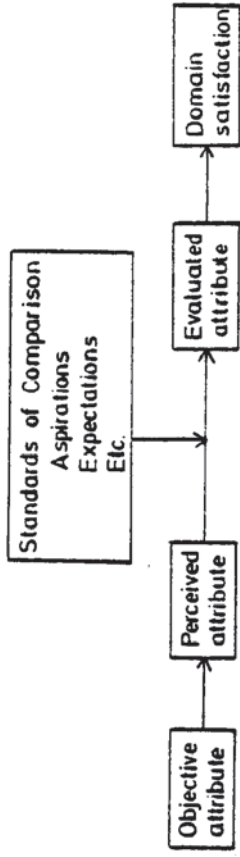
Source: Campbell et al (1976)

Model 4   Basic relationship between a subjective and objective indicator - Andrews

Evaluation on the requested dimension → Subjective indicator

mental processing

The person's real world situation → Objective indicator
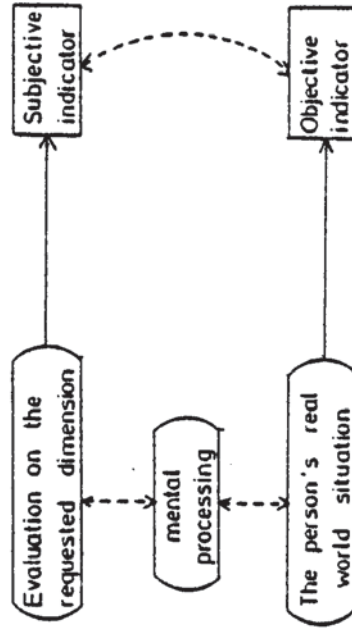
Source: Andrews (1981)

and to the influence of a person's emotional state at the time the opinion is formed. Both are likely to be of considerable importance, yet other models fail to draw attention to this fact.

A similar model was produced by Campbell, Converse and Rogers (1976), although this may be criticised for its omission of the 'emotional state' factor, as shown in Figure 3.4. According to this model people respond to the subjectively defined environment which they perceive and not the objectively defined environment in which they live, and their evaluation of their perceived environment depends upon their standards of comparison, aspirations, expectations, etc. The model fails to show however, the effect of standards of comparison, etc., on the process of perceiving the attribute.

A further model has been proposed by Andrews (1981) which is also shown in Figure 3.4. This suggests that a person's actual 'objectively-defined' situation is related, via mental processing, to his evaluation of his situation, the former being tapped by objective indicators, and the latter by subjective indicators. This therefore shows clearly the relationship between a subjective and objective indicator, but it may be suggested that it offers insufficient consideration of the factors involved in the 'mental processing' stage. It may also be criticised, like that of Campbell et al.'s (1976) for omitting the emotional factor.

Factors involved in perception, evaluation and expression

According to these models therefore, a number of steps are involved in the process of an individual perceiving his actual living conditions, making an evaluation of these conditions, and expressing them to an interviewer, and in an observer making a judgement of the person's situation. Various factors unique to the people involved will influence the process. With respect to the person being studied his/her aspirations, expectations and emotional state at the time the processing occurs are all likely to be important factors. These are themselves influenced by additional factors, such as the individuals personal history, character and intellectual ability.

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With regard to the initial step in the process (perception) individuals vary in their perception of their environment, their own living standards, and the standards experienced by others. The issues of expectation and aspiration are particularly important here. In this context expectation refers to the standards of living which a person believes he is likely to experience. Aspiration on the other hand refers to the standard of living which a person desires to achieve but recognises he may not be able to, i.e. his ambition. The difference is significant as people are likely to be less satisfied with their situation if their expectations are not being met, than if their expectations are but their aspirations are not.

The formation of a person's expectations and aspirations is likely to be influenced by a number of factors, including:

a) his perceptions of his own and others past and current experiences;

b) his knowledge of current and future events which are likely to affect his living standards;

c) his knowledge of the expectations and aspirations of other people in society;

d) his character, especially his degree of ambition.

Comparisons with others, especially the peer group (as suggested by Stouffer et al. 1949, Merton 1957), and to reference points (as suggested by Andres, 1981) are thus central to the formation of expectations and aspirations. Thus it is quite possible in theory for a person living in conditions which are well above average for his society to judge his situation to be below that which he expects or aspires to, and therefore dissatisfactory, if he compares his situation to those 'best off' and vice versa.

Furthermore there are two stages in the process at which interaction between the person concerned and the researcher takes place. Firstly the researcher must make a judgement, as an observer, of the living standards of the person being studied, and secondly the person studied must express his views to the researcher. The former is generally assessed by means of 'objective' indicators, the latter by 'subjective' indicators, and a whole range of methodological issues are involved in the

use of these indicators which affect their reliability and the validity of comparisons of results obtained through their joint use. The strengths and weaknesses of the two types of indicator when used separately are discussed in a later section. Briefly however, problems related to their joint use and comparison of results include:

(i) Data limitations when using secondary data and measurement errors (these include the mis-reporting of attitudes by respondents and interviewer error).

(ii) The form of the relationship (one cannot assume a linear relationship between say actual living conditions and levels of satisfaction even if the process of perception-evaluation - expression - measurement are done accurately).

(iii) Relevancy problems (whether 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators relate to the same issues).

(iv) Part - whole problems (whether indicators relate to specific concerns or overall well-being).

(v) Aggregation problems (whether indicators relate to characteristics of the individual or population group).

(vi) The difficulty of taking into account variations between individuals in their ability to process and solve problems.

(vii) Dimensions of evaluations (objective conditions will influence the various dimensions of evaluation, e.g. satisfaction, happiness, differently).

(viii) The degree to which the objective indicators used are accurate measures of the dimension being assessed.

In addition each particular technique available for obtaining subjective and objective indicator data has certain weaknesses and pitfalls, as well as strengths. These are dealt with in Chapter 5 when the methodology adopted for the case study work is discussed.

It seems from a theoretical point of view therefore that differences may exist between an individual's actual conditions, as assessed by objective indicators, and his level of satisfaction with his perceived conditions. This may occur, not only

as a result of influences on the mental processes elucidated by the models above, but also due to factors related to the validity of the two types of measurement themselves and especially on the selection of indicators (as discussed above).

Research incorporating objective and subjective indicators

In addition to the studies which have attempted to explain the processes by which individuals arrive at, and express particular perceptions of their situation, a number of studies have (as illustrated in Figure 3.1), actually simultaneously assessed levels of disadvantage/levels of living etc., using objective and subjective indicators, and compared the results obtained. On a limited basis Wenger (1978) applied objective and subjective measures although she did not specifically compare them. Wenger studied employment patterns and related aspects in mid-Wales using a household questionnaire survey of six communities. She collected information on income and employment, population, housing, migration and attitudes to work, the community and quality of life. Wenger concluded that employment problems existed in the area and were the main reason given for potential migration. However she also concluded that people's levels of satisfaction with quality of life were higher than those recorded by other studies of English urban areas, except in the economic domain, with 'pleasant surroundings' and 'friendly people' being the most valued aspects.

Wenger did not therefore set out to specifically compare results obtained using the two types of indicator. Others have however done so. Generally these have found that subjective indicators are not closely related to evaluations based on objective indicators. The work of Stouffer et al. (1949) which was discussed earlier, emphasised this point, and later studies by Runciman (1966), Abrams (1976) and MacLaren (1981), and with reference to rural areas Gall (1982) and Mackay and Laing (1982) have also reached similar conclusions. Thus Abrams stated:

> "Of course, there will be some situations where the association is high: people living in damp, cold, overcrowded dwellings will usually record low levels of satisfaction with their housing, but the more typical situation is one

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where people with 'good' objective conditions (e.g. high income, higher education) also express low levels of satisfaction".

<div align="right">Abrams (1976, p 48-9)</div>

On the basis of the results of a household survey in Dundee, MacLaren (1981) concluded that while objective and subjective measures of particular aspects of deprivation were related at the 1% level, this was not the case when the two were compared in any of the separate areas of Dundee studied (these being separated a priori by their levels of deprivation, as assessed using standard household variables).

With respect to rural areas Gall (1982) compared official Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau) objective measures of the provision of various 'scarce society goods' in 18 villages, to subjective measures of liveability, stress and well-being obtained from the villages. This study has a number of weaknesses, several of which are recognised by the author. In particular the census data which was used was collected in 1971, whilst the studies involving the subjective measures took place in 1977 and 1978. Gall corrected this discrepancy somewhat dubiously, by excluding 'subjective' data relating to anyone not born in or near their village of residence, from the analysis. The sample used did not include the views of in-migrants to the area, and as a result may be considered biased. Secondly, the census covered the whole population whilst Gall's studies covered only 40-50 inhabitants per village. Gall overcame a third problem concerning the aggregation of neighbourhoods with only a small population by calculating the approximate levels of social disadvantage in them (to ensure that areas which were similar in this respect were amalgamated).

Despite these problems, the study provides an important example of the joint use and comparison of results obtained by means of objective and subjective measures. Gall concludes that:

"Although all correlations are in the right direction i.e. more social disadvantages is accompanied with more stress, less liveability and less

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well-being only those between liveability and stress/well-being are significant on the 10% level."

<div align="right">Gall (1982)</div>

In a logical and well-structured piece of work, <u>Mackay and Laing</u> studied remote areas of Scotland and related availability of services/facilities to remoteness, household income and levels of satisfaction with facilities. Using a weighting system for different facilities which was based on the percentage of all total outlets made up by the particular facility, Mackay and Laing were able to produce indices of actual facility provision in each parish and one for each district (objective data). Satisfaction with facilities (subjective data) was measured using a 5-point scale (from 5: very satisfied to 1: very dissatisfied). 100 interviews were conducted per parish, and scores summed.

Mackay and Laing then normalised these scores and, using the same weights as for the parish 'objective' data, compared the 'subjective' and 'objective' ranks for the parishes. Mackay and Laing concluded that wide geographical variations existed and that the results suggested that:

'there is no causal link between the objective conditions existing in the parishes and subjective assessments of residents'.

<div align="right">Mackay and Laing (1982, p22)</div>

They also suggested that people are resigned to their situation, and that subjective responses were influenced by historical factors, and people's expectations of likely improvements.

One of the few studies to find a strong relationship between availability of services and satisfaction, was that undertaken by <u>Christenson (1976)</u>. He approached the issue by using a postal survey to assess the availability of, and satisfaction with community services, in North Carolina. Using a Guttman scale Christenson ranked the 100 counties, according to their population density, service availability and average respondent satisfaction with facility quality. He then compared the rankings, and found fairly strong relationships between population

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density and service availability, and between population density and satisfaction, and strong relationships between overall availability of services and satisfaction. However Christenson did not find strong relationships between availability and satisfaction with individual services. Christenson's work contrasts with the studies mentioned above in that it is based on the use of a postal survey - a technique notorious for the low response rate associated with it and the likelihood of bias in the pattern of responses. It may be suggested that the results he obtained are a reflection of the tendency for certain types of people, e.g. the more literature to respond to the postal survey more than others. For example, those who have few services and are dissatisfied with their situation may be more likely to return the questionnaire than other groups.

Thus to date only a limited number of studies have been undertaken, designed to assess the correlation between results obtained through the parallel use of objective and subjective indicators. In general these have suggested, that a low degree of association exists, except where people are very disadvantaged. Existing models which aim to explain the translation of a person's actual conditions into an expressed attitude have much to offer, but each one is open to criticism. Gaps in the knowledge remain, particularly with respect to rural areas, and scope remains therefore for research designed to assess the degree of association between results obtained using both types of measure, and to offer an improved model based on those mentioned above.

3.5   <u>MULTIPLE DISADVANTAGE</u>

One of the issues raised in the previous section was the inter-relationships involved between types of disadvantage, and the ways in which one type of disadvantage may lead to, or reinforce another. Taking this a step further, it follows that various types of disadvantage are likely to be combined within particular population sub-groups, households, or at the individual level, to produce various forms of 'multiple disadvantage'. This combination of disadvantages is highly significant since it is likely that a person/household which experiences multiple disadvantage will be relatively worse off than one experiencing only one type of disadvantage; and since experience of multiple disadvantage may reduce the persons'/peoples' ability to cope with each single problem.

A fundamental weakness of techniques such as territorial social indicator analysis, is that they fail to consider the nature and extent of this combination of disadvantages. This failure is mainly the result of the lack of data available at the individual/household level. Most studies of this type have relied on data sources such as the census, which provide data only for enumeration districts or aggregations of them. Using such data the most that can be achieved is the study of the combined scores for indicators in different areas (Craig and Driver, 1972), or the identification of different 'types' of area on the basis of correlations between indicators, for example by using cluster analysis (Webber 1977, MacLaren 1981).

The existence of multiple disadvantage has been recognised for some time although substantive evidence of its existence has only recently been published (Figure 3.1). As early as 1967 the Plowden Report referred to multiple disadvantage as 'the seamless web of circumstance' (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967). The DHSS/SSRC research programme into 'transmitted deprivation' in the 1970's, produced valuable evidence of its existence (Brown and Madge, 1982). For example several of the reports produced following this research showed evidence of the existence of a link between housing disadvantage and other

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types of disadvantage, such as poor health, education and job level (Murie 1982, McDowell 1983). In-depth research of four families by Coffield et al. (1981) produced detailed and enlightening evidence of the inter-connections between problems, and led the authors to maintain that it was such multiple deprivation which was keeping the families studied in a disadvantaged position in society.

A final example from the DHSS/SSRC research is provided by Berthoud (1983) who, using data from the 1975 General Household Survey, examined the incidence of multiple deprivation nationally. He took data for all families in which the head of household was of working age, and determined whether or not each of six types of problem was present in the households. Taking into account the expected levels if the problems were randomly distributed through the population, he found that rather more households had none of the six problems than expected (23.6% compared to 14.9%), fewer had one to three problems, and more had four to six problems than expected (8.8% compared to 3.6%). In other words, the problems were concentrated into 8.8% of the nations housholds. Berthoud concluded that over a million families with heads of working age were suffering multiple deprivation, and that nearly 50,000 were deprived on all six accounts. Thus Berthoud (1983) showed how families in low social groups and certain occupational groups experienced an above average incidence of problems related to housing tenure, amenities, space and conditions, educational qualifications, conditions of work, overall income and assets level, unemployment, risk of mortality, health, family composition and delinquency.

These largely urban based studies have identified various sub-groups in the population which tend to experience multiple deprivation, and have highlighted the particular problems faced by immigrants, the unemployed/under-employed, low paid, older worker, disabled/long-term sick/handicapped, one-parent families and old people. The exact nature of the problems faced by such groups in rural areas is described in subsequent chapters of this thesis, but Townsend's study of their

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problems throught Britain, provides a classic and comprehensive account of their situation in the 1970's.

Studies of rural disadvantage have generally not examined the extent or nature of multiple disadvantage, and have been content to study issues separately (Shaw 1978, Neate 1981). Various of these have identified the sub-groups in the population which experience high incidence of the type of disadvantage being studied. Thus Moseley (1979) focussed on 'mobility deprivation' and identified three such sub-groups : elderly, children/teenagers and housewives. Some studies have however focussed on a particular sub-group and studied the range of problems faced by that particular group, for example the elderly and disabled (Gant and Smith, 1982), or young people (Akehurst, 1983). As discussed in chapter 3 special concern has been shown for the situation of the elderly in rural areas, who are recognised to suffer from a range of disadvantages, such as physical disability, social problems and isolation, low income, low ownership of means of reducing trip-making e.g. telephone, low car ownership and cultural and attitudinal restrictions (Polonsky 1978, Moseley 1979).

One of the few studies to take a more detailed approach at the household level to multiple deprivation has been that of Fabes et al. (1983). This involved a study of poverty in Rutland, based on 20 case studies examined by one of the authors, Worseley, during her time at the County's Social Services Department in 1982. The report produced evidence amongst households not only of the commonly-used indicators of disadvantage e.g. housing aspects, but also of personal problems related to family break-up and re-marriage, poverty, e.g. fuel bill and rent arrears, ability to buy food, inadequate diet and clothing, illiteracy, restricted social activities etc. The study also examined the attitudes of the poor and other groups to the poverty (only half of the households considered themselves 'poor'). Worseley found evidence of fatalism (an acceptance of the low position in society as preordained), high tolerance of poverty, lack of material aspirations,

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shame and desire for secrecy, and the receipt of paternalism amongst the households studied.

Although Fabes et al.'s study has limitations, notably the small number of households studied, like Coffield et al.'s it illustrates the muliple problems which a household may face, and the way in which such problems are exacerbated by the high cost of living, and the low provision of transport and services in rural areas. There seems considerable scope however, for the study of multiple disadvantage at the individual/household level in rural areas, with the studies by Fabes et al. and Coffield et al. confirming the importance of study at this level.

3.6 THE APPLICATION OF INDICATORS OF DISADVANTAGE IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

3.6.1 Introduction

At the current time an increasing amount of information is becoming available on the nature and extent of disadvantage, and underlying causal factors, in both urban and rural areas. Developments in the study and assessment of disadvantage have been closely linked to the demands of policy-makers, who may apply them in a number of ways (Molnar and Milbraith, 1979). Thus assessments of disadvantage or standards of living, may be used in an informative, predictive or problem-orientated manner, or they may be used in policy-evaluation (Carlisle, 1972). In other words, they may be used to provide additional information for policy-makers, to predict future trends and infer the probable effects of policies, to assess a particular problem and identify the optimum policy for the alleviation of that problem; and finally to evaluate the effects of a policy, both during and after its implementation.

It has been demonstrated above that the issue of disadvantage (or the associated concept of deprivation, considered synonymous in this discussion) has generally been approached either from an 'observers' viewpoint (i.e. using non-attitudinal data) or by concentrating on the feelings and attitudes of the person concerned, towards their life. Assessments of disadvantage have largely relied on the analysis of 'indicators' of disadvantage, or in other words, variables which are thought to indicate wider levels of disadvantage or variations in standards of living. The technique of identifying and analysing such data is referred to as social indicator analysis, and examples of its use have been discussed in the preceding sections.

Until recently there has been a general division between the use of objective indicators by researchers associated with the government or using data collected by government agencies, sometimes with a view to providing an input into the policy-making process, and the use of subjective indicators by non-government

survey organisations not concerned with policy-making. This situation has partly been remedied in the early 1980's however, as the values of both types of indicator especially if used as a balance to each other, has been recognised (Andrews, 1980). Thus the two types of research are beginning to be used in conjunction, to complement each other. In fact care must be taken to avoid the assumption that studies involving objective indicators are more factual, less open to errors, bias etc. Such studies may depend heavily on the 'observers' own judgements, whilst assessments using subjective indicators can involve accurate measurements of people's attitudes or feelings. For this reason some researchers have used other terms, e.g. Andrews (1980) used the terms 'perceptual'; and 'counting' to refer to subjective and objective indicators respectively.

This section attempts to critically review both the techniques of 'objective' and 'subjective' social indicator analysis, and also the ways in which these techniques have and could be used by policy-makers. Although examples of their use are given in the text below, readers should refer to the previous sections both for additional examples, and for the detailed explanation of the techniques involved.

3.6.2   The Use of Objective Indicators

As yet policy-makers in Britain have tended to use only objective social indicator analysis i.e. social indicator analysis based on the use of 'objective' indicators; comparing the populations of different areas. These analyses have then been used for selecting areas for special aid, with a view to alleviating disadvantage or deprivation (Little and Mabey, 1972). Both territorial social indicator analysis and area-based, anti-disadvantage (deprivation) policies have been criticised however (Berthoud 1976, Holman 1978, MacLaren 1981), as has the inexpert application of territorial social indicator analysis by certain policy-makers (Sills et al., 1983).

One of the fundamental criticisms which can be made of the technique as a method of assessing disadvantage and of area-based policies as a means of alleviating disadvantage is that both assume that disadvantaged people tend to live in distinct, identifiable areas. This has not however been established in fact. Researchers such as Hatch and Sherrott (1972/1973), Barnes and Lucas (1975) and Holterman (1975) have shown that only a small proportion of the 'deprived' live in 'deprived areas' and that only a small proportion of those living in 'deprived areas' are 'deprived'. The proportions are merely slightly higher than in other areas. This being the case, it may be argued that techniques designed to identify 'deprived' areas are misleading, and that the chanelling of aid into selected areas is an inefficient way of alleviating deprivation. In addition, the use of area-based policies in this context may be criticised for the effect that they have on people living in selected and non-selected areas. It seems likely that the selection of areas may have an adverse effect both on the people living in the selected areas (which may become stigmatised so causing a loss of self-respect etc.), and on the people living in non-selected areas, who are discriminated against in terms of aid (Townsend, 1979).

Furthermore, as discussed in the previous section, the technique may be criticised on the grounds that the use of secondary data for areal or 'ecological correlations' does not allow consideration of the degree to which the various aspects of disadvantage coincide in individual households (multiple disadvantage). This may be a crucial factor however, in determining the ability of the household to 'cope' with their deprivation. For example, if low educational attainment is coupled with unemployment, inadequate housing and ill health, the household is likely to be less able to 'cope' with each individual problem, than a household which only suffers from one such problem.

The technique also contains certain practical and empirical weaknesses. Most fundamentally the selection of indicators is critical in determining the final results. In his valuable examination of social indicator analysis Knox (1975)

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suggested that social indicators should be comprehensive or aggregate measure of social conditions or some major aspect of them such as racial equality; available in a time series; easily disaggregated by geographical area; refer to outputs of the system such as educational achievement rather than inputs such as expenditure on education; and should relate to public policy goals such as equal opportunity. This list covers many of the most important characteristics, although to these should be added the rather obvious characteristics of reliability and easy availability. Knox recommends also that overlap between indicators should be avoided. Furthermore, in selecting indicators it must be remembered that objective indicators treat all populations as equal units of analysis. However, factors such as the location and settlement size may influence populations differently. For example, if house prices are used as an objective indicator of housing quality, it may be anticipated that prices will vary with remoteness, size of settlement etc., as well as with the actual size and quality of the house. Thus house prices may be an inaccurate measure of quality.

A further problem related to the technique of social indicator analysis is that of weighting. Generally studies have given equal weight to all the indicators involved in the analysis (for example Little and Mabey, 1972). This is to be criticised however since, on theoretical grounds, it is unlikely that all contribute equally to the existence and extent of deprivation. A final problem related to the technique itself is that it obscures any weakness present in the basic data, such as reliability. This latter problem may be exacerbated if the technique is used by workers who are not fully familiar with it.

This leads on therefore to an additional criticism which may be made of the actual usage made of the technique, with regard to its application by policy-makers. Social indicator analysis is a sophisticated analytical technique which can be difficult to apply correctly in practice. Thus it may be considered inappropriate for use by policy-makers, who generally require techniques which are cost-effective and easy and quick to apply and explain. In fact policy-makers have at

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times been criticised for their apparent failure to use the technique correctly, and therefore to select the most 'deprived' areas for aid (Sills et al., 1983). Thus both the technique and its application need careful consideration before being used.

3.6.3   The Use of Subjective Social Indicators

The use of 'subjective' indicators using information gathered by questionnaire surveys has several advantages (Abrams, 1976). Firstly, subjective indicators provide direct measures of the individual's life, and are arguably more closely related to the same factors which influence behaviour. Thus they may be more relevant to policy-makers who aim to improve the quality of people's lives, or anticipate patterns of behaviour. Also it can be argued that subjective indicators are more relevant because the individual concerned is best placed to judge his own situation. Furthermore, subjective indicators are useful in that they allow the comparison of different aspects of people's lives, such as satisfaction with housing, with satisfaction with transport. Finally, subjective indicators provide a complement to objective indicators, and can be used to assess the appropriateness of the indicators selected in objective indicator studies. Thus they can help to reduce some of the problems associated with the use of objective indicators. An examination of the literature shows however, that much scope remains for their use.

At the same time, subjective indicators have a number of weaknesses (Abrams, 1976). Firstly they depend on the ability of people to evaluate aspects of their lives, and express this evaluation correctly. Yet people may vary in their ability and willingness to analyse individual aspects of their lives, and to express themselves clearly, honestly and in a way which can be considered consistent over time. Simple, unambiguous wording of questions may be necessary to help overcome this problem. It has been suggested that respondents may give untruthful answers for reasons of privacy, stigma, etc., and that subjective indicator studies may be unreliable because people may change their views relatively rapidly over

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time. It is obviously important for interviewers to approach respondents in a manner which will win their trust.

In addition, it has been suggested that subjective indicator analyses are susceptible to interviewer and respondent bias, since each individual will have a unique understanding of questions and answers. These problems can largely be avoided by using only a limited number of researchers, each following established procedures; by the use of only a limited number of relatively straight-forward concepts in questionnaires; and by careful phrasing of questions and design of scales. Unfortunately, this limits the scale of the work, and hence its practical application to some extent. This problem may have been exacerbated by the wide range of terms used by researchers, which may have hindered the development, on the part of researchers, of a clear understanding of the ways in which terms are related to respondents characteristics. Andrews and McKennell (1980) have investigated the use of the various approaches, and have suggested that the different measures tap different components of attitudes. They conclude that measures of 'fun', 'happiness' and 'enjoyment' tend to be more emotional judgements ('affective'), whilst 'satisfaction', 'meeting needs' and 'success' tend to be more rational judgements ('cognitive'). Whilst it would seem difficult in practice to separate emotional from rational judgements, it would seem true that people express different attitudes to questions incorporating these different words, e.g. a person may feel happy but not believe themselves successful, because such judgements are based on different criteria. The important point is that researchers must word questions carefully, and be aware of their impact.

A further criticism which can be made of subjective indicator studies is that the number of indicators studied is limited by the restricted interview time generally available (Abrams, 1976). Careful selection of indicators is also necessary to get around this problem therefore. Finally the use of subjective measures in decision-making has been questioned, since decisions made for the whole society

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must be based on all relevant considerations, which many idnividuals may not do when forming their attitudes. Research to date has suggested however, that people are able and prepared to express considered, truthful opinions about their attitudes, and that people's interpretations of concepts are sufficiently similar as to make the use of subjective indicators valid providing that the methodological points raised above are applied (Abrams, 1976).

3.6.4 Scope for Further Use of Indicators of Disadvantage in the Policy-Making Processes

As yet, policy-makers in Britain have tended to use social indicators largely in an informative manner, to provide background information or in a problem orientated way (Knox 1975), often with the view to justifying the expenditure of public money. It may be suggested therefore, that one of the main reasons for the expansion in the use of studies of disadvantage, and social indicator analysis in policy making, has been a financial one. It has been recognised that such studies and techniques provide an ideal way of attracting the support of grant-giving bodies (North Norfolk District Council, 1976), and of justifying the receipt and expenditure of central government finance, in the light of recent cut-backs in public expenditure.

This use of indicators in policy-making has not been restricted to metropolitan local authorities either. A number of nonmetropolitan councils have also pioneered the use of territorial social indicator analysis, to identify the existence of deprivation e.g. Cumbria County Council (Webber, 1977), Norfolk County Coluncil (1976), Nottinghamshire County Council (1975). However, as discussed earlier these analysis have generally been used in the formulation of area-based policies in urban areas (Little and Mabey, 1972).

In recent years certain changes have occurred which have encouraged the application of studies involving the systematic assessment of disadvantage (deprivation) or standards of living, in a predictive and policy-evaluative manner. In

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particular the Structure Plan process placed a responsibility on local authorities to formulate policies in a more open manner, and to monitor the effects of their policies. In turn this has led to the collection of a considerable amount of data by local authorities, and the use of social indicators, not only in an informative way, but also in a problem-orientated, predictive and policy-evaluative manner. Thus various attempts have been made to evaluate the effects of local authority policies, e.g. the effects of key settlement policies (Harvey 1980, Herington and Evans 1980), and some Structure Plans policies have been based on projections of populations, housing requirements etc. into the 1990's (Shropshire County Council, 1980b).

One more enlightened approach, was that adopted by Hereford and Worcester County Council (1978). The County Council established a Rural Community Development Programme in 1975, in an attempt to bring a multi-disciplinary and inter-organisational approach to the identification of existing and potential problems, with a view to developing strategies for their alleviation. The programme used a definition of deprivation based on eight areas of 'human need' and involved the use of surveys designed to assess the degree to which these were being met, as judged by local people, national standards and comparison with other areas of the county. As a result the County Council were able to identify nine key issues which were affecting the extent to which these needs were being met (inadequacy of transport, lack of information about the provision of facilities, the large number of administrative boundaries in existence, lack of an integrated approach between the numerous organisations involved, lack of finance, settlement policies favouring concentration, isolation, lack of a focus for concern and the failure to make local people feel involved in decision-making). The list obtained is comprehensive and supported by other research, suggesting that the approach is indeed a valuable one.

Considerable scope remains however, for the use of statistical techniques such as social indicator analysis in the policy-making process. There

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appears to be an urgent need for the development of more credible techniques, based on sound theory, which can be used to assess disadvantage, suggest policy initiatives, and monitor and predict the likely impacts of policies. In particular, subjective studies which assess the attitudes of people to their lives, and to policies, have rarely provided a significant input into policy-making in Britain. In addition, most research has focussed on urban areas, and despite the developments in the late 1970's few attempts have been made to assess the extent of rural disadvantage.

This urgent requirement for analytical techniques capable of assessing the extent of disadvantage in rural areas, is exemplified by the problems faced by the Development Commission in its selection of Rural Development Areas (RDA's). The Commission was faced with the necessity of selecting these areas, in a manner which would be justifiable, and was instructed to use the following criteria: above average unemployment rates, inadequate or unsatisfactory employment opportunities, adverse population decline, net outward migration of people of working age, elderly age structure, and poor access to services and facilities (Development Commission, 1984). The Commission rejected the use of territorial social indicator analysis, on the grounds of methodological difficulties involved, and instead compared areas in an arbitrary manner, on the basis of these criteria. The Commission itself identified a number of problems which it faced in doing this comparison, notably the problems of securing data covering just rural areas, of selecting the most apt indicators from those available, and the lack of available data on such aspects as employment opportunities and access to services (Development Commission, 1984). As a result of the latter problem the Commission introduced various secondary indicators, using data provided by the Rural Community Councils and local authorities. This does not overcome the weaknesses of the approach used however, which must be criticised for being highly arbitrary and lacking in any theoretical grounding, so leaving the application of the whole policy open to question.

The probable attitude of policy-makers to social indicator analysis has been neatly summed up by Rose (1972). Rose suggested that policy-makers will only use social indicator analyses when their utility is greater than the cost of using them; with this cost being equal to the costs of obtaining the information (time etc. needed to understand information), of value conflict (cost to user of changing his views if they conflict with the findings), and of action (in overcoming inertia and opposition); minus the cost on inaction (overcoming complaints). This being the case, it is therefore essential that researchers provide policy-makers with techniques which are easy to understand, and which will minimise inertia and opposition, by being well-founded and defendable.

3.7 THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST IN RURAL DISADVANTAGE

As mentioned earlier, much of the interest in disadvantage (deprivation) has focussed on inner city problems, and the issue of disadvantage in rural areas was relatively neglected until the late 1970's. A number of reasons may be suggested for this comparatively late development of interest. These include historical factors, the ability of urban areas to attract attention, and the failure of rural areas to attract attention.

First of all, the issue of rural disadvantage was relatively neglected owing to a number of <u>historical factors</u>. The 19th century studies of poverty were conducted in urban areas (e.g. Booth 1889, Rowntree 1901). These were the areas of rapid growth in manufacturing industry, and, associated with this, the rapid expansion of a concentrated population of manual workers, cheap housing and slum conditions. In addition, air raids in World War Two, lead to massive urban destruction, and necessitated the concentration of attention on urban areas in post-war years.

A second reason for the concentration on <u>urban areas</u> has been their <u>ability to attract attention</u>. In particular, inner city areas attract attention both politically and visually, because they are compact, homogeneous and identifiable areas of dense population, which tend to exhibit above average incidence of social problems and look run-down etc. The visual impact is therefore obvious. In addition, urban areas are more important politically, not only because of their high density population, but also because of their political instability and tendency to be a focus of social unrest. As discussed earlier urban areas also lend themsleves to area-based aid programmes, which have proved popular with decision-makers and politicians. Finally, urban areas attract attention because they are the centres of decision-making and research. Therefore politicians, decision-makers and academics are generally more familiar with urban conditions, can study them more

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easily, and in the former cases, can operate aid programmes in them more easily.

Clearly, the converse of these reasons help to explain why rural areas have failed to attract attention. The 'disadvantaged' in rural areas are more dispersed, and therefore do not lend themselves to area-based programmes. The issue of disadvantage in rural areas lacks both political and visual impact compared to that in urban areas, and, owing to the dispersed and isolated nature of the population, may be considered more difficult to research. In addition, it has been argued that disadvantage (deprivation) in rural areas is partly associated with less tangible issues, such as accessibility, isolation, and restricted opportunities (Moseley, 1980).

Another reason for the neglect of the study of 'rural disadvantage', has been the nostalgic image of rural life ('the rural idyll'), which has been put forward in the popular press, and on television. In a thought-provoking piece of work, Fabes et al. (1983) suggested that images of the 'rural idyll' are based on the idea that rural areas preserve two sets of values, which both rural and urban dwellers alike believe to have increasingly eroded in the city. These are the values placed upon the environment, and ethics related to the family, work, good health and social order. As people feel these two sets of values deteriorate in the city, so they fight increasingly to preserve them in the countryside. Thus Fabes et al. suggest that it is the very lack of opportunities which makes rural areas 'rural' in the eyes of many people, and therefore attractive, and that campaigns to maintain the village school etc., are merely campaigns to preserve symbols of the rural idyll.

Rural dwellers themselves are also partly to blame for not attracting attention to their problems. It has been suggested that rural dwellers have been comparatively slow to make demands on such agencies as the Social Services Department, partly due to lack of accessibility, low provision of services and lack of information (Stockford, 1978). Thus it is thought that the isolation of many rural dwellers leads to problems of access to politicians, decision-makers, public offices,

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etc., and to confusion over the precise responsibilities of the various local and central government agencies (Clark and Unwin 1980, National Consumer Council 1977) - a view supported by this thesis.

In addition, traditional rural values of independence and self-help may also be partly to blame for the failure of rural dwellers to draw attention to their problems, and to take advantage of such welfare services as are available. Thus rural dwellers have traditionally relied on each other and on village leaders for help and information, although the latter source of help has tended to decline, at least in more remote areas (Brogden, 1978). Also the stigma attached to the expression of complaints and reliance on welfare benefits, coupled with problems related to breaches of confidentiality, may also have reduced take-up of benefits (National Consumer Council, 1977).

Finally, a more political explanation for the neglect of the study of disadvantage in rural areas which is also supported by this thesis, is that of the domination of rural politics and society by the landowning and farming lobby, which is generally opposed to high levels of public spending. The most ardent and thought-provoking proponent of this theory has been Howard Newby, who has argued that this lobby has proved itself very influential over the years, perhaps influencing policies as much behind the scenes in Whitehall, as overtly in public (Newby 1978). Based on the findings of his studies in East Anglia, Newby has argued that the traditional control of power by local landowners and farmers has left many indigenous rural dwellers with feelings of helplessness in controlling their lives, and also in some cases, in them accepting their situation as unavoidable. For example, he identified a deferential attitude amongst farmworkers, which he found to be at odds with their low wages and poor working conditions, and was able to identify a range of factors which fostered this deferential attitude (Newby, 1977).

In the mid-1970's a number of changes occurred, which resulted in the development of interest in disadvantage (deprivation) in rural areas. Perhaps most

important of these changes were those made to local government structure and the provision of finance by central government (McLaughlin, 1983). The reorganisation of local government in 1974, brought many urban and rural areas under the same local government body for the first time, when it created the new districts and altered certain county boundaries. Thus when the structure plan process was initiated and the accompanying surveys were undertaken, the two types of area were studied by one organisation, and at least in theory, the resulting policies considered both in an integrated manner. Previously many Development Plans had left the majority of the rural areas within their country blank e.g. Shropshire County Council (1953). The loss of local control, as a result of re-organisation however, undermined the political power of many rural councillors (Newby, 1978), and brought with it concern over the domination of councils by urban interests and over the issue of rural disadvantage and deprivation (McLaughlin, 1983).

The shift in control was paralled by a shift in central government financial support (via the rate support grant), from the 'shire' counties to the metropolitan areas. At the same time, local government was becoming increasingly dependent on central funds and agencies, for the provision of local services, and many non-metropolitan local authorities became concerned over their financial position. Thus, as a result of re-organisation and concern over central government finance, it may be suggested that councillors representing largely rural areas were forced to seek ways of attracting and justifying central government support and, that the 'rural deprivation debate' provided just the tool such councillors were seeking (a view supported by McLaughlin 1983, and Shaw 1979).

In the late 1970's therefore the issues of disadvantage and deprivation in rural areas became a major focus of concern, and a spate of publications were produced. Amongst the most comprehensive and influential of these were the publications produced by the Association of District Councils (1978) which took the form of a set of observations to the Countryside Review Committee and the report of

the Association of County Councils (1979). Both provided a comprehensive account of the various aspects of disadvantage / deprivation in rural areas , describing the nature of the problems and the influence of policies on these issues. Not surprisingly both stressed the necessity of adequate funding for non-metropolitan local authorities. Another key publication produced in the late 1970's was an excellent set of papers on aspects of deprivation in rural areas edited by Shaw (1979). In this case the issues considered included the economic and political basis of rural deprivation, rural incomes, employment, housing and housing needs, health and health services, educational disadvantage, recreational and cultural provision, the role of statuory agencies, mobility and accessibility, community information and rural community council work, plus an overview of rural deprivation and social planning. Reference is made to these and other publications in the following chapter, which also reviews the various aspects of disadvantage in rural areas and builds on the earlier publications.

3.8 <u>THEORIES AND STUDIES OF DISADVANTAGE AND ASSOCIATED CONCEPTS : SOME CONCLUSIONS</u>

3.8.1 <u>Disadvantage and Associated Concepts</u>

The previous sections have critically reviewed existing research with respect to the concepts of inequality, poverty, need, deprivation, disadvantage and multiple disadvantage. Figure 3.1 illustrates the development of theories and research on each issue. The conclusions reached from this review can be summarised as follows:

(i) Existing concepts of <u>inequality</u> can be criticised firstly because they are highly theoretical and unsubstantiated by research; secondly because no clear agreement has been reached regarding the causes of inequality; and thirdly because the concept is concerned particularly with social justice and not with the conditions in which the lowest strata live.

(ii) <u>Poverty and need</u> are narrow concepts, being associated with low income, and their value is reduced by connotations of charity and stigma, as a result of connections with 19th Century paternalistic attitudes to the 'poor and needy'.

(iii) Recognition of these weaknesses led to the introduction of the concepts of <u>'deprivation'</u> as the foci of concern. This is more useful conceptually being broader and including recognition of the inter-relationships between factors and complexities involved. It can be criticised however for being highly emotive, for putting heavy emphasis on the aspect of denial and for lacking any comparative connotation. Although rather cumbersome, the term <u>'relative deprivation'</u> has to be used to infer comparison between members of society. Thus it is to be preferred when assessments of deprivation are being made which are based on the comparison of individuals/areas to each other, rather than the comparison of individuals/areas to a pre-determined standard, i.e. when a comparative as opposed to a normative judgement is being made (as Bradshaw, 1972).

(iv) The term 'disadvantage' overcomes many of the weaknesses associated with other terms, such as confused use in the literature, over emotiveness, connotations of stigma, being cumbersome to use, and lack of the comparative aspect. Disadvantage is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as 'to deprive of stronger position, superiority'. Taking this definition a step further one can state that a disadvantaged person is one who has been forced to occupy an inferior position in society, and as a result is likely to recieve an inequitable share of the resources the society has to offer (according to inequality theory of the distribution of resources in modern capitalist societies). The inference is that the share of resources received by the disadvantaged is too small for them to obtain an adequate living standard (however 'adequate' is defined).

Thus the concept of disadvantage is to be preferred because it incorporates the concept of deprivation, but places stronger emphasis on comparison between people/areas, and therefore incorporates the concept of inquality as well. It is also less emotive and has been less widely used without adequate definition in the literature. As a result of these strengths it has been used by a number of researchers, notably Rutter and Madge (1976).

3.8.2   Accessibility and Disadvantage

It seems important in studying the nature and extent of disadvantage, to consider not only spatial variations in disadvantage (using objective and/or subjective indicator analyses), but also the combination of disadvantages experienced at the personal, household and sub-group levels, i.e. multiple disadvantage. Thus the concept of disadvantage, taking into account spatial and personal variations, and inter-actions between various types of disadvantage at all levels including the individual/household (multiple disadvantage), forms a prime focus for this thesis.

Accessible is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as 'able to be reached', but this need not refer solely to a persons ability to physically overcome the spatial distance between himself and a desired object. It can also refer to the ability of a person to obtain an object in less tangible terms, such as his/her access to housing via the housing market, or access to information as a result of their ability to read. Disadvantage and accessibility are therefore inextricably linked, and a disadvantaged person can be defined as : one who is denied access to a share of resources from society sufficient to secure for himself an 'acceptable' living standard. In this context acceptable is defined either by the individual himself (subjective assessment), or by an 'observer', or by reference to the norms of the society to which the individual concerned belongs (objective assessments), and is specific to a point in time. This definition of disadvantage with respect to limited accessibility is particularly suitable for use in rural studies; a fact which is backed up by the arguments put forward by various researchers, to explain differences between disadvantage in urban and rural areas. It is to these arguments which the section now turns.

3.8.3   Disadvantage in Rural Areas

A certain amount of debate has occurred, over whether deprivation or disadvantage in rural areas is any different in its nature, extent and underlying causes from urban deprivation or disadvantage. This raises the question again therefore, as to whether deprivation and disadvantage are spatial phenomenon. For example, Shaw (1979) maintains that rural and urban deprivation do differ, and are the result of different causes, although he accepts that at least some of the blame lies with factors which are common to both types of area. He sees rural deprivation as rooted in the falling demand for agricultural labour, changing locational requirements of service activity and growth of personal mobility. On the other hand, he explains urban deprivation in terms of inner-city decline, resulting from a decaying physical

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fabric, and changing economic base.

Moseley (1980) however, supports the opposite point of view. He identifies various forces for rural change in Britain, which he suggests are essentially aspatial or national in nature. These may be technological, economic, socio/ psychological/demographic, political/administrative etc. He states:

> "so called 'urban deprivation' and 'rural deprivation' are localised expressions of problems of an essentially aspatial, socio-economic-political nature"

(Moseley, 1980, p97)

Moseley (1980) believes that three characteristics of rural Britain add a 'rural dimension' but are not <u>causes</u> of deprivation. He suggests that these characteristics are: the 'pleasant environment' which makes rural areas attractive to live in, their 'spaced-out geographical structure' leading to (physical) accessibility and service provision problems, and their 'local political ideology'. In addition, Mosely identifies similar or overlapping characteristics of inner-urban and outer-rural areas (areas in which the problems are at their most severe in Britain): declining or static population and economy, selective loss of particular types of people and jobs, declining demand for labour, decline of services, little new investment, gentrification, declining morale, and characteristics of housing markets, and related to this, decisions being made outside these areas, e.g. over public expenditure, strategies of multi-national firms and agencies etc.

Walker (1979) also suggests that the fundamental causes of rural and urban poverty are the same, but that the 'manifestation' is different in rural and urban areas - due to different forms of social relationship, and the problems of (physical) access for the poor rural dwellers. This argument is supported by Neate (1981), who sees rural deprivation as being:

> 'a product of the national social structure .... compounded by the problems of poor accessibility in areas that are relatively (or absolutely) sparsely populated and increasingly deprived by the concentration of employment and services in centres of population.'

(Neate, 1981, p20-1)

Neate (1981) rightly stresses that urban : rural differences are not the only ones which should be studied, and emphasises the importance of studying differences between rural dwellers.

The argument supported by this thesis is essentially that put forward by Shaw but gives emphasis, as many other writers have done, to the importance of accessibility in determining disadvantage in rural areas. The concept is here defined more broadly than by Moseley, Walker etc., who used it with respect to 'physical' accessibility only, to incorporate the issues of access to housing and social contact. It is maintained therefore that whilst urban and rural areas in Britain have many basic similarities with regard to the structure of society, characteristics of the population and area related problems such as lack of high quality education facilities (i.e. the factors controlling disadvantage), sufficient differences do exist as to make disadvantage in rural areas a distinct issue. Thus the nature, extent and causes of disadvantage in rural areas are considered to vary, to some extent, from those exhibited in urban areas.

This stance has certain implications for the application of social indicator analysis in rural areas. As discussed earlier researchers have tended to use indicators originally selected for application in urban areas. However, if disadvantage in rural areas has different manifestations to that exhibited in urban areas, indicators suitable for the analysis of urban disadvantage may well not be suitable for rural areas. For example, whilst over-crowding in households is often considered a suitable indicator of disadvantage in urban areas (Nottinghamshire County Council, 1975), it is generally not a problem amongst rural households (e.g. in Shropshire according to the 1981 Census).

A more serious criticism which can be made regarding the use of social indicator analysis in rural areas, is that the dispersed nature of much of the rural population makes the use of territorial indicator analysis highly questionnable. In particular, it may be suggested that Rural Districts were too large areas to be useful

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in analysis, and that by 1971 many contained sizeable towns, whilst others contained only a small population. Thus their comparison was open to criticism. Existing assessments of rural deprivation, based on territorial social indicator analysis using 'objective' data need to be treated with particular caution. There seems much scope therefore, for further research of the type described later in this thesis, involving the development and use of more credible techniques, based on sound theory and incorporating both 'objective' assessments and 'subjective' assessments of people's perceptions of their own situation in the rural context. Such research could help identify the most appropriate 'objective' indicators which could be used in future assessments.

CHAPTER 4
RURAL ACCESSIBILITY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter critically reviewed the studies and theories which have been produced, with respect to disadvantage and related concepts. In particular the discussion focussed on methods of assessing disadvantage. In the final part of the chapter, the nature of disadvantage in rural areas was examined, and it was stressed that accessibility is a prime aspect of disadvantage in rural areas. This chapter goes on to consider, with reference to the existing literature, the various aspects of inaccessibility and disadvantage which these policies have to contend with. Where possible underlying causes are identified. Poor accessibility and resulting disadvantage are therefore defined in terms of the limitations which rural dwellers experience in obtaining their five basic requirements of services/facilities, employment, housing, social contact and travel, as shown in Figure 4.1.

The term accessibility can be used in two ways therefore. Firstly it may be defined in physical terms with respect to people/places, the activities or places which they/residents of the area wish to use or visit, and the quality of transport and communications links between the two (Moseley, 1979). This definition is appropriate for such basic requirements as services and facilities, jobs and public transport. Secondly, as in this thesis, it can be used in a wider sense to include not only a consideration of this 'physical accessibility', but also ability to obtain accommodation (i.e. access to housing), to purchase/drive private transport (i.e. access to private transport) and the ability to meet and socialise with other people (i.e. access to social contact). Access to housing is dependent on such factors as the balance between supply and demand, and purchasing power. Access to social contact is partly related to peoples' ability to cover the distance between themselves and their (potential) contacts, but is also controlled by such factors as the persons ability and desire to take up available opportunities and the obstacles which exist to doing so e.g. class and racial barriers. Neither access to housing nor access to social contact can therefore be seen solely in terms of the ability to travel to certain locations, at times when a

Travel

BUT MAY EXPERIENCE
limited mobility and
associated with this
limited physical
accessibility

Services/ facilities

BUT MAY EXPERIENCE
restricted accessibility
to a range of service
and facility outlets

Rural dwellers require

Work

BUT MAY EXPERIENCE
restricted access to
employment opportunit-
ies of a range of
types and in
different locations

Housing

BUT MAY EXPERIENCE
restricted accessibility
to housing of particular
types and in particular
locations

Social contact

BUT MAY EXPERIENCE
restricted accessibility to
opportunities for social contact

particular opportunity is available.

The chapter reviews existing knowledge regarding the various factors which contribute to poor accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas, which planning and other government policies have had to, or should tackle. The following aspects are reviewed: access to facilities/services (4.2), employment (4.3), housing (4.4), social contact (4.5), and travel (4.6). The attempts which have been made to assess physical accessibility in rural areas are then considered, and weaknesses in the existing approaches are highlighted (4.7). Finally one ultimate response to perceived problems: migration is examined (4.8).

4.2   ACCESS TO FACILITIES AND SERVICES

4.2.1   The Availability of Facilities and Services

The first basic requirement of rural dwellers to be considered here, is that of access to facilities and services. In general, the provision of facilities and services in rural areas is increasingly being concentrated into fewer outlets, located in the larger settlements, which often offer a superior range, quality of service etc. This places rural residents, and particularly the less mobile, at a disadvantage. This section therefore reviews the availability and decline of rural services and facilities, and highlights the difficulties identified in the literature, associated with obtaining access from rural areas to shops and health services. Discussion here focusses on the problems experienced throughout rural areas. Examination of the sub-groups and areas from which residents have particular problems of access to facilities and methods used to assess this accessibility takes place in section 4.7, due to its wider applicability e.g. to employment.

Facilities and services may be provided either by private operators with a profit motive, or by public operators such as government agencies, local government, or contractors to public organisations, as a service to the community. This division is perhaps less clear-cut at present, as many private operators recognise their social role, and public providers are forced to increasingly consider the economics of provision. However, it still exists. Some public providers at present have a statutory duty to provide the service or facility to all households, e.g. postal deliveries, so provision is largely unaffected by location. These will therefore be excluded from the discussion. For other services and facilities however, cost of provision and population density and composition, in so far as they affect demands, are crucial factors in determining the level of provision. The main facilities and services of this type are listed in Table 4.1.

The literature suggests that the provision of facility and service outlets in rural areas is becoming increasingly sparse, and that many rural dwellers now live in parishes which lack key facilities. For example, figures estimated for the non-

Table 4.1: Types of Facilities and Main Providers

Type of Facility or Service	Form of Provision	Provider
Private Commercial	Shops, Banks, Pubs	Private Operator
Professional Services	Estate Agents, Solicitors	Private Operator
Service Trades	Electricians, Agricultural Contractors	Private Operator
Postal and Telephone Services	Telephones, Post Offices, Postal Services	British Telecom, Post Office, Private Operators (sub postmasters as agents to Post Office)
Health and Social Services	a) Doctors, Pharmacists b) Welfare Services c) Hospital Services	Contractors to DHSS County Council DHSS
Education	a) Nurseries, Pre-school Facilities b) Schools, Libraries	DES, County Council or Private Operators DES, County Council
Leisure Activities	Sports and Arts Facilities Social Clubs	(Private Operators e.g. (cinema; Local Authorities (e.g. recreation facilities; (Government Agencies (e.g. Arts Council; (Voluntary Groups
Advice and Information	Libraries, Advice Offices Citizens Advice Bureaux	DES Local Authorities
Public Transport	Train Services Bus Services, Taxis, Unconventional Schemes	(Private Operators (Public Operators e.g. (NBC, British Rail

metropolitan counties of England and Wales suggest that 6.1 million people live in a parish without a dispensing chemist, 4.9 million an infant welfare clinic, 3.6 million a doctor's surgery, 1.4 million a village hall, 0.7 million a sub-post office and 0.7 million a food shop (Ling and MacLeish, 1979).

Facilities may be provided via two basic types of outlet - ones which cannot move location (static), and ones which can move location (mobile). Moseley and Packman however, divide the latter category into:

(i) "Roadside" services, in which the service is provided directly from a vehicle which stops at a sequence of service points (e.g. mobile shop, playbus).

(ii) "Home" services, including delivery, collection and domiciliary services involving a home visit (e.g. refuse collection, visit by a social worker);

(iii) "Rotating" services, in which a sequence of fixed-location outlets is serviced for short periods by a peripatetic service provider (e.g. branch surgeries, bank sub-branches).

(Moseley and Packman, 1982, p3).

Various studies have been undertaken, in order to assess existing patterns of provision. These have generally concentrated on static outlets, being undertaken in some cases by local authorities as part of the structure planning process (for example Shropshire County Council, 1981b, 1982c). A number of such studies have also related levels of provision to other factors such as population levels, planning policies and public transport availability, and past levels of provision (Shropshire County Council, 1981b, 1982a), or settlement size and past levels (Lincolnshire County Council, 1981). The results of studies undertaken by the Community Council for Suffolk (1980), Lincolnshire County Council (1981), Shropshire County Council

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(1981b) and SCRCC's (1978), in order to assess the proportion of villages without facilities, are shown in Table 4.2. Together these show that whilst certain key facilities are available in many villages, others are not and probably never have been. Those identified as generally being available in a substantial proportion of rural settlements are - general store, sub-post office, pub, primary school, some mobiles, and a village hall (Shropshire County Council, 1981b). Those identified generally as being available only in urban areas or highly centralised locations include welfare services, advice/information centres, banks, child health clinics, dentist's surgeries, permanent libraries and professional services (Lincolnshire County Council, 1981).

One study which has been undertaken, which specifically considered the provision of mobile facilities, is that carried out by Moseley and Packman on behalf of the DoE (Moseley and Packman, 1982, 1983). The study found evidence of a range of 'mobile' services being available in rural areas, including: the post office, milk delivery, mobile retailing, the provision of information and advice, the mobile library service, social services, health care, education, play and leisure facilities, and in a few instances mobile banking. Levels of provision may be reasonably high at least for certain types of mobile services. For example, in their study Lincolnshire County Council (1981) found that 73% of villages, in the County, were visited by a travelling shop. As would be expected, evidence suggests that levels of provision are generally closely related to settlement size. Lincolnshire County Council (1981) for example, found that in their County 80% of villages without shops in 1979/80 had less than 200 inhabitants. Figures for Dorset obtained by SCRCC's (1978) also support this suggestion.

4.2.2   The Decline of Rural Facility Outlets

Surveys have generally shown a decline in the number of rural outlets in recent years, particularly in smaller settlements (Norfolk County Planning Department, 1983). For example, estimates suggest the closure of some 1,000 village shops in the

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TABLE 4.2

Percentage of Villages with Various Facilities in Seven Counties

% Villages with Facility

	Avon[1] 1977	Glouc[1] 1977	Wilts[1] 1977	Somerset[1] 1977	Suffolk [2] 1978	Lincs[3] 1979/80	Salop[4] 1980
General Store or Shop	71	71	68	79	59	54	29
Sub-Post Office	74	85	78	85	63	58	30
Pub	–	–	–	–	65	49	37
Doctor's Surgery	–	32	23	32	21	17	8
Chemist	50	14	4	8	–	2	–
Primary School	78	74	61	61	35	39	22

Sources:
1. SCRCC's (1978)
2. Community Council for Suffolk (1980)
3. Linconshire County Council (1981)
4. Shropshire County Council (1981)

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past decade (Jones, 1984). The SCRCC's (1978) suggest that rates of closure of certain facilities in 4 south-western counties varied from 0 to 14% between 1972 and 1977. A certain number of exceptions do exist to this overall pattern of decline. For example, MacKay and Laing (1982) found a net increase in the number of petrol filling stations in remote areas of Scotland, between 1950 and 1980, and Lincolnshire County Council (1981) found an increase in the provision of mobile libraries and community buildings in Lincolnshire, between 1969 and 1980. However the picture has generally been one of net losses.

Reasons suggested for the decline in the number of outlets located in rural areas vary with the type of facility (SCRCC's 1978, Graham Moss Associates 1982). However certain underlying causes can be recognised which are common to many types of facility, as follows:

(i) <u>Competition from larger outlets</u> which benefit from economies of scale and tend to provide cheaper fresher goods and, or a better range. This applies particularly to commercial facilities such as shops (Kirby 1974, 1975) and garages (Dean, 1983).

(ii) <u>Effects of national trends</u> such as increased bulk buying which affects shops particularly (Kirby 1974, 1975); increased car ownership (village-based outlets); increased TV watching and drinking in premises other than pubs, which affects pub sales (Community Council for Suffolk, 1980), and, affecting schools, the falling birth rate (Jones 1980).

(iii) <u>Remoteness</u> leading to high costs of, and difficulties in obtaining deliveries, e.g. for shops (Kirby 1974, 1975) and petrol filling stations (Dean, 1983).

(iv) <u>Difficulties in filling vacancies</u> owing to the low returns and long hours, difficult working conditions etc. associated with small-scale operations. This is a particular problem with respect to shops and sub-post offices (Kirby 1974, 1975, NCVO 1983a).

(v) Difficulties arising when the operator retires and lives on the premises which he/she may not wish to vacate (again often a problem with shops and sub-post offices).

(vi) Heavy dependence on good customer relations.

(vii) Tendency for outlets to be used by less mobile and less affluent people only. Moseley and Spencer (1978) found a direct relationship between the use of village shops and income, with key reasons for non-use including high prices and need to travel to another location anyway.

(viii) Misconceptions about levels of 'need', e.g.with regard to personal social services (National Consumer Council 1977, Taylor 1977, Grant 1978).

(ix) High unit costs involved in providing services to a sparsely distributed population which is changing in structure and declining in size. This can lead to a dropping of standards, as well as rationalisation. One problem associated with the provision of mobile information and advice centres has been the lack of privacy provided (Clark and Unwin, 1978). More significant, and controversial has been the closure of small rural primary schools as a result of falling birth rates, on economic and educational grounds. Aston University (1981) in its study of the grounds for and against closure, concluded that educational grounds for and against closure were finely balanced, but that on economic grounds the Local Education Authority appeared to benefit from closure. However, the report highlighted certain costs which must be met bythe wider community following closure e.g. loss of informal involvement.

(x) Political opposition e.g. to the provision of information and advice services which at present tend to involve innovative schemes such as mobile, part-time, referral or telephone systems (Clark and Unwin 1980, National Consumer Council and NCSS 1978, Elliott 1984).

(xi) National organisations. Many rural outlets are subject to control by national organisations, whose decisions can therefore affect their provision. For

example, sub-post offices are financially dependent on agency work done for the Post Office (NCVO 1983a, Taylor and Emerson 1981), and telephone kiosks are provided directly by British Telecom, which in 1981 threatened to remove kiosks which took less than £140 p.a. (Keel 1981, NCVO 1983b). Petrol filling stations are dependent on oil company contracts (Dean, 1983), whilst banks are subject to central control, and the main banks are currently trying to reduce costs of servicing personal accounts e.g. by using cash dispensing machines, so threatening smaller branches (Rural Voice, 1984). Further examples are provided by the medical services, such as G.P.'s who are subsidised and controlled in location by the NHS (Leschinski 1977); pharmacists whose practices are controlled by the Pharmaceutical Society, with 'essential small pharmacies' subsidised by the DHSS; and hospitals which are provided according to guidelines, which currently favour the provision of larger, centralised hospitals. The same situation also applies to educational services. Thus libraries are subject to DES guidelines, which recommend only mobile services for settlements of less than 1500 population, and primary schools are provided within the recommendations of the Central Advisory Council for Education for England (1967) and Wales (1967), which state that they should have at least 60 pupils and 3 teachers.

4.2.3 Access to Facilities

As well as highlighting social groups which have severe accessibility problems, studies have also highlighted difficulties associated with travelling to two key types of facility - health and shopping. Health trips tend to be diverse, infrequent, and most necessary for the least mobile (Warburton and Trower-Foyan, 1981b). Thus a number of researchers have focussed their studies on access to hospitals (Forster and Barnes 1976, Rigby 1978, Clayton 1984), or to medical services (Community Council of Northumberland, 1983). Haynes et al. (1978) studied the factors affecting hospital usage by rural dwellers, and found that usage was lower amongst people who lived in remote villages and that access problems were partly the result of hospital

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centralisation. The study highlighted the problems being experienced by the less mobile, and by people visiting patients. Other studies have found that whilst emergency cover of rural areas is often good, many people have to make long and expensive trips to the various services (Community Council of Northumberland, 1983).

The limited access to shops for certain groups, is illustrated by Moseley and Spencer (Moseley, 1978), as shown in Table 4.3. These figures show that whilst 51% of women with a driving licence surveyed shopped principally in Norwich or small towns, the proportion for elderly people was only 30% and for women without a licence 32%. Often studies have emphasised different aspects of the accessibility problem, for different facilities. For example, Graham Moss Associates (1981) in their examination of rural service provision and use, found that with respect to primary schools, the main problem mentioned by rural dwellers was the length of time it took pupils to travel to school. On the other hand, for hospitals centralisation was found to be causing a range of problems. For medical facilities in general, accessibility was found to be closely linked to car ownership. With regard to libraries however limited opening hours were rendering them inaccessible to certain people (especially a problem with mobiles). Finally for personal social services Graham Moss Associates identified lack of information as being the key difficulty.

Table 4.3: Principle Destinations of Shopping Trips by Women and Elderly (%)

	Norwich	Small Towns	Local Centres	Local Villages	Elsewhere	Total
Elderly	8	22	7	60	2	100%
Women without a licence	7	25	7	61	0	100%
Women with a licence	14	37	7	40	1	100%

Source : Moseley (1978).

4.3   ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT

4.3.1   The Availability of Jobs

Another fundamental requirement of rural dwellers, and the second to be considered here, is that of access to employment. Clearly the degree of access available to employment opportunities is a major factor influencing the incidence of disadvantage in rural areas, as related to the structure of the rural economy. The economic and employment structures of many rural areas have changed considerably in recent decades, and in some instances have become weak and unbalanced, particularly as a result of the decline in employment in the primary sector. This first part of the section reviews the general economic and employment structures of rural areas, and the changes which have occurred to these structures in recent decades which have resulted in accessibility problems and disadvantage. The following sub-section then discusses the particular employment problems faced by certain population sub-groups.

The economic potential of rural areas depends upon their resources of labour, capital and land, and the way in which these resources are used (Gaskin, 1973). The economy of rural areas has traditionally been based upon the primary industries, which are extensive land users (land being the most ubiquitous rural resource). Thus agriculture was essential to all rural communities until the development of rapid transport systems, whilst other primary industries were important in certain locations. It is generally considered that in the past large-scale manufacturing industry was generally not attracted to rural areas beyond the urban periphery, due to remoteness from labour and markets, poor communication systems, high transport costs, development difficulties e.g. terrain, lack of tradition in manufacturing skills etc. (Packman, 1979). Until the mid-twentieth Century the service sector was largely at a level to provide services to the local population only.

In post-war years however, certain socio-economic, technological and political changes have occurred, which have affected the economy of rural areas, and

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caused a shift in employment opportunities (Moseley and Sant 1977, NVCO 1980c). Some of the problems which have arisen, have therefore been the result of the contraction of traditional types of employment, absence of alternative types and workers inability to change to new types of employment. Although the primary industries have maintained their importance to the rural economy, and are still the dominant land-users (77% of the total land surface of England and Wales is in agricultural use and 7.5% in woodland use, according to the Countryside Review Committee, 1977), the technology and techniques employed in them have been revolutionised. Increased mechanisation and the use of technological advances etc., have led to greatly increased production, and a reduction in the size of the workforce needed. For example, according to the Countryside Review Committee (1977), since the mid-1950's at constant prices, the agricultural gross product has increased by 75% although the workforce decreased by half, whilst the Forestry Commission more than halved its workforce between 1965 and 1975 yet increased productivity by 6.5% p.a. Thus by the late 1970's, only some 2.5% of the workforce in England and 12% in rural areas, were employed in the primary industries as shown in Table 4.4 (NVCO, 1980c). The problems faced by redundant, highly specialised workers from these primary industries may be particularly severe, e.g. Turner (1978) highlights the problems of ex-tin miners in Cornwall.

Table 4.4:   Breakdown of Workforce Between Main Sectors, 1976

| | % of total workforce in following sectors | | |
	Primary	Manufacturing	Service
England	2.5	42.0	55.5
Rural Areas	12.0	39.0	49.0

Source: NCVO (1980c).

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As Table 4.4 shows therefore, the proportion of the workforce now working in the primary industries in 'rural' areas is low compared to that in manufacturing and service industries. The number of jobs provided by the manufacturing sectors in rural areas, is thought to have increased to some extent in the 1960's and 1970's. A number of studies have highlighted the movement of manufacturing jobs away from the conurbations, such as London, during this time (Moseley and Sant 1977), and the higher rates of formation of firms in the rural areas of some regions (Fothergill and Gudgin, 1979, 1982). Figures recently produced by Gould and Keeble (1984) also support the latter suggestion, as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5:   New Manufacturing Firms in East Anglia, 1971-81: Urban-Rural Variations

Urban-Rural Category	Number of New Firms	Firm Formulation Rate 1	New Firm Employment 1981
Large Towns	216	2.2	2,592
Small Towns	114	3.4	1,780
Rural Areas	373	6.3	4,106
Total East Anglia	703	3.7	8,478

Note 1:   Firm formation rate : surviving new firms formed July 1971 to June 1981 per 1,000 manufacturing employees in 1971.

Source: Gould and Keeble (1983).

This evidence of a trend favouring the location of newly-formed firms in rural areas provides support for the work being undertaken to support rural industries by local government and the Development Commission (discussed in chapter 2). However, it has been suggested that whilst government policies and a buoyant

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economy caused firms to migrate to rural areas in the late 1960's and early 1970's, a substantial proportion of these were vulnerable branch factories which have subsequently closed (Packman, 1979).

By contrast, the service sector has expanded rapidly in recent decades, in terms of the proportion of people employed within it, and its importance to the economy, both nationally, and to a lesser extent in rural areas (Packman, 1979). There has generally been a division within the service sector however, between those industries which cater for the local population and those which cater for the tourist. Whilst the former has tended to contract, with centralisation of outlets and jobs, the latter has expanded rapidly. In particular, the development of the tourist industry has provided jobs for women. However, these are highly seasonal in nature, and subject to unpredictable fluctuations, due to such factors as the weather. Thus the changes which have occurred, have made the economy of rural areas rather unbalanced and highly dependent on vulnerable branch manufacturing firms and the fluctuating tourist industries.

4.3.2 Disadvantaged Sub-groups

Thus the rural economy has changed over recent years, and these changes, plus rural problems associated with travel, have resulted in a limited range of job opportunities being available for many rural dwellers, within reasonable travelling distance. Certain groups have been identified as having particular problems - notably non-agricultural manual workers, the young, and women (Packman 1979). The problems manifest themselves in low wages, underemployment, low economic activity rates (especially for women), and high unemployment rates in some locations (Thomas and Winyard 1979, Packman 1979).

Reasons suggested for low rural wages have included lack of competition, low trade union activity, and the high percentage of low-wage industries (Thomas and Winyard 1979, Newby 1977). Particular concern has been shown over

the low wages of agricultural workers, who form one of the lowest paid groups in the country (Norton-Taylor, 1981) despite rising farm incomes (Collins, 1983). Moseley and Derby (1978) concluded from their survey of Norfolk parishes, that female activity rates tend to the low in rural areas, due to opportunity and demographic factors, whilst West's study in Gloucestershire stressed household income and accessibility determinants. Finally NCVO (1980c) have suggested that low economic activity rates are correlated with distance from urban areas. Thus they quote figures which show that 'rural' Employment Exchange Areas had an average male unemployment rate of 7.5% in January 1980, compared to 5.5% nationally. NCVO also stress the high levels of winter unemployment in areas such as Cornwall, and the low levels generally in rural south-east England.

4.4   ACCESS TO HOUSING

4.4.1   The Condition of Rural Housing

Another significant component or aspect of disadvantage in rural areas, is that of restricted access to housing opportunities (as illustrated in Figure 4.1). The provision of housing in rural areas is particularly problematic, as a result of the problems of building on a scale which is sufficiently small, and in a style which is considered suitable for rural settlements. Concern over access to housing and housing disadvantage in rural areas, has generally concentrated on the key issues of the poor quality of accommodation that is available (discussed below), lack of access to accommodation of a range of types, particularly for certain sections of the population, and problems associated with council housing and agricultural tied accommodation (discussed in sub-sections 4.4.2 to 4.4.4 respectively).

Certain problems have been identified in relation to the conditions of, and the provision of basic amenities in accommodation, in rural areas. It is generally accepted that rural housing tends to be older than average, to have a low rateable value, and to be more likely to be unfit, than urban housing. In addition, the proportion of households living in non-permanent dwellings tends to be above the national average, although the proportion of dwellings lacking one or more basic amenities generally is not (Larkin 1978, Crelling 1982). Dunn et al. (1981) for example suggest that (according to the 'english house conditions survey') in 1976 5.6% of dwellings in rural areas were unfit, compared to 4.8% for conurbations and 3.9% for other urban areas (England 4.6%). By contrast only 7.2% of rural households lacked exclusive use of one or more basic amenities, compared to 10.3% for conurbations and 8.1% other urban areas (England 8.7%).

Particular concern has been shown over the poor conditions of many mobile homes, which may make up the 10% of 'permanent' houses in some areas, such as South Oxfordshire (Association of County Councils, 1979). It has been suggested that mobile homes are an unsatisfactory form of accommodation and that

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many people who live in them would not do so if they could obtain alternative accommodation. Thus Larkin (1980a) found that 48% of home dwellers gave negative reasons for living in such accommodation.

The standard of rural housing has however, risen considerably in post-war years (Dunn et al., 1981) due to such reasons as the introduction by local government of improvement grants, the influx of more affluent ex-urban dwellers and planning regulations. Problems are thought to persist in certain areas such as those where in-migration has been limited, and where local authorities have failed to enforce higher standards (Dunn et al., 1981).

Dunn et al. (1981) also examined the correlations between aspects of housing quality and socio-economic data, at the parish level. The analysis was based on data taken from the 1971 census and Department of the Environment, and used correlation analysis. They found that some aspects of quality were closely related to socio-economic data. For example, households lacking exclusive use of basic amenities were found to be positively correlated to low rateable values and presence of farmers, and negatively correlated to non-manual workers, post-war housing, high rateable values, professional workers, and population with higher education. Thus the housing situation in a specific area depends on many factors, such as location, local demand, property supply and location and local market conditions (Newby, 1979). It is to the factors of supply and demand that the discussion turns.

4.4.2   Supply and Demand for Accommodation

One of the main problems which has been identified with regard to housing has been the issue of access to accommodation for the 'indigenous' rural dweller. It has been suggested that shortages in certain types of housing and/or high prices have created problems in some areas for 'local' people, who cannot compete with more affluent in-migrants (Shucksmith, 1981). Thus a number of factors are involved: the supply of housing, demand for housing, and, related to this, the price of

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housing.

To begin with the supply of housing, rural areas are generally characterised by a relatively high proportion of owner-occupied housing and privately-rented, unfurnished accommodation, compared to the national average. This situation is illustrated by Table 4.6, which also highlights the correspondingly low proportion of local authority housing.

Table 4.6:   Housing Tenure in G.B., England and Rural Districts 1971 (%)

	English Rural Districts	England	Great Britain
Owner-occupied	54.5	50.0	48.3
Local authority	21.1	28.0	30.4
Private rented unfurnished	20.9	17.1	16.7
Private rented furnished	3.3	3.7	4.5
Not stated or other	0.2	0.2	0.1

Source: 1971 Census (Dunn et al., 1981).

Furthermore, the proportion of privately-rented accommodation is tending to decrease, and of owner-occupied to increase, to an extent above that experienced nationally. Building rates of local authority housing compared to other accommodation have been consistently low in rural areas. Various reasons have been suggested for this low level of provision (Shucksmith 1981, Phillips and Williams 1982). These include the bias of central government towards conurbations when allocating financial support; the rural voters often returning Conservative representatives who are ideologically opposed to extensive local authority housing provision; the implementation of rural settlement policies favouring centralisation; and the underestimation of rural housing

need by authorities.

The situation created by low levels of local authority building is being exacerbated by the decline in the supply of privately-rented accommodation (Northamptonshire RCC, 1983), which is occurring at a rate above that experienced nationally. Landlords are thought to be increasingly reluctant to let rural property, due to the profits to be made from sale, and the provision of tourist accommodation; low rents; declining demand for agricultural tied accommodation; and the problems associated with letting property. In the peak district for example, Penfold (1974) estimated that the supply of privately-rented stock had decreased by 30%, between 1961 and 1971. Thus 72% of the council house applicants she interviewed, had tried, but failed to find privately-rented accommodation.

Unfortunately, the supply of owner-occupied accommodation has not always made up for the lack of rented accommodation. Building has often been restricted in rural areas, as a result of building economics, which favour the building of large estates (generally considered unsuitable for rural areas), and planning constraints (Moss, 1978). This general pattern of provision is typical of most rural areas, although some regional differences do occur. For example, the proportion of agricultural tied accommodation (privately-rented) varies with the numbers of farm hired workers, and this varies considerably between regions.

In recent years therefore, the supply of accommodation has been restricted, at least in certain areas. At the same time however, demand has often risen, through the influx of people from other areas. The resulting mismatch in accommodation, is thought to have had a number of effects, including inflated house prices, the sale of houses from the privately-rented sector, pressure for development, and problems for indigenous people, who often cannot compete with the ex-urban dweller for owner-occupied housing, due to lower rural wages (Shucksmith, 1981).

The problem is possibly most acute in the areas which are attractive to ex-urban dwellers (scenic and peri-urban). Thus Shucksmith (1981) found that prices

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in the south-east lake district rose between 1977 and 1981, at a rate twice that of the U.K. average. In addition, Shucksmith found that by 1979, only 28% of Cumbria's residents had a minimum annual salary sufficient to obtain a mortgage as a first-time buyer (Shucksmith, 1981). Smaller villages are thought to have witnessed exceptionally high price increases (National Council of Social Services 1980, Northamptonshire RCC 1983).

Various attempts have been made to assess the relative access of different social groups to the housing market (Dunn et al. 1981, Rogers 1981). These have generally highlighted the relatively poor situation of the young (regarding access to owner-occupation), the mobile home dweller, those employed in agriculture, and the poor and elderly (who often lack the finance and general ability to improve their situation). Conversely they have identified the advantages held by most owner-occupiers, both financially and in terms of housing quality.

The restricted access of 'indigenous' rural dwellers to accommodation, has led to resentment, much of which has been directed towards the incoming households, especially second home owners. Indeed it has been argued that second home ownership has reached such a level in some areas, that communities may have become dominated by it and permanent residents isolated. Thus as early as 1972 it was found that up to 16% of homes in some Denbigh parishes were owned by second home owners (Jacobs, 1972). The Welsh Nationalists brought attention to the problem in recent years, by arson attacks (Heath, 1980). Studies have shown that in Wales it was the settlements with the smaller number of second homes and the strongest sense of traditional community which were the most resentful (Bollom, 1978).

The balance is not entirely negative however, and some advantages for an area, resulting from second home ownership, have been identified. For example, Jacobs estimated that, in 1972, 8670 such homes in Wales had produced £4.2 million per annum and 1500 jobs for the area, whilst making few demands on the rates

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(Jacobs, 1972). White (1978) found a lack of consensus amongst villagers in their attitudes to second home owners and suggests that they may help preserve the physical fabric of villages. As White points out, other countries have much higher levels of second home ownership, e.g. Sweden 20%, compared to the 2% of England and Wales, and purchases may be slowing down, due to petrol price rises and the removal of mortgage tax relief and improvement grants for second homes (White, 1978).

4.4.3   Local Authority Housing

As mentioned above, the provision of local authority housing in rural areas, has been notoriously low, particularly in the smaller settlements. This is thought to result in a number of problems (Clark 1982a, Shucksmith 1981). In particular, the lack of local authority housing and slow turnover of tenants are thought to result in long waiting lists and in applicants being offered dwellings in locations other than those of their choice (Northamptonshire RCC, 1983). This situation may be exacerbated by the tendency of some local authorities, to concentrate council house building into 'key' settlements and market towns, e.g. Shropshire County Council (1980b). It has been suggested that rural waiting lists would be even longer than urban ones, were it not for the failure of people to register, possibly because of these problems. Furthermore, these problems are thought to have been exacerbated recently by the sale of council houses and reduced building rates (Phillips and Williams, 1982). The policy has received opposition on these grounds from various quarters, including the planning profession (Planner News, 1982), and National Federation of Housing Associations (1981).

A number of studies have been conducted, which have examined the effects of selling council houses in rural areas. Phillips and Williams (1982) study of the effects of the 1980 Housing Act, both nationally and in Devon, revealed that the number of claims to buy, and sales per thousand dwellings, were strongly correlated with rurality. Gillon (1981) also concluded that sales have been concentrated in rural

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villages and amongst the better quality stock, which he suggests has serious implications for meeting future housing need and maintenance costs in villages (high cost of visiting isolated houses). In addition, Kilroy (1980) stresses the disadvantages for the community, resulting from the fact that houses are being sold at prices below that which would pay for a replacement house to be built.

The financial position of some rural tenants, has recently been exacerbated by another policy of central government regarding council housing. In the early 1980's central government placed a responsibility on local authorities, to fix rents at the regional average. Thus rural councils, which had previously pursued a low rates, low rents policy, were forced to raise rents sharply. In some areas, in fact, councils raised their rents to such an extent that by 1982 they were making a substantial profit, and using the income to subsidise other expenditure (Carvel, 1982a).

4.4.4. Agricultural Tied Housing

Another sector of rural housing which has often been linked with housing disadvantages, has been that of privately-rented accommodation linked to agriculture. Estimates suggest that in the 1970's some 60% of full-time hired agricultural workers in Britain lived in tied accommodation, with local variations depending on local conditions of employment and housing, and historical factors (Gasson, 1975). The use of tied accommodation has been justified as convenient for the owner and employee, in terms of attracting and retaining workers; enabling job mobility; providing cheap accommodation for the worker; and providing accommodation close to the place of work (seen as being particularly important on livestock farms). Thus the National Farmers Union has supported the system, and produced evidence to back its claim that standards of tied housing are adequate (Gasson, 1975).

On the other hand, critics have suggested that these arguments are weak, on the grounds that only a small proportion of workers need to live near the farm for agricultural reasons (Jones, 1975a), and that the system places employees at a

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disadvantage (Jones 1975a, Gasson 1975, Newby 1979). According to these writers, the system therefore provides a justification for low wages; is associated with poor housing standards; creates problems related to close proximity with the farm and employer (overtime, increased importance of relations with employer etc.) and lack of security of tenure, especially before the 1976 Rent (Agriculture) Act. Thus, surveys have produced evidence which suggests that the conditions in which many agricultural workers live are poor (Rogers, 1981), and that the dwellings let to farm workers are generally old, in poor condition, isolated, and lacking in modern comforts such as central heating (Schifferes, 1979).

4.5   ACCESS TO SOCIAL CONTACT

The fourth basic 'requirement' of rural dwellers which is considered here (see Figure 4.1), is that of contact with other people. It is considered therefore that lack of adequate social contact may be a component of disadvantage, i.e. that certain rural dwellers may be disadvantaged, with respect to their limited social contact with other people. Rural communities have traditionally been seen as being stable, close-knit communities (Rees 1950, Frankenburg 1966). However, they are dynamic and integrated with the rest of society. Thus a flow of ideas and people may be envisaged to occur constantly between rural and urban areas, and within the rural communities themselves. This flow inevitably results in changes both to the attitudes and habits of the rural population, and to the rural population and social structures.

While these changes may bring benefits to the rural community, they may have two detrimental effects. Firstly, some members of the society may become isolated because they form a minority in the population, and secondly some sections of the community may increase in numbers to such an extent that other sections feel 'threatened', with a resulting development of conflict, breakdown in communication, and alienation of the groups involved (Forsythe, 1983). In either case, the result may be that at least some members of rural society do not have the opportunities for social contact which are considered necessary by general standards for this society, and, or that they aspire to, and thus experience disadvantage.

Changes in the Population Structure

One of the main factors which has been involved in the creation of population and social change in rural areas, has been selective migration. Until the mid-19th Century, most rural areas had a large, expanding population (Saville, 1957). Since this time however, many rural areas have witnessed considerable out-migration with balancing in-migration particularly in the 1970's. These trends, and the reasons for them, are discussed further in the following section. What concerns us here is their effect on rural communities.

Most studies agree that migration has been selective in nature, with out-migration being higher amongst the young (Drudy, 1978), women (Bracey, 1970) and those with specialist training and education (Thomas, 1972), and in-migration at least in recent years, higher amongst the older age groups and more affluent. As a result the population and social structures of many rural areas have changed. Existing studies of the changes which have occurred to rural population and social structures, have therefore focussed on two issues - the ageing of the population and the loss of 'community' and changes to the class structure, and these will now be discussed further.

(i) The Ageing of the Population

As a result of selective migration and the low rate of natural increase, the population of many rural areas has become increasingly aged (Association of County Councils, 1979). As noted above old people in rural areas have special problems associated with poor accessibility (Moseley, 1979), and in addition, the loss of young people is thought to reduce the supply of 'natural community leaders', and the level of community support which is provided to old people. Those who retire to the countryside may be particularly vulnerable, as they often lack friends and family nearby, and, whilst mobile when they arrive, death of the car-driver, illness or poverty may subsequently reduce their mobility and ability to migrate. This situation has implications for planning and facility provision, since the facilities required by retired people differ from other groups (Forsythe, 1983). In addition, as the 'young' population declines, young people may also be experiencing increasing problems, related to social isolation and alienation (Kennedy, 1984).

(ii) The Loss of 'Community' and Class Changes

Early studies generally described rural communities as being made up of low density populations, characterised by their stability, close kinship and friendship networks, high density of role relationships, and unique social and occupational structure, life cycles, etc. (Rees 1950, Williams 1964, Frankenburg 1966). These

characteristics had for some time been considered to separate rural communities from urban (Tonnies, translated 1955). This dichotomy was later qualified, when researchers suggested that communities could be placed on a rural-urban continuum (Pahl, 1966). However, some have challenged the image of rural life which was popularised, and called it a myth of "picturesque village churches, thatched cottages and rose gardens" (Mason, 1981).

Myth or not, many people have expressed concern over the possible disappearance of 'rural life', through population changes or the influx of an 'ex-urban' population, sometimes in a highly emotive manner (Chamberlain, 1980). Thus Rodgers (1979) refers to a 'subtle genocide' when he describes the changes which have occurred to 'commuter' villages near London, and states:

> "These communities, which had survived plagues, famines, enclosure and the decimation of world wars, are now being dispersed and broken up."

<div align="right">(Rodgers, 1979, p 512)</div>

Others are more restrained, e.g. Shaw (1978):

> "The basic conceptual and practical problem in evaluating the social significance of any developing imbalance in villages is that there is no logical norm to provide a base line from which divergences can be measured .... the concept of a static, residual and genuinely rural population, subject to pressures from a mobile middle class and/or urban population is clearly a myth".

<div align="right">(Shaw, 1978, p 50-1)</div>

Newby (1980 suggests that the consequences of urbanisation on "community" must be studied very carefully, since any judgement must be highly subjective and may be influenced by the nostalgic image of rural life:

> "The village inhabitants formed a "community" because they had to : they were imprisoned by constraints of various kinds, including poverty, so that reciprocal aid became a necessity.... the recent severe and rapid dislocation of the village social structure has led to an ideology of "community" being conferred upon its former qualities".

<div align="right">(Newby, 1980, p 258)</div>

Much of the discussion on commuter villages is based on the work of Pahl (1964, 1966, 1975). In these studies Pahl suggested that the population of Hertfordshire villages had become polarised into two groups : the mainly indigenous manual worker households, and the newly-arrived, intermediate and professional non-manual worker households, which were often socially and perhaps also physically separate. Pahl suggested that the indigenous working class had retained their social networks, despite the influx, but lost the status which they previously gained from the referred status of their employers (gentry). Thus class awareness had developed at the expense of community.

Pahl (1966) also maintained that the two groups were not becoming integrated with time, since few village activities attracted both groups and acted more as a point of conflict, with the newcomers judging the indigeneous population apathetic organisers and the latter sensing a 'take-over'. Such a situation was also documented by Staffordshire Rural Community Council (1966) which found that in six villages studied, committee vacancies had usually been filled by prosperous, and often female, incomers. Pahl (1975) sums up the situation:

"Part of the basis of local village community was the sharing of deprivations due to the isolation of country life and the sharing of the limited world of the families within the village. The middle-class try to get the cosiness of village life, without suffering any of the deprivations, and while maintaining a whole range of contacts with the outside world by means of the greater mobility afforded by their private transport".

(Pahl, 1975, p34)

Shaw (1978) suggests that in Norfolk, the size of settlements is important, and that whilst the larger villages tend to have a "more diverse and vigorous community life.... smaller villages do appear to possess some advantages in terms of .... social cohension".

More recently sociologists have focussed attention on the effects of pressures on the farming community. Newby (1980) considers that, in East Anglia,

the influx of middle class people has threatened the farmers and landowners 'near monopoly' over local employment, housing, politics and the magistracy, and caused farm workers to identify more with their employers, and so maintain their 'deferential' position. This trend is seen as a major factor contributing to the lack of trade unionism and industrial action by farm workers, despite the incongruity between farm profits and the poor working conditions and wages of many farm workers. Newby (1980) concludes that newcomers are therefore often blamed for changes, which he suggests are basically caused by the inability of the rural economy to support the farming community.

4.6 ACCESS TO TRANSPORT

4.6.1 Travel and Mobility

The fifth and final basic requirement of rural dwellers, listed in the introduction to this chapter, is that of travel. It is generally accepted that in many rural areas, the opportunities which exist to meet people's requirements of work, housing etc., are increasingly scarce, and that this situation is exacerbated by problems related to mobility. Mobility refers to people's ability to move their location, and a high degree of mobility is essential to most rural dwellers today, in order for them to sustain their lives. In addition mobility has inherent values, such as social contact, exercise, mental stimulation and independence. Two factors control the mobility of an individual: the ease with which the person can physically move (which will depend on physical fitness, transport availability and resources for travel, e.g. money), and ties which restrict movement e.g. time (Jones, 1975b).

Mobility for many rural dwellers is made difficult at times, because of the effects of climate and topography, but in addition public transport provision in many rural areas has now been reduced to a bare minimum. Thus many rural dwellers are now heavily dependent on private transport. However not all rural dwellers have this option open to them, such as those who cannot drive (under 17's, infirm, etc.) and those who cannot afford to purchase a vehicle. For these groups mobility is an increasing problem. Two broad types of transport can therefore be recognised: public and private. In the following discussion, issues relating to the availability of public transport and methods used to assess need for travel by this mode, will be examined first. Issues relating to private transport availability will then be discussed. Finally some innovative schemes which have been tried or tested as a means of overcoming rural mobility problems, will be outlined.

4.6.2 Public Transport

As discussed in section 2.9 Britains public transport has been caught in a

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spiral of decline, due to escalating costs of provision and rising car ownership. Thus declining usage has led to higher fares and service withdrawals, which in turn reduce usage still further. Nowhere has this been more true than in rural areas, where costs of servicing the dispersed, small population are particularly high, and demand generally low.

Local authorities have had responsibility for supporting unremunerative bus services since 1969, and many rural services have relied heavily on this support, despite the opposition of certain shire councils to a high level of support (Warburton and Trower-Foyan, 1981a). In addition operators received protection via the road service licensing system. However, certain reductions have occurred in the level of support and protection provided in recent years, due to central government policies. These have included cut-backs in public expenditure, and the introduction of greater operational freedom and therefore competition between operators. Such changes have serious implications therefore for rural stage carriage bus services. Rail services are also now seen generally as too costly and inflexible for rural areas, and the infrastructure and rolling stock on rural lines is often old (Keen, 1981).

Various attempts have been made to assess the 'need' for rural public transport. With regard to the rail network several studies have concluded that the value of the present rail network is limited, e.g. Department of the Environment (1971a), Kilvington and Wragg (1978), Williams and Heels (1976). Others however, have emphasised the value of local lines as a feeder service (Pulling and Speakman, 1974), and the adverse affects of rail closure (Halsall 1979, Hillman and Walley 1980). The latter concluded from their surveys of rail closure that bus services had failed to adequately replace lost train services, being less frequent, comfortable and convenient.

Studies of the effects of bus service withdrawals and reductions have generally found that ex-users have reacted to service withdrawals by purchasing vehicles, changing modes or ceasing to make the trip; and to service reductions by changing modes (Oxley 1982, Helling 1976). Other possible reactions include re-

scheduling the trip, reducing the necessity of the trip e.g. by buying a freezer, asking a friend to make the trip, changing the location used, and in the extreme, migrating. Moseley et. al. (1977), in their study of Norfolk questioned respondents about the effects of declining transport, and found that 17-18% perceived some effect on their life, whilst 7-8% suggested it had caused them 'severe inconvenience/hardship'.

The concept of travel 'need' has been used by transport planners, partly as a means of justifying revenue support, and as the result of the Transport Act 1978, which gave County Councils the duty to review the public transport 'needs' of the population, with a view to meeting basic needs (Burley et al., 1982). The concept and its use have been criticised (Buchanan and Lewis 1980, Local Government Operational Research Unit 1977), however, it has been applied by various researchers (Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Company 1977, 1980, Burley and Snell 1982). These studies have involved the examination of people's actual travel patterns, and their expressed satisfaction with their accessibility and aspirations with regard to access. This information has then been used to establish the extent to which various population sub-groups 'need' to travel (Robertson and Winfield, 1980).

4.6.3   Private Transport

Private car ownership has increased rapidly in post-war years, as shown in Table 4.7. Levels of car ownership reflect a number of factors. Graham Moss Associates (1981) identified the effect of income in their household survey of rural Leicestershire: whereas only 43% of households studied by them with an annual income of less than £3,000 had at least one motor vehicle, this rose to 84% of those earning £5,000 to £6,999 and 100% for £7,000 to £8,999 wage earners. Ownership levels are also strongly related to age and sex, e.g. in their survey of Norfolk, Moseley et al. (1977) found that the following percentages of people had a licence and nearly always a car to drive - married men: 73%, over 65's 25%, adult women: 30% and all adults: 48%. Certain groups such as pensioners and adult women, appear to have

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comparatively low levels of access to private transport.

Table 4.7: Trends in Private Car Ownership 1966-1981

| | % Households with a Car in Britain | | | |
	1966	1971	1976	1981
No Car	55	48	44	39
1 Car Only	39	44	45	45
1 or more Cars	45	52	56	60
2 or more Cars	6	8	11	15

Source: Department of Transport, Scottish Development, Department and Welsh Office (1978), 1981 Census.

It is generally accepted however, that overall ownership levels are up to 10-20% higher in rural areas, with roughly 70% of rural households owning at least one car (Moseley, 1979). Since rural wages tend to be lower, it may be suggested that some rural households must make considerable sacrifices, with regard to other items of expenditure, in order to be able to run a car (Moseley et al., 1977). This contrasts with urban areas therefore where levels of car ownership are often considered to be a surrogate for wealth, due to the relationship mentioned above.

4.6.4   Unconventional Transport Schemes

In an attempt to provide at least some form of transport for those without a vehicle of their own, a number of innovative schemes have been introduced in rural areas with some success (NCSS 1977, Moseley 1979, National Consumer Council 1978). Examples of the schemes are shown in Table 4.8, some of which were tested by the Transport and Road Research Laboratory, in its rural transport or RUTEX experiments (TRRL, 1979).

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Table 4.8: Unconventional Methods of Transport Provision

Community (voluntary) Schemes	Commercial Schemes
Informal lift-giving and car sharing	*Shared/Unshared hire cars, Commercial mini and midi-buses
*Social car schemes (organised lift-giving)	*Demand-responsive buses - hired bus - works bus
*Community minibuses, midibuses	*Dual purpose - post bus - school bus - ambulance Recreational transport

*Tested under RUTEX

The schemes do have certain disadvantages however re. timing, routes, running costs and organisation (Watts 1979, Balcome 1979a, 1979b, Transport and Road Research Laboratory 1979). The use of unconventional transport schemes has also been criticised, on the grounds that they have a charity aspect (Pulling and Speakman, 1974), depend heavily on individuals (and therefore cannot ensure continuity), and that they are fragmented in nature (Warburton and Trower-Foyan, 1981a). Thus the success of any unconventional scheme depends heavily on local conditions, such as the agencies and people involved, and existing transport provision (Moseley, 1979). For this reason, it may be suggested that unconventional schemes should be used only to supplement conventional services.

4.7 ASSESSMENTS OF PHYSICAL ACCESSIBILITY IN RURAL AREAS

The previous sections have described the ways in which rural dwellers may be disadvantaged, with respect to their access to five basic requirements. Studies which have looked at patterns of availability and usage of facilities and different forms of transport, patterns of employment and housing structures and issues related to social contact have been reviewed, to establish the degree to which rural dwellers are disadvantaged compared to urban or other rural dwellers, and the underlying causes of this disadvantage.

Various researchers have attempted to devise models and mathematical formulae, by which the degree of 'physical' accessibility experienced by people living in particular locations, or belonging to certain population sub-groups, can be quantified. These studies have often been designed to provide an input into the planning of transport and facility provision. With respect to rural areas, several attempts have been made to assess people's 'physical' accessibility, notably to facilities. Original studies concentrated on the accessibility of particular villages to activities/facilities, i.e. 'place accessibility', whilst more recently attempts have been made to assess the levels of access experienced by particular population sub-groups, i.e. 'personal accessibility' (these terms being defined originally by Jones, 1975). It is to these studies which the chapter now turns. The discussion concentrates on those undertaken in rural areas, although mention is made of certain urban studies.

Measures used to assess 'place accessibility' incorporate two elements : units of separation between the place and possible destinations, and measures of the utility of possible destinations (Moseley, 1979). According to Moseley (1979) two types of such measures can be recognised : 'comparative' measures which 'trade-off' units of separation against the number of accessible destinations, and 'composite' measures which combine the two elements into one index. Numerous examples exist of the use of techniques involving place accessibility, although most

studies to date, have focussed on urban areas (Koenig 1980, Ingram 1971, Dalvi and Martin 1976). An example of a comparative measure is that used by Wachs and Kumagai (1972), who compared the residents of two Californian suburbs, on the basis of the number of general practitioners, hospitals and clinics which could be reached, in 15 and 20 minutes. An example of the use of a composite measure in rural areas, is that used by Derbyshire County Council (1975). The Council mapped villages in an area of the County, and categorised them according to how often they were served by a bus leaving an entertainment centre after 10 p.m.

Whilst such studies provide a useful starting point for assessing levels of accessibility, they are severely limited because of their failure to take into account differences which exist within the populations of particular locations, e.g. with respect to car ownership and constraints placed on different sub-groups e.g. parents commitments regarding children. Development of interest in 'personal accessibility' occurred largely as a result of this criticism.

The Time-Geographic Approach

Hagerstrand (1973) pioneered the 'time-geographic' approach for assessing personal accessibility. This involves the comparison of the time which an individual has during the day for travel, to the locations which he could reach in that time, by the transport available. This approach was adopted by Moseley, as shown by Figure 4.2 which is taken from his influential book on rural accessibility (Moseley, 1979). According to this figure, a rural housewife has only limited periods during the day in which she is free to travel (due to constraints such as providing and eating meals, sleeping etc.), and during these periods she may travel varying distances, according to the transport which she has available.

Moseley et al. (1977) developed the time-space approach also, and produced an accessibility matrix of five social groups against twenty-five activities, which they then used to evaluate alternative strategies for parts of Norfolk, in terms of the benefits in accessibility which would result. Thus they obtained information

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Figure 4.2   The time-space realm of a rural housewife
according to Moseley

2400
sleep
2200

by car
1800
family arrives home
teatime
1600

by bicycle
1300
lunchtime
1200

TIME

by foot

by bus
0915
family leave home
breakfast
sleep

bus route
village A
small town

← SPACE →
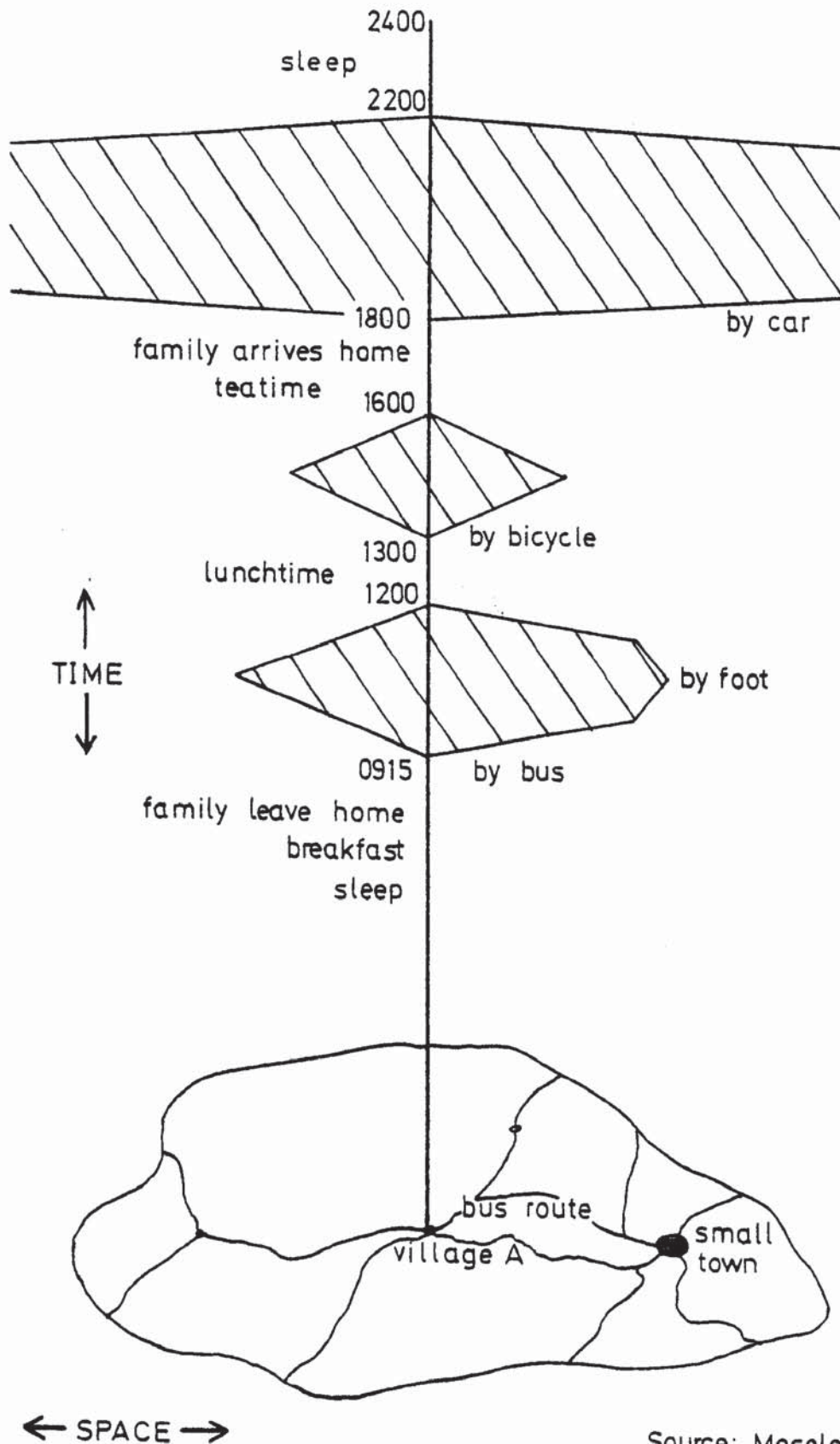
Source: Moseley (1979)

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for each location studied about the activities which each social group living there had access to. The alternative strategies involved statements referring to the future distribution of people, activities and transport services. The effect of each strategy on each location was studied, to see if it would improve the accessibility of each social group to each activity. The effects on social groups and access to activities were then summarised. The technique therefore represents a form of planning balance sheet, with potential applications for the planning of facilities, transport and housing. However it depends heavily on human judgement and requires detailed information about opening times etc.

A similar example of the use of the time-space approach is provided by Huigen (1984) who compared the results obtained for Dutch villages using a comparative measure of place accessibility (similar to Wachs and Kumagai's), with information gained through 'travel diary' methods, of residents time, space behaviour. Huigen found that the results obtained using the two types of measure were 'reasonably comparable'. Thus he found that in general, those settlements with more facilities/services, and the less accessible villages (according to the comparative measure), contained more people who used the settlement in which they lived, for activities undertaken outside the home.

Huigen's work produced a number of other interesting results. Thus he found that some 35% of trips made were multi-purpose, and that most people studied spent the majority of their time within a road distance of 25-30 km. With regard to purpose of trips, observed differences between households were greatest with respect to working and attending education, and least with regard to facilities. Huigen used discriminant analysis to compare the time spent on seven activities (personal care, household care, child care, education, social activities, family activities and leisure), by seven social groups. Reuslts showed that the most 'discriminating activities' were time spent on working, household care and education. As might be expected, the biggest differences exhibited in time spent on

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activities between social groups were those between working males and the elderly; the smallest between housewives and remaining males. The elderly proved to be the most homogenous group and working females the least. Differences in activity patterns between residents of different settlements, were no greater than differences between residents of the same settlements however. As a result Huigen concluded that accessibility depended more on socio-economic charcteristics of (groups of) individuals, than on spatial characteristics (Huigen, 1984).

Two other researchers who have adapted the time-space approach for the purposes of measuring accessibility in rural areas are Nutley (1983, 1984, 1985) and Kilvington (1982). In particular Nutley (1985), who is critical of the 'ad hoc' manner in which improvements to rural public transport are made, has used the technique to assess the effects of RUTEX in Wales (Nutley, 1983), and evaluate alternative planning options for improving accessibility in a case study area in rural Wales (Nutley, 1985). Thus he has put forward a method of assessment of direct use to planners, and suggested ways in which it could be encorporated into the planning process (Nutley, 1984).

Nutley makes two main improvements to the technique proposed by Moseley et al. (1977). Firstly he defines more precisely and clearly his criteria for defining a function or service as accessible, and secondly he takes the methodology further. Like Moseley et al. he calculates, for each social group in each village, the proportion of the 26 functions studied which are accessible. From this however, he calculates the overall proportion of functions which are accessible to each social group (all villages weighted and combined), each village (all social groups in village weighted and combined), and the total population studied. For example Nutley (1984) defines the accessibility of social group k in all the villages (A_k) using the formula:

$$A_k = \frac{100 \sum_{i=1}^{v} p_{ki} f_{ki}}{f_N \sum_{i=1}^{v} p_{ki}} \quad (\%)$$

where:

p_{ki} = population of village i in social group k,

f_{ki} = number of functions accessible to population of village i in social group k,

v = number of villages,

f_N = total number of functions.

Using this formula for non-car owners in his Welsh case study area Nutley (1985) calculated the changes to the proportions of functions accessible which would result from various hypothetical changes which could be achieved through the planning system. He then estimated the changes in running costs which would be incurred, and was able to assess the benefit : cost ratio.

This type of assessment is an improvement on analyses of 'place accessibility'. However it involves quite detailed analysis of such factors as opening times, bus time tables, etc. which may make it rather time-consuming and difficult to apply in practice. In addition, it could be argued that the method of analysis is highly arbitrary in that it requires the analyst to make judgements about what constitutes an 'accessible' function, but this arbitrary quality is hidden in the end result. A final criticism which may be made of both existing assessments of place and personal accessibility, is that few have taken into account the views of the people concerned, regarding priority facilities, desired frequency of use etc.

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Regardless of the method of assessment used however, it is generally accepted that certain sub-groups in the rural population face greater accessibility problems, notably those on a low income, housewives, the elderly, disabled, young and those without access to motorised transport. Special concern has been shown over the elderly, who tend to suffer from a combination of physical disability, social problems and isolation, low income, low ownership of means of reducing trip-making e.g. telephone, low car ownership and cultural and attitudinal restrictions (Polonsky 1978, Moseley 1979). Gant and Smith (1982) focussed on the spatial mobility problems of disabled and elderly people in the Cotswolds, and found that both groups were suffering from low mobility and using facilities at a frequency which was below average.

Researchers have also identified problems associated with the poor access young people experience to after-school activities, recreation facilities, adequate social contact and work (Moseley 1979, Warburton and Trower-Foyan 1981b, Akehurst 1983). In particular, Kennedy (1984) has recently drawn attention to the situation of young people who feel socially alienated, from the rural communities in which they live. The main problems identified for women have been similar, including physical accessibility problems in relation to doctor's surgeries and social opportunities, and low car availability.

4.8   RESPONSE TO ACCESSIBILITY PROBLEMS

4.8.1   Migration Patterns

This chapter has reviewed the various ways in which rural dwellers suffer from problems in obtaining access to their basic requirements, and thereby experience disadvantage. The ways in which different groups respond to these problems have also been discussed. For example, with respect to the effects of bus service withdrawals/reductions on trip making, research has shown that in response people may forgo trips, change locations used, re-schedule trips, change modes or purchase goods which will reduce the frequency with which trips have to be made (section 4.4.2). Clearly however, one of the most basic ways in which a person may react to their perceived accessibility problems and disadvantages, is to move home. The study of migration patterns and motives for actual and intended/desired migration movements, may therefore have much to offer, in explaining people's attitudes to their accessibility problems and their perceptions of the disadvantage this gives rise to. This section therefore considers the state of existing knowledge, with respect to rural migration patterns and motives.

As mentioned earlier, most rural areas in England had a large and expanding population until the mid 19th Century (Saville, 1957). Since that time however, such factors as the socio-economic and environmental problems of both urban and rural areas; penetration of information about alternative opportunities via the mass media; removal of obstacles to migration (for example the development of the welfare state which frees people from much of the necessity of supporting old and infirm relatives); and increased personal mobility, have facilitated migration between urban and rural areas. As a result, large scale migrations between the two types of area have occurred.

For much of the period since the mid-19th Century most rural areas have exhibited net population loss, largely as a result of out-migration. Most studies agree that out-migration has been higher amongst the young (Drudy, 1978), women

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(Bracey, 1970) and those with specialist training and education (Thomas, 1972). Perhaps since the 1930's however, a significant counter-flow or in-migration has occurred, particularly from urban areas. By the 1970's this flow was sufficient for many areas to exhibit net population gain, although significant variations have occurred even within a single local authority area (Blacksell and Gilg, 1981).

Thus in-migration has not been uniform across Britain. Most studies have agreed that areas which are accessible to urban areas have attracted large numbers of people who wish to live in the countryside, but retain easy contact with urban opportunities, whilst scenic (generally remote, upland) areas have attracted those who can afford a second home and retired people. These groups are generally made up of older people and therefore the result has been a rapid ageing of the population (occurring anyway as a result of out-migration and national trends). Thus overall, in-migrants and out-migrants have differed in age, affluence and gender, so that selective migration can be said to have occurred, the balance of which depends on location (Department of the Environment, 1977b).

The regional variations in net population change have been analysed by various researchers notably Woodruffe (1976). The Countryside Review Committee (1977) identifies the areas of expanding rural population as south-east England, the Midlands, south Wales and areas around conurbations; and the areas of decline as most of rural Wales and north-east England, and parts of south-west England, Welsh Marches, Lincolnshire and East Anglia. The reversal of the trend of rural depopulation, as a result of a balancing in-migration in recent decades, has also been reported in other countries including the United States (De Jong and Sell 1977, Brown and Wardell, 1980), the larger Danish islands (Martin, 1982), and the Netherlands (Commins, 1977).

4.8.2   Motives for Migration

Interest in migration dates back at least to the late 19th Century when

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Ravenstein (1885) undertook his pioneering work on the 'laws' of migration, but this interest has quickened considerably in post-war years. The studies which have been undertaken, may be broadly divided into macro-scale and micro-scale studies, and have been well-reviewed by Lumb (1980), and the Department of the Environment (1977). The studies which have been undertaken will now be discussed.

Particulary in the 1950's and 1960's research was concentrated at the macro-scale (national or regional). Studies tended to use official data to examine large-scale movements, the magnitude of the depopulation problem, and the possible causes of depopulation. More recently however, researchers have begun to look at the micro-scale (individual, sub-group or district) using semi-official or questionnaire data, and have concentrated on the effects of migration on the community, individual motivation for movement, and possible solutions to the problem (Department of the Enviornment, 1977b). As many rural areas have begun to exhibit net population growth, so studies have begun also to examine in-migration to rural areas, as well as out-migration.

Despite the considerable body of empirical research however, only a limited number of theoretical models have been developed, which are of use in explaining patterns of, and underlying factors controlling rural-urban migration. One theory which has proved influential was that put forward by Scott (1942), which envisaged rural out-migration as being a response to 'push' factors (declining rural opportunities) and 'pull' factors (expanding opportunities elsewhere). The model is rather simplistic however, and it might well be difficult in practice to establish whether or not people are in fact migrating due to the push received from rural areas, or the pull received from urban. For example, a perception on the part of a rural dweller that better housing can be obtained in an urban location, would represent elements of both push and pull factors.

Another relatively early theory was that put forward by Rossi (1955)

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who suggested that some communities had a 'climate of mobility', i.e. that members of such communities accepted out-migration as 'normal'. By contrast Donnison suggested in 1967, that propensity to migrate was related to the life-cycle, with young people being the most mobile. On the other hand Dunn et al. (1981) have suggested that people become increasingly less likely to move with increasing length of residence. Lee (1969) suggested that 'obstacles' of migration (such as dependant relatives) could be crucial in determining whether migration actually took place or not.

Finally, the effects of net out-migration have been seen to take the form of a 'vicious circle' (Wallace and Drudy, 1973). Thus lack of employment is thought to lead to a chain of out-migration, lower demand for facilities, contraction of facilities, job losses, further out-migration etc., and finally a reluctance amongst businessmen and local authorities to invest in the area. It has been suggested however (Lumb, 1980), that the theory was only applicable to trends before the 1970's, and that it is no longer appropriate because of the substantial levels of in-migration occurring into many rural areas.

Moving on to consider the findings of studies with respect to the motives behind decisions to migrate from rural areas, many have given emphasis to economic reasons. In particular 'macro-scale' studies have emphasised economic reasons for out-migration, especially declining rural employment opportunities in the primary industries, lack of alternative rural employment, and the expanding, superior job and wage opportunities in urban areas. Partly because of the 'a priori' emphasis given to economic aspects in their methlogy (Lumb, 1980), most 'macro-scale' studies have given secondary importance to social aspects (Saville 1957, Hunt 1969, Her Majesty's Treasury 1976).

Very few of the 'macro-scale' studies have concluded that social issues such as the social attractions of urban areas were the main cause of rural out-migration (Mitchell, 1950). A number did however give equal emphasis to

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economic and social reasons (Bracey 1959, Clout 1972). For example, Clout (1972) emphasised the role of the mass media, changing economic structure, lack of rural facility provision, and the restrictions of rural life. Hale and Hale (1976) concluded that some of the causes of rural depopulation were agricultural mechanisation, lack of rural public transport, under-employment of school leavers, housing problems, and the pattern of rural life.

'Micro-scale' studies have also emphasised the importance of the lack of rural employment in contributing to out-migration (DART 1976b, Drudy 1978a). These studies have in general however moved towards a recognition of the complex nature and causes of out-migration. A number of 'micro-scale' studies have investigated the particular reasons for out-migration expressed by sub-groups in the population, notably young people and agricultural workers. With respect to young people, the shortfall between school leavers aspirations and the supply of jobs in rural areas was highlighted by Drudy (1978b). Drudy found that some 80% of interviewed school leavers in Norfolk aspired to skilled or higher status jobs, yet only a third of these aspirations could be met within the area which they were prepared to travel daily. D'Abbs (1975) concluded that students were increasingly likely to leave, the higher their educational qualifications were. Several researchers have examined the proportion of school leavers who would prefer or would be prepared to stay in their area. Drudy (1978) produced a figure of 57% (Norfolk), and D'Abbs (1975) of 60-70% (in Devon). Hale and Hale report on a survey by S. Hale in 1969-70, and state:

> "....taking into account the respondents and their elder brothers and sisters, 30% had either left Herefordshire or were preparing to so within two years of leaving school, not because they wished to, but because they were unable to obtain employment suitable to their ability and training."
>
> (Hale and Hale, 1976, p1)

In addition a number of studies have examined the effects of centralised education on

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migration. In particular the University of Aberdeen (1976) studied whether or not parents were migrating to locations near secondary schools. They concluded however that although secondary school provision was important , it was not crucial in determining rural migration patterns. Other studies have also reached this conclusion (for example, Central Advisory Council for Education Wales, 1960).

Turning to studies of agricultural workers, various researchers have surveyed the reasons for them leaving their job (McIntosh 1969, Wallace and Drudy 1973, Gasson 1974a, 1974b). Wallace and Drudy (1973) found that the main reasons were redundancy (32%), wages (23%), and dissatisfaction with work or conditions (19%). Only 5% mentioned the attraction of other employment. It has been argued by other researchers however, that local industrialisation (widening the range of job opportunities) has contributed to this trend. From her studies, Gasson (1974a, 1974b) concluded that the reasons for leaving farm jobs did not differ significantly according to the type of job taken up, and that local industrialisation had not increased the numbers leaving agriculture, but merely attracted older workers and offered more alternative jobs.

Moving on to consider research which has examined reasons for movement both into, and out of rural areas, Dunn et al. (1981) studied migration to and from Herefordshire parishes between 1966 and 1971. The results of this research emphasised the importance of employment and housing, as can be seen from Table 4.9. Dunn et al. suggest however that employment would have appeared even more important, but for the inclusion of short-distance moves related to housing availability.

Table 4.9: Reasons for Migration given by Respondents from Herefordshire Parishes 1966-71

	Out-Migrants (%)	In-Migrants (%)	In Migrants as % of Out-Migrants
Employment	33.7	32.0	95.0
Housing	27.7	32.9	118.5
Marriage	11.7	8.7	74.3
Retirement	8.8	10.0	113.6
Relatives/Friends	11.2	12.2	108.8
Education	0.2	0.2	100.0
Other	6.6	4.0	60.6

Source: Dunn et al. (1981).

Lumb (1980) undertook an in-depth study of migration in Scotland, and suggested that three types of migration were especially significant : out-migration of young people, in-migration of incomers and return migration. Thus she found that Rossi's 'climate of mobility' was well-established among young people, but that a sizeable proportion of residents were made up of people who had left the area and subsequently returned to it (her survey population consisted of 22% returned migrants, 52% in-migrants and 25% non-migrants). Lumb identified three main factors determining migration patterns in the Highlands and Islands : jobs, housing and policy, of which she considered job availability to be the most important to all three main types of migration occurring. Lumb concluded that housing shortages were relatively un-important in causing out-migration but that availability of housing did affect in-migration to some extent. The main types of policy which Lumb found affected migration patterns were local authority policies for housing and jobs in services, HIDB policies in some locations, and the unforeseen effects of government

policies such as those for welfare benefits, transport and freight subsidies and local authority spending. It is interesting to note that Lumb unequivocally rejects the importance of four other commonly-suggested factors in controlling migration: crofting tenure, educational provision, the degree of isolation, and the oil industry.

Other 'micro-scale' studies which have specifically considered people's motives for moving to rural areas include that undertaken by Barnes and Moroney (1982). Barnes and Moroney found that the main reasons for moving to the two Somerset parishes they studied, were housing, the environment and family reasons. Other reasons for in-migration suggested, for example by Pahl (1975), and Curry and West (1982), have included the improved road and telecommunications networks (freeing industry and people); advantages of development on the urban fringe; 'inner city' problems (social problems, congestion, development and infrastructure costs, etc); the low cost of rural living especially in the past e.g. rates, housing; and the idealisation and popularisation of rural life (the back to nature movement).

To summarise therefore, early studies of rural migration focussed on out-migration from rural areas (being the dominant trend at the time), and concentrated on the macro-scale (national or regional). Later studies have tended to focus on the micro-scale (individuals or households), and to study in- as well as out-migration. Economic reasons for migration have been stressed, particularly in earlier studies. Table 4.10 offers a list of the reasons which have been suggested for migration into and out of rural areas in the literature.

Referring back to the introductory section to this chapter, it was stated that disadvantage in rural areas is inextricably tied up with the issue of accessibility. Lack of accessibility to the five basic requirements of work, facilities/services, housing, social contact and transport, was envisaged to be a prime aspect of disadvantage in rural areas. Subsequently it was suggested that migration is one possible response to disadvantage and accessibility problems. The available

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literature on people's motives for migration, with respect to rural areas, appears to confirm this view, although the literature tends to treat each problem separately and not to draw the problems together under the heading of accessibility. In other words the literature tends to refer to issues such as the decreased demand for labour in the primary industries and lack of rural services separately, when they are both examples of the low accessibility to opportunities experienced by many rural dwellers.

Table 4.10: Motives for Migration

From Rural Areas

- Decreased demand for labour in the primary industries.

- Lack of alternative rural employment opportunities (narrow economy).

- Increased demand for labour in large-scale, urban-based manufacturing industries.

- Higher urban wages.

- Rise in expectations and demands of the rural dweller.

- Declining support for, and economic viability of village-based facilities/services and therefore declining provision.

- Disintegration of rural community life.

- Lack of rural public transport (emphasising remoteness).

- Poor housing standards in rural areas.

- Shortage of housing in rural areas.

- Low education standards and primary school closures in rural areas.

To Rural Areas

- Improved road and telecommunications networks allowing people to live in the country but travel to urban areas frequently.

- Advantages of urban fringe development.

- Inner city social, economic and environmental problems.

- Relatively low cost of rural rates and housing.

- Popularisation and idealisation of rural life.

CHAPTER 5

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, AIMS AND

CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aims of the research, as defined in chapter 1 are:-

1. To critically examine the main post-war rural planning and other government policies, which are or were intended to improve or maintain rural dwellers accessibility to their basic requirements, and/or alleviate aspects of disadvantage.

2. To identify the problems which rural residents face in obtaining a 'reasonable' degree of accessibility to their basic requirements, and to assess the extent to which they may be considered disadvantaged, with respect to this accessibility.

3. To identify the possible causes of these accessibility problems.

4. To consider and compare various methods of assessing the incidence of disadvantage in rural areas.

5. To identify those 'disadvantaged' population sub-groups which have particular accessibility problems, and to assess the incidence of multiple disadvantage.

6. To assess the extent to which rural planning and other government policies, which are intended to improve or maintain rural dwellers accessibility to their basic requirements, have been successful in doing so.

7. In the light of the research findings, to critically review the rural planning and other government policies impinging on accessibility, and to suggest ways in which they might be modified or supplemented.

In response to these stated aims chapter 2 provided a review of post-war rural planning policies and other relevant government policies, and identified the main criticisms of these as a means of alleviating accessibility problems and disadvantage, which are apparent from a perusal of the literature. In particular it highlighted the general failure of existing research to properly assess the effects of policies on accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas. Chapter 3 went on to discuss the concept of disadvantage and related concepts in depth and to put forward a definition of each concept. In the context of this discussion, the issues of disadvantage and multiple disadvantage were identified as being of prime importance. In addition the scope

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which exists for greater use of social indicator analysis in policy-making and monitoring was established. The chapter ended with an examination of the contention put forward in this thesis that those rural dwellers who lack 'adequate' accessibility are disadvantaged. The following chapter (4), then went on to examine existing knowledge with respect to the possible nature of the problems residents have in obtaining access to their basic requirements, the disadvantages which they may face as a consequence, and the possible causes of these problems and disadvantages. Finally the issue of migration was discussed, as one possible reaction to accessibility problems and disadvantage.

The preceding chapters identify four main gaps in the literature regarding:

i)   The lack of any comprehensive assessment of the extent to which conventional rural planning and other relevant government policies have been successful in alleviating aspects of poor accessibility and disadvantage.

ii) The lack of first-hand information concerning the nature and extent of accessibility problems, disadvantage and multiple disadvantage both at the individual/household level, and variations within and between different population sub-groups within rural areas.

iii) The lack of rural studies designed to compare and contrast the results obtained from using objective and subjective social indicator analyses in a rural context.

iv) The inadequacy of existing techniques for the assessment of accessibility problems and disadvantage in rural areas, which can be used in the policy-making process.

The research described in this and subsequent chapters is designed to respond to these gaps in the existing literature. This chapter discusses the research methodology, which involves a case study approach. The chapter begins by setting out the more

detailed hypotheses which the case study work was designed to test, and associated with these, the questions which it was designed to answer (section 5.2). The following section describes the methodology used in the case study work, and in particular considers the problems involved in collecting information of both a subjective and objective nature; the selection of case study parishes; the methods chosen for the collection of information; and finally the design of the questionnaire used for household interviews. Subsequent chapters describe the background to the case study areas, examine the research findings and discuss the implications of these findings with respect to the research aims.

5.2 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES AND QUESTIONS

Based on the research aims outlined in section 5.1 it is possible to identify more detailed hypotheses which the case study work should be designed to test, and research questions which it should attempt to answer. These focus on the extent and nature of accessibility problems and disadvantage in rural areas, the reaction of residents to their situation, and the influence of government policies. In particular the following issues are examined:

    i)   Availability and use of static facility outlets;

    ii)   Availability and use of mobile facility outlets;

    iii)   Availability and use of information sources and telecommunication services;

    iv)   Changes in provision and attitudes to changes;

    v)   Expressed problems experienced in obtaining access to facilities;

    vi)   Reactions to difficulties in reaching facilities;

    vii)   Access to employment;

    viii) Access to housing;

    ix)   Access to social contact;

    x)   Access to transport;

    xi)   Accessibility and disadvantage;

    xii)   Perceptions of accessibility problems and disadvantage;

    xiii) Motives for migration;

    xiv) The influence of policies.

Each of these is considered below, with the questionnaire question numbers which correspond to each also being given, for reference purposes (the questionnaire itself is given in Appendix B).

i) Availability and use of static facility outlets

Hypothesis 1: In rural areas static facility outlets are sparsely distributed and generally concentrated into larger and, or selected settlements. Because of this rural dwellers must travel some distance to use many facilities and, due to the lack of public transport, are heavily reliant on private transport in order to do so. This places certain sections of the community at a particular disadvantage. Patterns of provision and usage therefore vary between facilities and within and between areas, whilst patterns of usage vary between individuals and subgroups within the population.

Research Question 1:

a) What patterns of static facility outlet availability and usage exist in rural areas, in terms of types of facility, locations used, frequency of use, distance between home and outlet (miles and travelling time) and mode of travel?

b) Do rural dwellers use their nearest outlet, and if not, why not?

c) How do the patterns of availability and usage vary between and within rural areas, between facilities, and between individuals and subgroups within the population?

Questionnaire questions: 3 to 8.

ii) Availability and use of mobile facility outlets

Hypothesis 2: A limited number of services in rural areas are provided by means of mobile facility outlets. The pattern of provision however varies between and within areas. Because mobile facilities provide only a partial service, they are used only by a limited number of people.

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Research Question 2:

a) What patterns of mobile facility outlet availability and usage exist in rural areas, in terms of types of facility, locations of stopping points, frequency of use and distance between home and stopping point?

b) How do the patterns of availability and usage vary between and within rural areas, between facilities and between individuals and subgroups within the population?

Questionnaire question: 11

iii) <u>**Availability and use of information sources and telecommunication services**</u>

<u>Hypothesis 3:</u> Good communication networks and information sources have an important role to play in the lives of rural dwellers. Provision, knowledge and use of these is not uniform however and is liable to vary between and within areas, and between individuals and subgroups within the population.

<u>Research Question 3:</u>

a) To what extent do rural dwellers have knowledge of and access to, and make use of information sources and telecommunication services?

b) How does the pattern of knowledge, access and usage of information sources and telecommunication services vary between and within areas, and between individuals and subgroups within the population.

Questionnaire questions: 12 to 14.

iv)   Changes in provision of facilities and attitudes to changes

Hypothesis 4:   The number of facilities based in rural areas has been declining in recent years, to the concern of local residents. These changes have varied between types of facility, and between and within rural areas, and reactions to the changes have varied between individuals and subgroups within the population.

Research Question 4:

a)   How have the patterns of availability of rural facility outlets changed in recent years?

b)   How have these changes varied between facilities and between and within areas?

c)   How do rural dwellers feel about these changes?

d)   How do these attitudes vary between individuals and subgroups in the population, and between and within the populations of different areas?

Questionnaire question: 19.

v)   Problems experienced in obtaining access to facilities

Hypothesis 5:   The lack of rural facility outlets, and the absence of public transport cause severe difficulties for many rural dwellers in achieving access to facilities. These problems and the perception of them by the individuals concerned vary between facilities, between and within areas, and between individuals and subgroups in the population.

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Research Question 5:

a) How satisfied are rural residents with their access to facilities?

b) What problems do rural dwellers perceive with regard to their obtaining access to the facilities which they wish to use?

c) Are there any facility outlets which respondents would:

- like to use more often if they were more accessible?

- like to see opened in the parish?

- particularly miss if closed?

d) How do these problems and attitudes vary between facilities, between and within areas, and between individuals and subgroups in the population?

Questionnaire questions: 16, 17, 20.

vi) **Reactions to difficulties in reaching facilities**

Hypothesis 6: Rural dwellers react to difficulties in reaching facilities in many ways, and these reactions vary between individuals and subgroups in the population and between and within areas.

Research Question 6:

a) How do rural dwellers react to difficulties in reaching facilities? In particular do they:

- use outlets of a quality below that desired?

- find ways of reducing the frequency with which they need to travel to outlets?

b) How do these reactions vary between individuals and subgroups in the population, and between and within areas?

Questionnaire questions 15, 18.

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vii)   Access to employment

Hypothesis 7:   The employment structure of rural areas is usually dominated by primary and service sector employment. However, whilst much of this employment is available within the immediate area, some rural dwellers, and particularly those seeking other types of employment, have to travel long distances to work often by private transport. The combination of limited local opportunities and transport problems means that some individuals have to accept work which does not meet their aspirations. The employment structure, patterns of travelling to work and levels of satisfaction vary between individuals and subgroups within the population and between and within areas.

Research Question 7:

a)   What is the employment structure of rural areas?

b)   What patterns of travelling to work do rural dwellers exhibit?

c)   How do rural dwellers travel to work?

d)   How satisfied are rural dwellers with their current work situation?

e)   How do the employment structure, patterns of travelling to work and levels of satisfaction with employment vary between individuals and subgroups within the population and between and within areas?

Questionnaire questions: 26 to 28.

viii)   Access to housing

Hypothesis 8:   Rural areas generally have a comparatively low proportion of local authority accommodation, particularly outside key settlements, and low housing standards. Partly because of this, at least some sections of the rural population find problems in obtaining accommodation of a reasonable standard or of the type and quality that they desire, and thereby experience disadvantage. Thus housing profiles and levels of satisfaction with accommodation vary between individuals and subgroups within the population, and between and within areas.

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Research Question 8:

a) What types of accommodation exist in rural areas?

b) How satisfied are rural dwellers with their accommodation?

c) Do rural dwellers perceive any specific problems regarding access to housing?

d) How do housing tenure, levels of satisfaction and perception of problems vary between and within areas, and between individuals and subgroups within the population?

Questionnaire questions: 29 to 32.

ix) Access to social contact

Hypothesis 9: As a result of the relatively low density of the rural population, transport problems and changes which have occurred to the structure of the population, some rural dwellers experience feelings of isolation, and lack adequate social contact with other people.

Research Question 9:

a) To what extent do rural dwellers involve themselves in local activities and socialise with other members of the rural community?

b) Do rural dwellers experience feelings of isolation and a lack of adequate social contact with other people?

c) If they do, why do they?

d) How do these experiences and underlying causes differ between and within areas and between individuals and subgroups within the population?

Questionnaire questions: 9, 10, 36.

x) **Access to transport**

Hypothesis 10: Public transport is now largely restricted to inter-urban routes in rural areas, and only partial and voluntary services are generally available on other routes. As a result, most rural dwellers rely on private transport. However, a substantial minority do not have the use of a car full-time and may therefore have severely restricted mobility. Mobility and attitude to mobility vary between individuals and subgroups within the population, and between and within areas.

Research Question 10:

a) What levels of public, private and voluntarily - provided transport services do rural dwellers have access to and use?

b) How satisfied are rural dwellers with their transport situation?

c) How do availability and use of transport services and levels of satisfaction with transport vary between individuals and subgroups in the population and between and within areas?

Questionnaire questions: 21 to 25.

xi) **Accessibility and Disadvantage**

Hypothesis 11: A substantial proportion of the rural population experience problems in obtaining access to their basic requirements, and thereby experience disadvantage. The nature and extent of these problems and disadvantage vary both between individuals and sub-groups within the population, and between the populations of contrasting areas.

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Research Question 11:

a)   Do rural dwellers experience disadvantage as a result of difficulties faced in obtaining access to their basic requirements?

b)   How do the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced by rural dwellers vary between individuals and sub-groups within the population and between the populations of contrasting areas?

xii)   **Perceptions of accessibility problems and disadvantage**

Hypothesis 12:   Whilst many rural dwellers believe that rural life offers certain advantages, a sizeable minority are dissatisfied with their circumstances and perceive that they experience accessibility problems and disadvantage. However, people's expressed perceptions (subjective assessments) of their own circumstances, do not always correspond completely with their actual circumstances (as assessed using objective measures).

Research Question 12:

a)   How satisfied are rural dwellers with life in their current location?

b)   What do they see to be the main advantages and disadvantages?

c)   How do the results obtained using objective and subjective measurements of accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas compare; do subjective assessments correspond with behaviour?

d)   How useful are objective and subjective measurements in the assessment of accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas?

Questionnaire questions : 37 to 39.

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xiii)   <u>Motives for Migration</u>

<u>Hypothesis 13:</u>   Rural communities are dynamic, with constant population movements occurring, both locally and over longer distances. However some rural dwellers may be unable to move for various reasons. Motives for movement generally emphasise housing and employment, but should be seen in some cases as a reaction to perceived accessibility problems and disadvantage. The incidence of these problems and disadvantages varies between and within the population of different areas, and between individuals and subgroups within the population.

<u>Research Question 13:</u>

a)   What are the past migration patterns exhibited by rural dwellers, and their children on reaching adulthood?

b)   What are the intended migration patterns, if any, of rural dwellers?

c)   Do rural dwellers face any obstacles which may reduce their ability to move when they wish to do so?

d)   What are the motivations behind past and possible future household movements?

e)   How do patterns of movement, motivations and attitudes to rural life vary between individuals and subgroups, and within and between the populations of different areas?

Questionnaire questions: 1, 33 to 35.

xiv)   <u>The influence of policies</u>

<u>Hypothesis 14:</u>   A number of policies have been introduced with the aim of alleviating certain aspects of accessibility problems and disadvantage in rural areas. These have however failed to meet their objectives.

Research Question 14:

a) What policies are currently being applied to rural areas with the aim, at least partly, of alleviating aspects of accessibility problems and disadvantage?

b) How successful have these policies been to date?

c) In what ways could they be modified or supplemented in order to increase their level of success in alleviating accessibility problems and disadvantage?

5.3 METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDY SELECTION

5.3.1 Introduction

The main objectives and aims of this study, and the more detailed hypothesis and research questions which it should be designed to test and answer, have been outlined in the preceding sections. These objectives and aims require the collection of first-hand information concerning accessibility, disadvantage and the effects of perceived inaccessibility and disadvantage on the populations concerned, in the light of the post-war planning and public investment policies which have been pursued, in contrasting rural areas. This examination of planning, accessibility and disadvantage revolves around the effect of policies on three issues: the opportunities available to people with respect to employment, housing, travel, services/facilities and social contact, people's varying degrees of accessibility to these opportunities, and the extent to which these are meeting the aspirations of the people concerned, and more widely recognised standards.

It was decided to collect both 'objective' and 'subjective' data (as defined in chapter 3), in order to compare the usefulness of both types of measure. This information has been supplemented by census data, as well as by information published and supplied by the relevant ministries, departments, commissions, local authorities etc., academic researchers and various voluntary and semi-voluntary groups, including Women's Institutes and the Rural Community Councils.

5.3.2 Selection of Districts for Study

It was decided to select two areas from within the same county for study. It was felt that this would allow two areas to be studied which were likely to be contrasting in terms of their levels of disadvantage (as assessed by means of available data), proximity to urban areas, and to some extent policies pursued. Yet it would allow selection of two areas which were similar in other respects, e.g. regional policy, so that the effects of the former differences could be isolated. In order to select a

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county and two such areas within it for study, reference was made to existing 'objective' data, which it was thought should indicate likely levels of disadvantage in rural areas in the county, and to aspects of policy designation.

In order to provide a suitable area for testing the research hypotheses, the county chosen had to:

(1) Include extensive rural (agricultural) areas;

(2) Be likely to exhibit varying levels of accessibility and disadvantage in its rural areas (as assessed by objective criteria, including demographic, economic, geographical and social aspects);

(3) Offer contrasting situations in terms of proximity to major urban centres;

(4) To have had a clear rural settlement policy for some time;

(5) Be in receipt of Development Commission aid, with at least part designated as a Special Investment Area;

(6) Include an AONB or National Park;

(7) Be readily accessible from the University of Aston.

Shropshire was found to be a county which met all these requirements as shown in Table 5.1 It includes an AONB and was found to exhibit wide variations within its rural areas with regard to patterns of population structure, employment, transport and housing provision and trends and other characteristics; whilst the county as a whole came close to average standards in England, with respect to several of these aspects. Figure 5.1 shows the location of Shropshire in Britain. As this figure shows Shropshire is situated on the border of England with Wales yet parts lie within close proximity of the West Midlands and Potteries conurbations.

The same criteria were then used to select two study areas which contrasted in terms of their likely levels of disadvantage, and to some extent policy designation. An examination of the available data led to the selection of two of the six districts of Shropshire (Figure 5.2) for further study: North Shropshire District and South Shropshire District. Table 5.1 shows the criteria used in this selection.

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Table 5.1   Indicators of Disadvantage Used in Selection of County and Districts

Indicator	Area Concerned Unless Indicated*			
	England & Wales	Shropshire	North Salop District	South Salop District
1. % Population aged 65+	13.4	12.8	14.0	16.9
2. % Population Change 1961-71	5.7	13.2	4.2	-0.6
3. % Population Change 1971-76	0.6	7.3	2.1	3.0
4. Persons per Hectare	3.22	0.97	0.69	0.32
5. % Workforce in Primary Industry	3.3*	7.3	15.1*	6.4*
6. % Workforce in Manufacturing Industry	32.3*	31.1	26.4*	18.2*
7. % Workforce Unemployed 1980	8.9*	11.0	11.0*	9.9*
8. % Male Population economically active	81.4	81.8	79.6	78.9
9. % Hh with exclusive use 3 Hh amenities	82.1	84.9	81.8	76.9
10. % Hh in owner-occupier accommodation	50.2	47.2	47.4	50.8
11. % Hh in public-rented accommodation	28.2	30.1	25.5	18.7
12. Distance to nearest major conurbation	–	–	7 ml	50 ml
13. Predominant Agricutural Grade of Land	3	3	3	4 & 5
14. % Loss of Rural Shops 1965-75	–	-12.2	-12.5	-21.1
15. % Hh without a Car 1976	–	38	34	34
16. Key settlement policy 1980	–	Used	Used	Used
17. Development Commission Involvement	–	Yes	Yes	Yes
18. Designated AONB.	–	–	No	Part

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Sources and Notes:

1, 2, 4, 8-11 Census 1971 unless stated.

3: Shropshire County Council (1977c)

5, 6: Estimates for June 1977. Figures quoted refer to and relevant Employment Exchange Areas: North Shropshire-Drayton EEA, South Shropshire-Shrewsbury EEA (personal communication, Manpower Services Commission).

7: Unemployment rate on 13 November 1980. Figures refer to United Kingdom, and relevant Local Offices: North Shropshire - Market Drayton Office, South Shropshire - Ludlow Office (personal communication, MSC).

12: Estimated shortest road distance to nearest major conurbation. Figure quoted under 'South Shropshire' refers to Clun and Bishop's Castle Rural District only.

13-16, 18: Shropshire County Council (1977c)

17: Development Commission (1982)

Figure 5.1
Location of Shropshire
in Britain

Shropshire

Leeds

Manchester

Liverpool

Birmingham

London

Bristol

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MILES

0   100

0   140

KMS
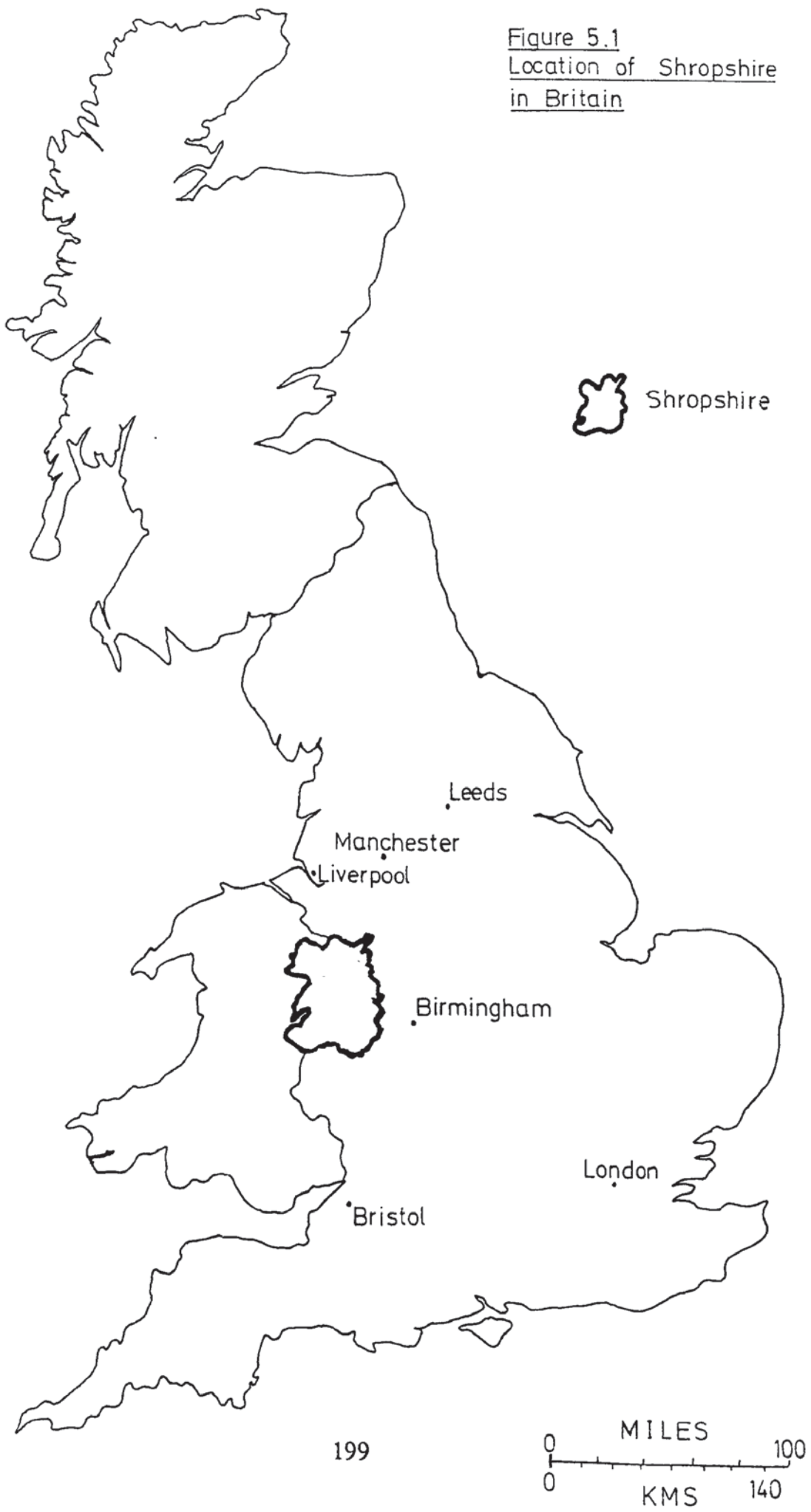
Figure 5.2   The Districts of Shropshire

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

North Shropshire District was found to exhibit the characteristics of a lowland rural area lying in relatively close proximity to several major urban areas, and less likely than South Shropshire (yet more likely compared to county and national standards) to exhibit a high incidence of disadvantage. Thus it was characterised by (Table 5.1):

A. A relatively unbalanced age structure, with a pattern of population change typical of many rural areas in England - decline in the 1950's, static in the 1960's and slight growth in the 1970's. Population levels and densities were higher than for South Shropshire.

B. A high proportion of employed persons working in primary industries, and low proportion in the other sectors, compared to national and county standards. Regarding unemployment, a high rate was recorded for Market Drayton Local Office, and economic activity rates for the District were below average (though above South Shropshire).

C. Provision of public housing and housing amenities below national and county standards but above standards in South Shropshire.

D. Extremely rural character, but in close proximity to the Potteries, with mainly 'grade 3' agricultural land.

E. Loss of facilities, and above average levels of car ownership.

F. Use of key settlement policy, and a designated Special Investment Area, but not an AONB.

By contrast South Shropshire District is a relatively remote upland area which showed a more extreme situation in 1980 (Table 5.1). In particular it was characterised at the time of selection by:

A. A weak, unbalanced population structure: aged population with a static or declining population 1951-71, and very low population density.

B. Unbalanced economy, with a very low proportion of employees working in manufacturing and over 60% in service industries (Shrewsbury

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Employment Office), an unemployment rate above the national average, but be-low the county level, and low economic activity rates.

C. Below average provision of local authority accommodation and provision of household amenities.

D. Extremely rural situation, remote from major conurbations, and dominated by low quality farmland.

E. Low, declining levels of facility provision, but above average percentage of households with a private car.

F. Partial coverage by a designated AONB, and by a Special Investment Area, and use of a key settlement policy.

Thus South Shropshire District is a remote upland area which shows the characteristics of an area likely to exhibit a high incidence of disadvantage, as assessed using available 'objective indicators'.

Based on this study of the characteristics of the two Districts therefore, it seems possible to assume that they are fairly representive of a relatively lowland area in close proximity to a major conurbation and a relatively remote upland area. Research findings with regard to the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage should be able to be applied to other areas therefore, which also have these characteristics. Research findings with respect to the influence of policies on these aspects can be expected to be of particular relevance to the government bodies involved in implementing rural policies throughout England.

5.3.3   Selection of Case Study Parishes

Having selected two Districts in Shropshire for study, three parishes were then selected from each District for detailed examination, according to certain criteria. A number of parishes were eliminated on the grounds that they had too small a population (below 150 in 1971), contained a market town, or exhibited unusual characteristics e.g. exceptionally high population change in 1960's or presence of

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Figure 5.3   Rationale for (non) selection of Case Study Parishes - North Shropshire District

Woore

Adderley

Norton-in-Hales

Cheswardine

Hinstock

Sutton-upon-Tern

Ightfield

Hodnet

Whitchurch Rural

Prees

Whixall

Wem rural

Grinshill

Clive

Hadnall

Welsh-ampton

Myddle

Cockshutt

Baschurch

Ellesmere Rural

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Key

Woore   Main Village

*   Case study Parish

1971 popn. below 150

Town

10%+ households not private 1971

High net popn.change in 1960's
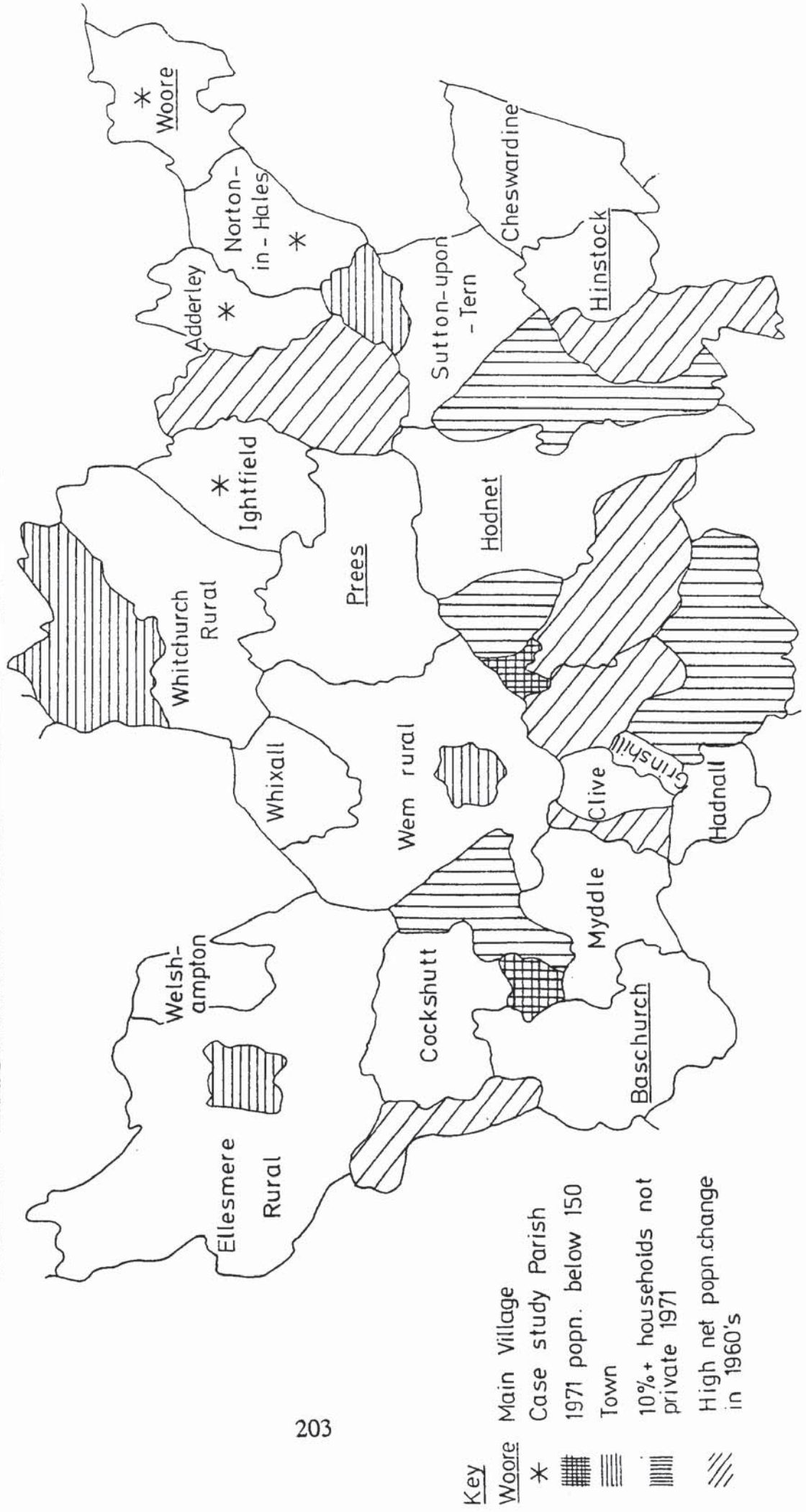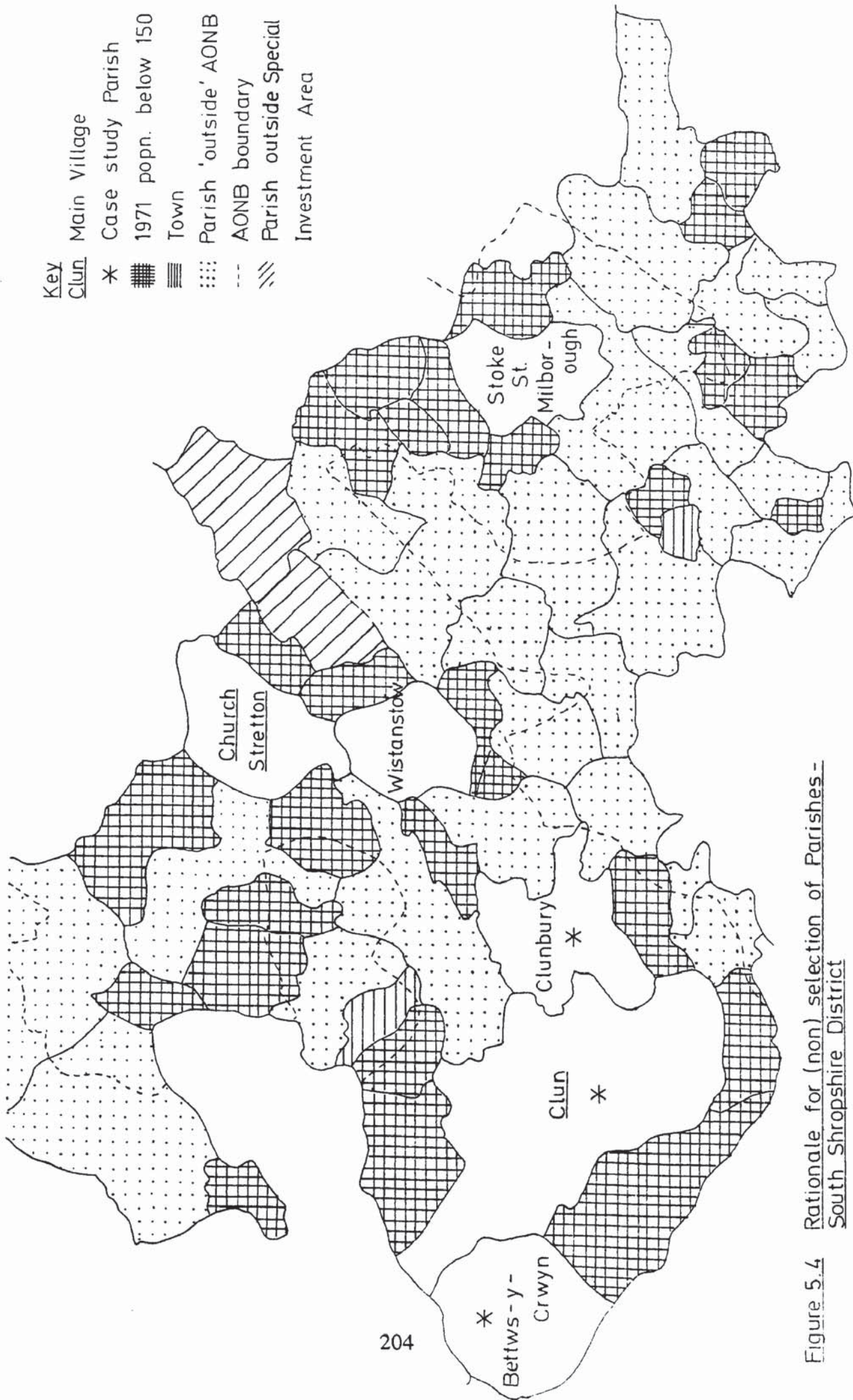
Figure 5.4 Rationale for (non) selection of Parishes - South Shropshire District

Key

Clun   Main Village
*   Case study Parish
▦ ▥   1971 popn. below 150
        Town
∷∷   Parish 'outside' AONB
- -   AONB boundary
⫽⫽   Parish outside Special
        Investment Area

Church
Stretton

Wistanstow

Stoke
St.
Milbor-
ough

Clunbury
*

Clun
*

Bettws-y-
Crwyn
*

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armed forces or other non-private households. Furthermore, since South Shropshire District had been selected for study partly because of its containing an AONB and a Development Commission Special Investment Area, any parishes outside these designated areas in South Shropshire were excluded. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show the parishes which were excluded on all these grounds in North and South Shropshire Districts respectively.

Having eliminated those parishes which were considered unsuitable for study, a group of three parishes were then selected from each District for study, in liaison with local Rural Community Council officers and District Council officers who could provide local knowledge. Each group of three parishes is referred to subsequently as one case study area. In both Districts the group of three parishes includes one containing a designated Main Village (key settlement), one which a range of objective indicators (similar to those involved in the selection of Districts) suggested was likely to exhibit a high incidence of disadvantage, and one selected to represent a less extreme situation. The parishes chosen for study are indicated in Figure 5.3 and 5.4, and their relevant characteristics are shown in Table 5.2 and 5.3. These parishes were as follows: North Shropshire District: Adderley, Ightfield, Woore (Main Village), Norton-in-Hales (pilot study); South Shropshire District: Bettws-y-Crwyn, Clunbury, Clun (Main Village).

Woore was selected on account of its being as a Main Village designated for housing development (Shropshire County Council, 1977b), which had experienced population growth in the 1960's, had higher population density, reasonable standards of public transport and was only 7 miles from the Potteries. Adderley, Ightfield and Norton-in-Hales then offered a compact set of parishes for study. Out of these one, Norton-in-Hales, was selected to be used as a pilot study, since the others offered the most contrasting situation with regard to the criteria thought to indicate levels of disadvantage (Table 5.2). Thus Adderley had exhibited population growth in the 1960's, had higher car ownership levels and was nearer to a major urban area, whilst

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Table 5.2

Indicators of Disadvantage : North Shropshire District and Case Study Parishes

Indicator	North Salop District	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore
1. % Population Change 1951-61	-4.1	-9.5	-5.6	-5.4
2. % Population Change 1961-71	+2.1	+4.0	-17.1	+3.4
3. Persons per Hectare 1971	0.69	0.18	0.27	0.49
4. % Hh with exclusive use of inside W.C. 1971	83.5	80-86	80-86	70-79
5. % Land over 152 metres	-	0	0	4
6. Road Distance to conurbation	7 ml	16 ml	19 ml	7 ml
7. Agricultural Grade of Land	3	3	3	3
8. % Change in rural shops 1965-75	-12.5	+11 to 30	+11 to 30	+11 to 30
9. Public Buses in 1976		<Daily	<Daily	6+/day
10. % Hh no Car 1971	34	26 - 30	35 - 40	31 - 35
11. Key settlement policy	In Use	-	-	Main Vill
12. Development Commission Policy	SIA/RDA	RDA	RDA	-
13. Conservation Policy	-	-	-	-

Sources: 1,2,3   Census
             4,7-11,13 Shropshire County Council (1977c)
             5,6   Estimate by authoress
             12   Development Commission (1980).

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Table 5.3

Indicators of Disadvantage : South Shropshire District and Case Study Parishes

Indicator	South Salop District	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun
1. % Population Change 1951-61	-2.9	-6.4	-15.9	-11.4
2. % Population Change 1961-71	0	-20.0	-16.2	-9.1
3. Persons per Hectare 1971	0.32	0.05	0.1	0.2
4. % Hh with exclusive use of inside W.C. 1971	80.4	60-69	70-79	70-79
5. % Land over 152 metres	-	90	19	48
6. Road Distance to conurbation	*50 ml	63 ml	51 ml	55 ml
7. Agricultural Grade of Land	4-5	4-5	3-5	4-5
8. % Change in rural shops 1965-75	-21.1	-11 to -30	-11 to -30	-11 to-30
9. Public Buses in 1976	-	<Daily	1/2 day	1/2 day
10. % Hh no Car 1971	34	16 - 25	26-30	31-35
11. Key settlement policy	In Use	-	-	Main Vill
12. Development Commission Policy	SIA/RDA	-	-	Factories
13. Conservation Policy	Part AONB	AONB	AONB	AONB

Sources: 1,2,3   Census
            4,7-11,13   Shropshire County Council (1977c)
            5,6   Estimate by authoress
            12   Development Commission (1980).
            *   Refers to Clun and Bishop's Castle Rural District.

Ightfield had exhibited population decline in the 1960's, was more remote from a major urban area, and exhibited lower levels of car ownership.

Clun was selected for study as the Main Village for South Shropshire, due to its receipt of Development Commission aid and location in the Special Investment Area and AONB. Clunbury and Bettws-y-Crwyn were seen to offer two constrasting parishes which were virtually completely within the Special Investment Area and AONB, and which, together with Clun, would make a compact study area. Thus Bettws-y-Crwyn showed the characteristics of an upland, remote parish, with low declining population and very limited public transport. Clunbury was found to be a lower-lying, slightly less remote parish, with higher population density, more adequate public transport services and better quality agricultural land (Table 5.3).

5.3.4   The Household Survey

Information about accessibility problems and disadvantages experienced by the populations of the case study parishes and their perception of their own situation, and reactions to this perception, was collected by means of a household survey. This was designed with reference to standard texts on social survey design, such as those by Gardner (1978) and Hoinville et al. (1978), which list the various types of survey and methodologies which can be used, and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each type. On the basis of this information, it was decided that the method which was most appropriate for this survey, was one based on the use of a structured, interview-administered questionnaire. Interview-administered questionnaire surveys allow more complex issues to be examined (since interviews can use standard explanations where necessary); allow checks to be made that all questions are answered, and by whom; and allow researchers access to more direct contact with respondents (compared say to telephone surveys). They also allow respondents to express opinions verbally, which may elicit more information, and tend to produce a higher response rate (compared to postal surveys for example). Structured interviews

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ensure standardisation of questions and procedure, for example ensuring that all questions are put in the same way, and in the same order, which is particularly important for attitudinal questions.

The households included in the survey were selected from a version of the electoral register. This version was one supplied by the District Councils, listing voters on the electoral register organised according to their address. The use of the electoral register (either in its original or adapted form), has several advantages, but also a number of weaknesses. Amongst the advantages are that it is readily available, easy to use, and less open to error (compared for example with visiting every third house, in which case it is possible to miss houses, flats etc.). In addition, the District Councils list of people on the electoral register arranged by address, provided a useful list of residents living at each address. It was decided that each address on this register could be treated as one household, since few dwellings are occupied by more than one household in rural areas. Thus assumption was born out by the fieldwork.

On the other hand electoral registers also have certain disadvantages. Firstly they do not allow the researcher to pre-select particular sub-groups for study. The limited information electoral registers contain means that it was not possible, for example, to select 'disadvantaged' or 'less mobile' households. Secondly they list only those persons who are eligible to vote. Thus it was not possible to specifically select young people for interviewing. Finally, they can contain errors and omissions which the researcher is unlikely to identify. In order to reduce this problem, the 'address' register was checked against the original before being used.

The sampling procedure involved numbering the addresses (i.e. households), with the first listed for each parish being given the number 1, the second 2 etc. A simple random sample of 40 of these numbers was then drawn for each parish, using a random number table, and the corresponding addresses listed. According to this procedure therefore every household on the parish register had an equal chance of being selected. The aim in conducting the interviews was to interview

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the head of household, or their spouse. The first thirty households on the sample list were contacted initially. Households were notified in advance by letter (given in Appendix A) which was addressed to the head, and spouse where present.

The questionnaire was tested using a pilot study in the North Shropshire Parish of Norton-in-Hales during May 1981, after which various minor adjustments were made to the questionnaire. The main part of the survey was carried out during two periods, July 1981 to November 1981 and June 1982 to October 1982, a longer period than expected owing to the severe winter. Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes, although in practice they ranged from 30 to 120 minutes. Failure to complete a questionnaire for any of the thirty selected households for a parish (e.g. through refusal) led to the thirty-first being contacted etc.

During the same period of time as the household interviews were being conducted, a series of informal interviews were carried out with representatives of local authorities, facility providers, community leaders and Rural Community Council representatives for the respective areas. These interviews concentrated on aspects of policy and perceptions of the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage in the case study areas, and the influence of policies on these aspects.

5.3.5   Questionnaire Design for Household Interviews

Based on the research aims and objectives, it was possible to identify certain hypotheses which the questionnaire survey should be designed to test, and various research questions which it should be designed to answer (section 5.2). The household questionnaire survey was therefore central to the research and the questionnaire used had to be carefully designed. Reference was made to the literature in order to take account of previous experience in conducting similar surveys and avoid known pit falls (Courtenay 1977, Hoinville and Brook 1977). The resulting questionnaire which was used in the main part of the survey is given in Appendix A.

The fourteen topics within the research, discussed in section 5.2 formed the

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basis for the questionnaire design. In addition the questionnaire had to collect basic information concerning the household's composition etc. The questionnaire was therefore designed to obtain information regarding:

A.   Access to facilities

B.   Access to other requirements

C.   Attitudes towards rural life and population movements

D.   Basic information concerning the household.

The questions were designed to obtain a blend of both 'objective' measurements (i.e. direct, factual questions such as where does the household shop?), and 'subjective' measurements (i.e. additional questions designed to tap people's attitudes with regard to various issues). This not only gives a more comprehensive assessment of disadvantage, but also allows comparison between the results obtained using 'objective' and 'subjective' measures.

Following consideration of the various methods available for measuring people's attitudes (Hoinville et al. 1978, Gardner 1978), it was decided to measure attitudes via a number of attitudinal questions encorporating 5-point rating scales. Thus people's degree of satisfaction with their accessibility and general situation with regard to facilities/services, employment, housing and transport, and to rural life overall, were assessed primarily by asking respondents 'how satisfied are you with ......(aspect)?'. Respondents answers were then assessed using a 5-point rating scale, which ranged from 'very satisfied', through 'satisfied', 'indifferent', and 'dissatisfied', to 'very dissatisfied'. It was decided to use such a rating scale mainly because it is easy to use verbally, and the results it produces are straightforward to analyse. Other scales, such as numerical, spatial/diagrammatic scales (Hoinville et al., 1978) are easy to analyse, but require the use of cards. Also investigations into research methods have indicated that people vary in their ability to respond to   such techniques.

However, it should be emphasised, that a rating scale is at best only a

way of placing people at relative positions on a dimension. It must be remembered therefore that it is not an absolute measure of attitude, and that the responses cannot be translated into numbers which have any mathematical value. Thus, in the case of the scale used, although a 'very satisfied' response can be coded as 5 and 'very dissatisfied', as 1 etc., these numbers do not mean that people who state that they are 'very dissatisfied' are five times as satisified as those who are 'very dissatisfied'. Care had to be taken in selecting an appropriate technique when analysing the results therefore.

Furthermore, in designing the wording of the questions and the scale to be used, a number of problems associated with the use of rating scales had to be taken into account. A major problem with any rating scale, is the tendency for respondents to avoid the extreme points of the scale. People may tend to give responses around the middle point on the scale. Clearly this can produce a bias towards a particular answer. This problem can generally be overcome however, by using one more point in each direction on the scale than is needed in the analysis. A further problem associated with rating scales like the one used is that a 'satisfied' reply can reflect the person's general attitude to life, rather than to the issue concerned. Again this can generally be overcome by using a mixture of positively and negatively expressed questions, which cause the respondent to think about each issue and not to respond in a standardised way.

A further problem associated with any interview survey, and in particular with the recording of responses to attitudinal questions by an interviewer, is that of bias caused by the interviewer. This may occur as the result of the interviewer going into each interview with a pre-determined view of what he/she 'wants' or 'expects' to hear. Or it may occur because the respondent adapts his/her expressed opinions, in response to the interviewer. Thus respondents may be reluctant to complain to the interviewer; or be eager to say what they think the interviewer 'wants' to hear; or they may express dissatisfaction if they believe some benefit may come of it. Experience

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suggests however, that these problems can be overcome by careful attention to the conduct of the interviewer and adherence to the 'standard' wording of questions. The technique has been widely tried and tested, and is well-established in market research.

It was decided that a 5-point scale would be the most useful for a number of reasons. Firstly being an odd number, it allows people to select a 'middle' response if they feel 'indifferent'. Secondly the pilot study suggested that there was, in some circumstances, a significant difference between people being 'very satisfied' and only 'satisfied', and between people being 'very dissatisfied' and only 'dissatisfied'. A minimum of five points on the scale was necessary therefore to bring out these differences, and have an odd number of possible responses. However, it was felt that having more than five points on the scale would create difficulties, both with respect to recording responses (as use of a written card to be shown to responents would have been necessary), and to their analysis (since only a limited number of cases would fall into each category of response, given the size of the sample).

Each initial attitudinal question was followed up with questions by which the respondent was asked to elaborate on his or her answer. For example, the question 'how satisfied are you with your present accommodation', was followed by the questions: 'How satisfied are you with its:

    (i)   Size?

    (ii)   Condition and state of repair?'

Less direct, open-ended questions were also included which it was felt respondents might find it easier to reply to, or might find it easier to respond to with a complaint (i.e. respondents might feel awkward in replying that they were 'dissatisfied' with an aspect of their life, but might feel able to mention a specific problem). Thus questions such as:

17(a) 'Are there any facilities which you would use more often, if you could reach them more easily?', and

17(b) 'Are there any facilities which you would like to see opened in the parish?'
were also included.

In order to cover as many sections of the population as possible, respondents were not only questionned about their own attitudes, but also about the experiences and views of the other members of their household. The use of such 'second-hand' information is not ideal, and has the obvious snag that respondents might not be conversant with the views of the other members of their household, or might be reluctant to express the opinions of other people. Ideally one would interview each member of each household separately, however this was not practical given the time and resources available. It was felt that the problems associated with using second-hand data were out-weighed by the additional information which could be collected.

Various questions regarding income were included in the pilot study. However in the light of the experience this provided, it was decided not to include a question on household income in the main part of the study. The reasons for this decision, included:

a) The belief that it might alienate the respondent. It was found in the pilot study that respondents acted defensively to any question regarding income. The interviewers status as a student and lack of association with an offical agency were felt to reduce her capacity to obtain such information.

b) Surrogates for income could be used e.g. occupation of head of household.

c) Answers to a question on income might be inaccurate, either due to an untruthful answer, or lack of knowledge. In the pilot study it was found that some spouses were uncertain as to the household's income.

One question was tested in the pilot study which asked respondents to compare their financial position to that of their household a year ago, and to other households. This also proved unsatisfactory due to the economic recession, which caused most respondents to say that they were worse off than a year ago, and due to the reluctance

of respondents to say that they were better off than others.

Thus it was decided to use the surrogate of socio-economic group (SEG) for income. In order to do this it was necessary to question respondents carefully about the occupations of the adult members of their household. Reference was made to standard texts such as Hoinville et al.'s (1978), in order to establish the correct procedures by which this could be done accurately. People's occupations were then translated into SEG's using a standard classification list of the occupations which belong to each SEG.

To recap, this chapter has re-iterated the research aims and objectives and examined the main gaps which exist in the literature, which the case study work is designed to respond to. On the basis if this examination, the research hypotheses and questions were identifed. The chapter went on to discuss the research methodology used which focussed as a household questionnaire survey. The criteria used to select areas for study were discussed. The chapter then described the design of the questionnaire, and in particular the design of attitudinal questions. The main purpose of including these attitudinal questions was to allow results obtained using 'objective' and 'subjective' measures of accessibility and disadvantage, to be compared and contrasted.

CHAPTER 6

THE CASE STUDIES : COUNTY CONTEXT

6.1   STRUCTURE AND PURPOSE OF THE CHAPTER

As discussed in chapter 5, the research methodology centres on a household questionnaire survey in two contrasting groups of parishes in Shropshire. One of these areas lies in close proximity to the Potteries, whilst the other is relatively remote, and according to the 'social indicators' available at the time of selection, appeared likely to exhibit a higher incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage. This and the following chapter are intended to provide a basis for the examination of the case study findings undertaken in chapters 8 and 9. In order to do this, chapters 6 and 7 have three specific aims:

(i)   To outline the major areas of policy which are intended to improve accessibility or alleviate disadvantage in the areas studied.

(ii)   To assess how typical Shropshire is of more 'rural' counties in England, with regard to rural planning policies, accessibility and disadvantage (undertaken in this chapter).

(iii)   To assess how typical the districts and parishes studied are of Shropshire's rural districts and parishes (undertaken in chapter 7).

This chapter focusses on Shropshire as a whole. Following a brief description of the underlying settlement pattern and population structure and trends in the county (section 6.2), it outlines information available from various sources (excluding the case study work) which refers to rural planning and other government policies pursued, and the nature and extent of accessibility and disadvantage in the county. Rural planning policies are discussed first (section 6.3), followed by policies, accessibility and disadvantage with respect to five basic requirements, namely facilities/services (6.4), employment (6.5), housing (6.6), social contact (6.7), and travel (6.8). Comparisons are made between the situation in the county and in England as a whole. Chapter 7 then outlines similar information with respect to these issues in the districts and parishes studied.

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6.2 SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND POPULATION STRUCTURE AND TRENDS

Shropshire's settlement pattern and population structure and trends reflect, to a large extent, its strategic location on the physical and cultural border of England and Wales. A number of distinct areas may be identified within the county, which vary in topography, geology, history and pattern of settlement development (Rowley, 1972), as shown in Figure 6.1. The county includes upland and lowland areas, making it an ideal focus for research. In terms of land-use Shropshire is primarily an agricultural county, with roughly 82% of its land area being used for this purpose and 6% for woodland. Roughly one third is upland (Shropshire County Council, 1977c).

6.2.1 Settlement Pattern

The basic settlement pattern in Shropshire is one of nucleated villages in the lowlands (except northern Shropshire), and nucleated hamlets, isolated villages and small market towns in upland and marginal areas. Only local variations exist to this pattern, which was largely formed by the mid-13th Century, where forest clearance, drainage, squatter developments, emparkment, landscaping, the development of large farms, industrialisation or mining have occurred (Rowley, 1972). The present distribution of towns is shown in Figure 6.2. The pattern of settlements is of importance with regard to the issues examined in the case study work, since the majority of the county's population and many of the available opportunities associated with people's basic requirements are concentrated into them. A more dispersed settlement pattern, as is to be found in Shropshire's upland areas, is generally associated with greater travelling distances, and this can result in a comparatively low degree of accessibility being experienced by residents.

Figure 6.1   Geographical areas of Shropshire

0   10
Miles

NORTH-WEST
UPLANDS
Limestone

NORTHERN   PLAIN
Undulating low plain. Trias
covered with glacial drift,
broken by sandstone ridges

SHROPSHIRE
UPLANDS
Pre-Cambrian
uplands and
limestone/
sandstone
escarpme-
nts

COALFIELD
Valleys &
Escarpments   EAST
SANDSTONE
PLAIN
Low-
land

CLUN
FOREST
Steep-
sloped
uplands

SOUTHERN
HILLS
Basalt-capped
sandstone
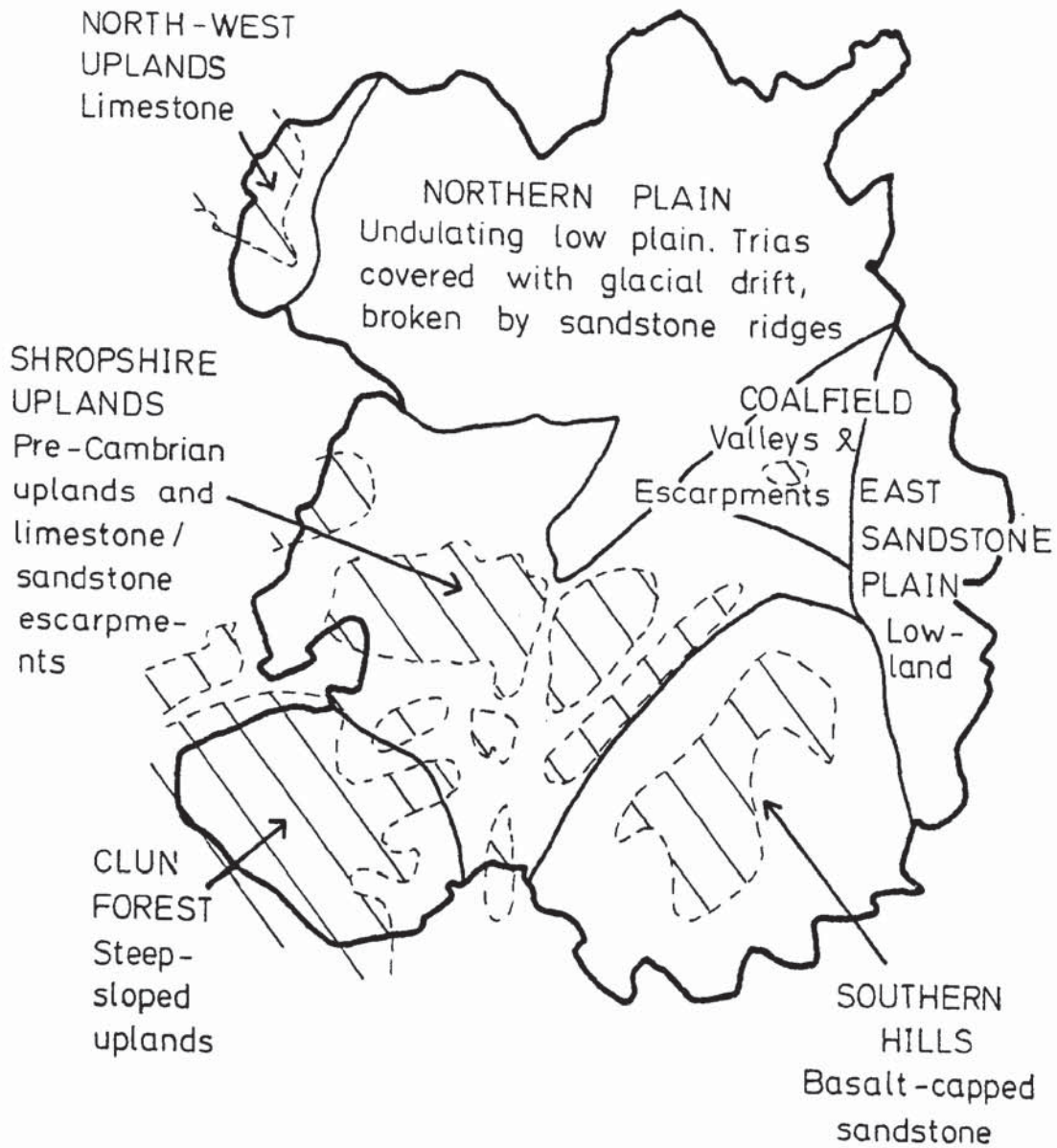
Based on: Rowley (1972)   Land over 200 metres

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Figure 6.2   Distribution of towns in Shropshire

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: Shropshire
County Council (1977b)

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6.2.2.   <u>Population Structure and Trends</u>

Although the distribution of settlements in Shropshire is basically the same as that recorded in the 13th Century, with local variations, the size of the population living in these settlements has fluctuated considerably. The population of Shropshire, like that of many largely rural counties, grew steadily in the 19th Century, until it stabilised in the 1870's at roughly a quarter of a million. This period of stabilisation continued until the 1930's when rapid and accelerating population increases began to occur.

Between 1960 and 1980 Shropshire's population increased at a rate well above that experienced nationally, largely as a result of high rates of in-migration in the 1970's. The West Midlands region is thought to have been particularly important, both as a source and destination of migrants (Shropshire County Council, 1977c). To a large extent Shropshire can therefore be considered typical, with respect to its patterns of population change, of many largely rural counties in England which are at least partly within commuting distance of a major conurbation (chapter 4). Net migration into Shropshire has however dropped substantially in recent years, largely due to a reduction of in-migration into Telford (Shropshire County Council, 1982b). Shropshire currently has a total population of approximately 376,000 (1981 census), of whom roughly half live in the urban areas of Shrewsbury and Telford. Overall population density in 1981 was 1.08 persons per hectare - under a third that recorded for England (3.55).

Again like many non-metropolitan counties, population growth has not been evenly distributed throughout Shropshire however, as shown in Table 6.1. The urban areas, especially Telford, have grown rapidly, whilst many rural areas of the county experienced static or declining population levels until the 1970's, and modest growth of 4-5% in the 1970's. Shropshire County Council (1984) suggest however that all the county's districts will experience net population growth between 1981 and 1996, with a total population growth for the county of 31-37,000, or

roughly a 10% increase on the 1981 population base.

The county as a whole has a fairly similar age structure to England as a whole, albeit slightly younger (Table 6.2). In particular, Wrekin District has a high proportion of young people, although this reflects the presence of Telford in it. By contrast South Shropshire and Oswestry Districts have a high proportion of old people; a situation typical of many more remote rural areas (as discussed in chapter 4), and one which has certain implications for demand for services, transport etc. and the likely level and nature of accessibility problems and disadvantage.

Table 6.1   Total Population and Rates of Change

Area/District	1981 Population	% Population Change 1961-71	1971-81	% Population Change Forecast 1981-96
England	46,362,836	5.9	0.5	
Shropshire	375,715	13.2	11.5	8.3 to 10.1
North Shropshire	50,044	4.2	6.2	6.7
South Shropshire	33,790	-0.6	4.3	7.3
Oswestry	30,589	1.8	1.1	5.7
Bridgnorth	50,292	12.0	5.1	1.1
Shrewsbury	87,165	13.1	5.8	6.6
Wrekin excl. Telford	123,835	30.2	27.6	3.7
Telford				15.8 to 22.4

Figures represent population present on census night.

Source : 1971, 1981 Census, Shropshire County Council (1984).

Table 6.2 Age Structure of Residents in 1981

Area	0-15	16-39	40-64	65+	TOTAL
England	22.2	34.7	28.2	15.0	100.1
Shropshire	23.9	34.7	27.4	14.0	100.0
N. Salop District	23.2	34.0	27.4	15.4	100.0
S. Salop District	20.8	30.7	29.8	18.8	100.1
Oswestry	21.9	32.4	28.4	17.4	100.1
Bridgnorth	23.3	35.4	28.0	13.3	100.0
Shrewsbury	22.3	34.5	28.5	14.7	100.0
Wrekin	26.9	36.6	25.5	11.0	100.0

Source : 1981 Census (usually resident population).

In line with the rest of the country, average household size has fallen throughout Shropshire (an important factor when considering housing demand). In particular, the number of single person households increased by some 7,500 (44%) between 1971 and 1981, and currently half of the households in the county contain only one or two people (Shropshire County Council, 1982b). This can be an important factor in causing problems related to isolation, i.e. lack of access to social contact, and is significant in that it is linked to the growth in single pensioner households, one of the groups recognised to experience particular accessibility problems and a high incidence of disadvantage.

6.3. PLANNING POLICIES FOR SHROPSHIRE

6.3.1 Shropshire's Policies in the National Context

One of the reasons for which Shropshire was selected for study was that the post-war rural planning policies pursued by the County Council, and in particular the settlement policies, could be considered broadly typical of those pursued by many county councils responsible for relatively rural counties. As discussed in chapter 2, local authorities have had control of land-use and development via the planning system, since the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. In early years policies for this control were laid down in statutory Development Plans for each county, and more recently these have been replaced by Structure and Local Plans. In addition, various non-statutory policy documents have also been produced by local authorities at their discretion. This pattern of plan production is mirrored by Shropshire, as shown in Table 6.3.

The various economic, social and environmental objectives laid down by central government for these various plans were reviewed in chapter 2. This review identified certain weaknesses in the present system which reduces its ability to alleviate problems of accessibility and disadvantage in rural areas, including:

(i)   Confusion regarding the extent to which the policies should attempt to achieve 'social' objectives.

(ii)   The failure of authorities to co-ordinate their policies and activities with those of other government agencies.

(iii)   The cumbersome, inflexible nature of Structure Plans.

(iv)   The limited powers invested in authorities to achieve their stated aims.

(v)   The restrictive nature of rural policies which could deter development.

(vi)   The failure of planning authorities to recognise the heterogeneity of rural dwellers and the diversity of changes occurring in rural areas.

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Table 6.3   Planning Documents Published of Relevance to
             Rural Areas by Shropshire County Council

Date	Plan or Document Published
	Shropshire
1953	Shropshire Development Plan (approved 1960).
1960's	Informal plans and statements, including: Village Guide Maps.
1971	Interim Policy Statement on Housing Development in Rural Shropshire.
1976-80	Preparation of Structure Plan: 1976-7 5 Discussion Papers.
	1977 Draft Written Statement & Report of Survey 1978 Amendments following public participation (Draft Plan adopted and submitted) 1980 Structure Plan approved and adopted.
1980,1982	Structure Plan Monitoring Reports.
1983	Structure Plan Review Discussion Papers, including 'RuralSettlements Discussion Paper'.
1984	Structure Plan consultation draft: 'First alteration 1981-96' (written statement and explanatory memorandum). Shortly to be approved by Council and submitted to Secretary of State, November 1984.

(vii) The inability of authorities to seek radical solutions due to central government and legislative control.

(viii) The lack of sufficient appraisal of policies before implementation and monitoring of their effects after implementation.

One of the main tasks of the case study work is therefore to examine in the light of the research findings, the extent to which these weaknesses appear to exist with respect to the planning system as implemented in Shropshire.

The main rural settlement policy incorporated into most Development and Structure Plans has been one of channelling new development into selected settlements (as discussed in Chapter 2). Here again Shropshire can be considered to be a good example and this was one of the main reasons for its selection for study. These selected settlements (which are generally larger villages) have often been envisaged as 'key' settlements, providing services, employment and other basic requirements to their surrounding area. Methods for the selection of these settlements and the justifications given for adopting these policies have varied from area to area (Cloke, 1979). Amongst the justifications given or implied have been:

(i)   Maximising accessibility.

(ii) Maximising the profitability of firms operating in the area by creating centres which produce growth centre effects, e.g. economies of scale.

(iii) Maximising the profitability and minimising the investment costs associated with services and facilities, through the selection of 'natural' central places.

(iv) Encouraging the retention of services by ensuring that population thresholds for provision are met in certain settlements.

(v)   Reducing out-migration by the interception of potential leavers.

(vi) Protection of agricultural land.

(vii) Protection of environmental quality.

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(viii) Protection of small-scale communities.

As was shown in chapter 2, several previous studies have criticised 'key settlement' policies, and challenged various of these justifications for concentration of development (for example Cloke 1979, Gilder 1979). In particular, it has been suggested that such policies were formulated without adequate regard for their theoretical framework; that they do not offer economic benefits because growth centre effects do not apply to small rural settlements; that they fail to take account of the diversity of rural dwellers and areas; and more fundamentally that planners lack the means to implement them. Thus it has been suggested that the implications of key settlement policies have not been adequately considered.

These criticisms of post-war rural planning, and in particular key settlement policies and the justifications behind the policies, provide the starting point for the following examination of such policies pursued in Shropshire, at least partly with a view to alleviating rural accessibility problems and disadvantage. During the course of the review points relevant to each of these criticisms and justifications are therefore emphasised.

6.3.2   The Shropshire Development Plan

The various statutory and informal plans produced for Shropshire are listed in Table 6.3. As this table shows the earliest of these plans to be produced was Shropshire Development Plan (1953). Like those for many non-metropolitan areas, this followed Government directives and concentrated on service provision (using the 'hot cross bun' technique to identify centres of service provision, and listing education centres). The Plan envisaged that most new housing would be built in existing towns, and that most rural areas would not be developed substantially, these being left blank on the county map (Shropshire County Council, 1953). Thus the Development Plan concentrated on service provision and housing development which were considered to be key issues at that time.

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This Development Plan remained the basic statutory plan until the Structure Plan was produced. Because of the cumbersome nature of the procedure for revising the Development Plan however, as in other counties various informal plans and statements were issued in the intervening years. For example, guide maps for villages vulnerable to development pressure were produced. These guide maps basically drew a boundary or envelope around the settlement, and can be criticised for the inadequate consideration given to the exact line drawn and the rigidity with which restraints on development outside these boundaries were applied. Moreover, the delay in formation meant that large-scale growth had already occurred in some villages by the time they were produced (Harvey, 1980).

Partly in recognition of these problems, and partly in recognition of the fact that the Development Plan had become outdated, the County Council issued an 'Interim Policy Statement on Housing Development in Rural Shropshire in 1971. Again this was an indication that the County Council was still focussing its attention on housing development. This statement was designed to provide a coordinated policy with which to guide development in order to avoid scattered development and achieve economies of scale. The emphasis was therefore on the concentration of development into selected settlements. Four categories of settlements were recognised as shown in Figure 6.3 : 15 towns, 40 'Class A' settlements (suitable for a 'reasonable degree of expansion'), 107 'Class B' settlements (suitable for 'infilling, and possibly small groups of houses'), and numerous 'other settlements' (where development should be restricted to 'strictly limited infilling'). Selection of Class A settlements was based heavily on the existence of service provision in the settlement and good communications factors which were seen to be of key importance at that time.

6.3.3.   The Shropshire Structure Plan

It was described earlier in chapter 2, how early Structure Plans

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Figure 6.3   Classification of Shropshire settlements

under the Interim Policy Statement 1971

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Source: Shropshire
County (1977 b)

produced by many County Councils in the early to mid-1970's were largely confined to development and land-use control statements, whilst later Plans incorporated more 'social' objectives. With regard to rural areas Plans have consistently tended to favour the concentration of development into selected settlements. The Plans produced by Shropshire County Council proved no exception, and the policy it put forward in the Development Plan of concentrating development into selected settlements, was continued in the draft Structure Plan (1977), approved Structure Plan (which became statutory in 1980 and covered the period up to 1991), and the draft Structure Plan review (published in 1984 and covering up to 1996). The shift in emphasis towards social issues is also mirrored by Shropshire County Council. The draft Structure Plan stated that the County Council had responded to the Town and Country Planning Act 1971, and produced a Written Statement:

'(1)   formulating the local planning authority's policy and general proposals in respect of the development and other use of land in that area.....;
(2)   stating the relationship of those proposals for the development and other use of land in neighbouring areas;
(3)   containing other matters as may be prescribed or as the Secretary of State may in any particular case direct.'

(Shropshire County Council, 1977b, p1)

Issues such as the effects of public transport cuts on the poor and elderly particularly in rural areas were however discussed, albeit briefly.

By the time the draft Structure Plan review was published in 1984 Shropshire County Council saw the main functions of the Structure Plan rather differently:-

'(a)   To state and justify the County Planning Authority's policies and general proposals for the development and other use of land....
(b)   To interpret national and regional policies in terms of physical and environmental planning. National and regional policies tend to be primarily economic and social. The Structure Plan is the place where these policies are integrated with the relevant economic, social and environmental policies and expressed in terms of the effect on land use, the environment and transport systems;

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(c)   To provide the framework for local plans, which, in turn, provide more definitive guidance for development and development control.'

<div align="right">(Shropshire County Council, 1984, p1)</div>

The stated objectives of the draft Structure Plan were therefore much more restricted. In practice the policies produced in the two Plans and the issues considered were similar, in that both considered certain 'social' issues and objectives, such as the effects of rural public transport withdrawals and the retention of the social character of rural settlements. However in the draft Structure Plan review, considerably more weight was given to social policies, with the review stating explicitly that social policies were a prime concern of the Structure Plan.

The approved Structure Plan (Shropshire County Council, 1980b) put forward a range of policies and proposals, with regard to settlements, transport, the physical environment and recreation and tourism which were seen to be the most important issues at the time of preparation. The basic policy incorporated in the plan, with reference to settlements, was for Shrewsbury to retain its role as the principal county town and administrative centre, and for Telford to develop as the main area of employment growth in the county. Outside these urban areas, 11 other towns were identified as local centres for employment and services.

With regard to rural settlements, the Structure Plan was particularly concerned with two 'social' issues: the effects of population loss and social change. It therefore concentrated on policies designed to conserve the character of existing settlements, and, at the same time guide and encourage development. Justifications given for this policy were those of preventing further population loss, stimulating employment, encouraging the provision of facilities and services, and making efficient use of resources. The County Council (1980b) considered two options for its rural settlements, a system of concetrating development into selected settlements, and a system of inter-dependent villages (dispersed development). These different options are illustrated in Figure 6.4. The Council finally opted for a combination of the two, involving a type of 'key' settlement policy. The Structure Plan therefore

Figure 6.4   Strategies Considered for Rural Shropshire

Option one: the 'Main Village' approach
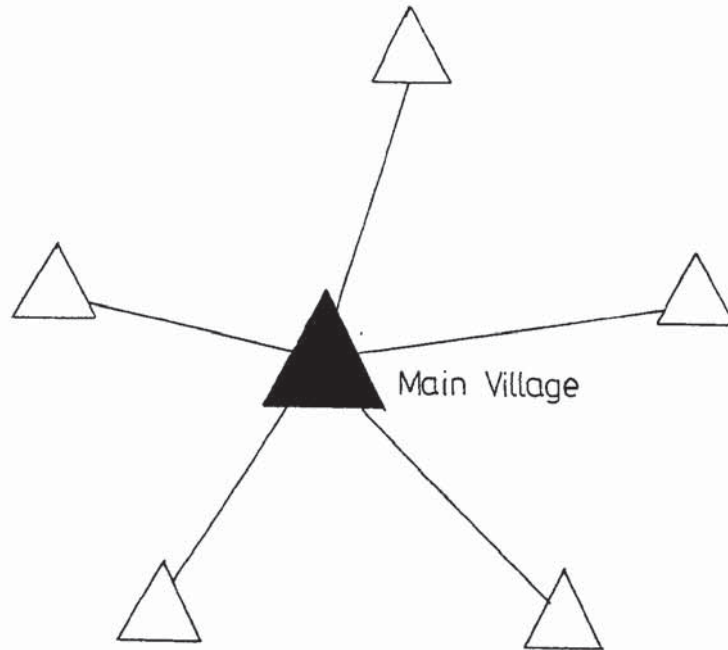
Main Village

Option two: grouped interdependent villages

Primary School

Surgery

Shop

Work

Post Office

New Housing
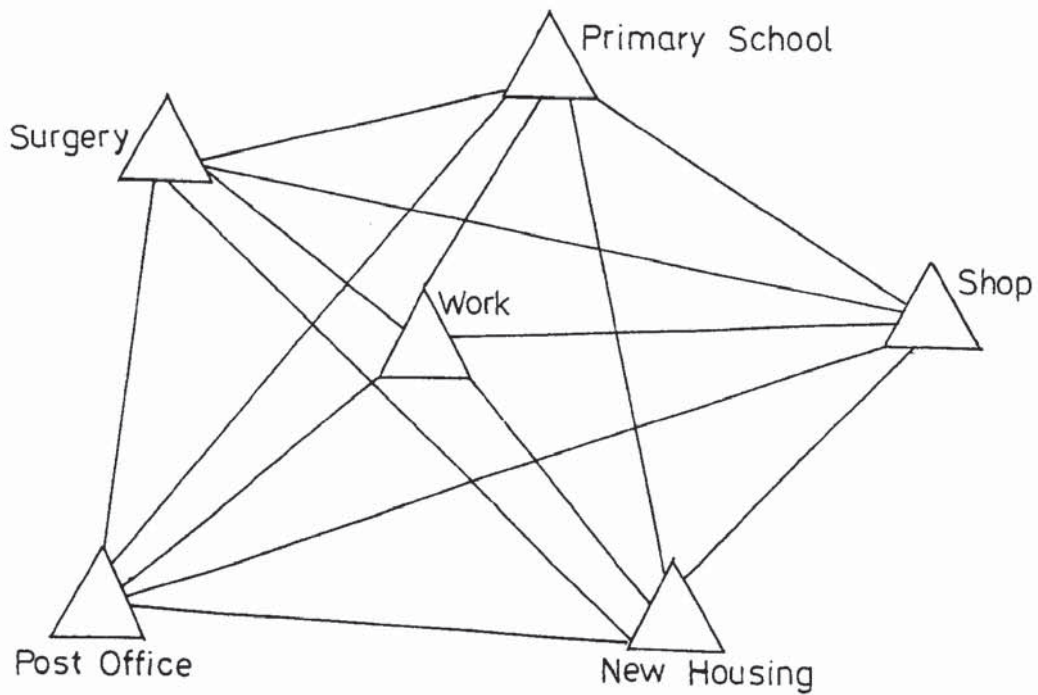
Source: Shropshire County Council (1976) Rural Settlements

proposed that:

(i) Priority be given to retaining and where possible expanding the services and facilities provided in selected 'Main Villages' (local service centres).

(ii) Suitable small-scale housing development should be allowed in all villages, in order to meet local needs and support existing facilities, but that any 'large-scale' development (six plus houses) should occur only in selected villages (generally but not necessarily Main Villages), and that new houses outside existing settlements should be restricted to those essential for agriculture and forestry.

(iii) Small-scale development of industry and commerce should be allowed outside towns, in suitable locations, and that although such development should normally be in 'Main Villages', development in other villages would normally be encouraged, if it conformed to certain criteria (Shropshire County Council 1980b).

Policy 3 of the Structure Plan therefore stated:

"THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTER OF THE COUNTY'S RURAL SETTLEMENTS SHOULD BE SAFE-GUARDED. THE COUNTY COUNCIL WILL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT PRIORITY IS GIVEN TO ASSISTING 'MAIN VILLAGES' TO RETAIN AND WHERE POSSIBLE STRENGTHEN THEIR ROLE AS SERVICE CENTRES FOR SURROUNDING RURAL AREAS. IN PARTICULAR IT WILL:

(1) ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND ENSURE THAT LAND IS MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE ASSOCIATED HOUSING.

(2) DISCOURAGE ATTEMPTS TO WITHDRAW KEY SERVICES AND FACILITIES.

(3) SUPPORT THE PROVISION OF THOSE LOCALLY NEEDED FACILITIES THAT ARE NOT CURRENTLY AVAILABLE.'

(Shropshire County Council, 1980b, p37)

The Structure Plan (Shropshire County Council, 1980b) states that this concentration policy offers a number of advantages; it:

Does more to ensure that a full range of local services will be available in at least a number of accessible locations throughout the County.

- Provides a much clearer guide for the future investment decisions of both public authorities and private individuals.
- Makes it easier to maintain an adequate system of rural public transport and reduces personal transport costs.
- In general provides a more effective use of scarce resources'

(Shropshire County Council, 1980b)

Thus at the time the Structure Plan was prepared the issues of the availability and accessibility of rural dwellers to services and facilities, housing, jobs and transport, were identified by the County Council as being of prime importance. In addition the County Council clearly recognised the links between provision of these basic requirements e.g. the potential increased support for facilities afforded by housing development. However the importance of achieving maximum efficiency in use of resources (public and private) was also recognised.

A clear list of criteria were laid down for selection of Main Villages by the County Council, which reflect the importance given to the issues by them. Thus the County Council (1980b) suggested that Main Villages should normally have good road communications, be on a daily bus route, and have available in them a primary school, local industry (in addition to agriculture), some shops, mains draingae and water, village hall, doctor's surgery, church, public house, recreation facilities and a post office. In practice however, practical considerations such as capacity in schools and sewerage systems were highly influential in determining suitability for development. Decisions regarding investment made by agencies responsible for these services were largely outside the planning authorities control.

The Structure Plan (Shropshire Council, 1980b), also contained more detailed policies for each of five areas in the county (roughly equivalent to districts with two combined). Within these the County Council stipulated the number of houses to be built in the area between 1976 and 1991, with one amount being specified for the towns, and another for the rural areas.

Other policies relevant to rural areas in the Plan, included the policy of continued support for essential but uneconomic stage carriage bus services, and the

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promotion of unconventional transport schemes for which there is a proven need; and landscape conservation, particularly in the Green Belt and South Shropshire Hills AONB.

Thus the policies put forward by Shropshire County Council in their various policy documents, can be considered broadly representational of those supported by most county councils responsible for comparatively rural counties.

6.3.4 Structure Plan Monitoring and Review

The cumbersome nature of Structure and Local Plan production identified in the literature as being a problem in many counties, is well-illustrated by Shropshire. By the time the Structure Plan was approved in 1980 it was already in need of some review, and the County Council had initiated its monitoring procedure (Shropshire County Council, 1980a, 1982b). In 1983 the County Council produced a series of 'discussion papers' as part of the Structure Plan review process, including one on rural settlements. Following this the draft Structure Plan review was published in 1984. Even in 1984 however, Local Plans were still only being formulated.

Together these documents examine the changes which have occurred during the 'Structure Plan period' and the success of policies. Two factors, largely unforeseen in the mid-1970's which have particularly affected the county and the success of the policies were highlighted : the growth in unemployment and the growth in population throughout the county - both of which were higher than anticipated. Again this is a situation repeated in many predominantly rural counties.

With respect to rural areas the later documents focussed on a number of key issues relevant to Structure Plan policies, including continuing loss of population from some parishes despite overall population growth in the rural areas of 3-4%; the failure of Structure Plan policies to reverse the trend of loss of rural services and facilities; and the rise in number of rural dwellers of working age in the

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early 1980's (worsening unemployment rates). In addition, they made the somewhat dubious claim that housing policies had been relatively successful, on the basis that they had averaged 2,700 per annum in rural Shropshire between 1976-82. This overlooks rates of building in some areas at above expected rates however. In sum therefore, according to the County Council's analysis of its own performance, it had been partially successful in achieving its stated aims. However it had failed to alleviate certain problems, such as unemployment, population loss from some rural parishes, and the loss of rural service and facility outlets from some small and medium-sized rural settlements.

The draft review of the Structure Plan proposed five main changes to Structure Plan policies:

(i)   The roll forward of land allocations from 1991 to 1996.

(ii)   The giving of greater emphasis to policies designed to improve employment opportunities.

(iii)   The removal of the concept of 'Main Villages' with respect to service and facility provision and the introduction instead, of a policy supporting rural services and facilities wherever they may be.

(iv)   The introduction of much fuller and more explicit policies on superstores and large shops for bulky goods.

(v)   A revised set of priorities for major transport schemes.

Otherwise policies were largely left unchanged. In addition, since Local Plans were currently in preparation, the review dispensed with the separate sections for the various 'areas' in the County (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

The most important of these changes, as far as rural areas are concerned and the nature and extent of accessibility and disadvantage in them, are the second and third ones listed above, particularly the removal of the Main Village concept.

Thus with regard to employment opportunities, the County Council (1984) continues to support small-scale industrial and commercial development outside main towns, where suitable. However, the revised plan offers greater flexibility where development in villages in concerned. This alteration to the policies appears to be a reflection of the greater emphasis being given, at the time of the review, to small business development and relaxation of public control over development by central government, i.e. national trends in thought. In particular policy R12 states:

"PARTICULAR ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT WILL BE GIVEN TO INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT ON SUITABLE SITES IN VILLAGES NAMED IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AS REQUIRING MORE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITES"

(Shropshire County Council, 1984, p33)

The Council also emphasised therefore its desire to co-ordinate its activities with those of the Development Commission - a reflection of the increasing recognition of the Commission's activities nationally.

With regard to the removal of the 'Main Village' concept the review of the Structure Plan proposed to replace policy 3 (quoted above), with the following policy:

"THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTER OF THE COUTYS RURAL SETTLEMENTS SHOULD BE SAFEGUARDED. THE COUNTY COUNCIL WILL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT PRIORITY IS GIVEN TO ASSISTING THEM TO RETAIN AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, STRENGTHEN THEIR EXISTING ROLE. IN PARTICULAR THE COUNTY COUNCIL WILL, WHERE APPROPRIATE:

(1) DISCOURAGE THE WITHDRAWAL OF KEY SERVICES AND FACILITIES.
(2) SUPPORT THE PROVISION OF LOCALLY NEEDED SERVICES AND FACILITIES THAT ARE NOT CURRENTLY AVAILABLE.
(3) ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITES...
(4) ENCOURAGE THE PROVISION OF SMALL SCALE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN MOST SETTLEMENTS....
(5) RETAIN RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS EXCEPT WHERE THERE ARE OVERRIDING EDUCATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS"

(Shropshire County Council, 1984, p25)

The County Council concluded that the existing policy should be changed, principally because it had not been 'sufficiently successful' in retaining service and facility outlets in rural areas. The Council also however mentioned widespread dissatisfaction with the policy amongst representatives of rural interest groups. This

marks a significant criticism of its own policy by the Council and is a reflection of the general disenchantment being felt throughout many rural areas with key settlement policies - an issue which the case study findings can help shed light on.

The Council suggested that the aims laid down in policy 3, such as discouraging service withdrawal, encouraging the development of local employment opportunities and small-scale housing in most settlements, can be achieved largely through planning controls, advocacy and persuasion (Shropshire County Council, 1984). However, whilst planning controls can restrict development in locations where there is demand for it, they can hardly be expected to generate it where there is not. Advocacy and persuasion seem weak tools for achieving this generation of development, especially when development in small settlements is often accompanied by higher costs to the developer. Furthermore it is doubtful that planning controls, advocacy or persuasion can be successful in discouraging the withdrawal of key services when they have failed to do so in the past. According to the literature (chapter 4), withdrawal of services largely reflects high costs of operation and low turnover in rural areas. This suggests that more direct action may be needed, such as financial support, a boost in usage or a reduction in operating costs, plus in the case of public services, a change in policies supported by government agencies which are largely outside the control of the local authority. Presumably persuasion and advocacy have been used as much as possible in the past to discourage public agencies from withdrawing rural outlets, yet these agencies still favour and carry out centralisation policies. Again these are issues which the case study work can help shed light on.

As for most counties the Council's policy for rural housing was largely unchanged in the draft Structure Plan review. Thus, it suggests that small-scale housing development should normally be permitted in most rural settlements in the County. However, developments involving more than 5 houses (2 in the Green Belt and 'area of special housing control' around Telford), should be permitted only in

settlements named in the Structure Plan, adopted Local Plan, or any supplementary planning guidance statement, and only on sites identified in either such a statement or Local Plan. Thus the proposed policy states:-

"OUTSIDE THE GREEN BELT AND THE AREA OF SPECIAL HOUSING CONTROL AROUND TELFORD HOUSING WILL NORMALLY BE ALLOWED IN RURAL SETTLEMENTS PROVIDED THAT:

(1)   THE DEVELOPMENT CAN BE EASILY AND SATISFACTORILY SERVICED AND PLACES NO UNDUE BURDEN ON EXISTING SERVICES,

AND

(2)   THE DEVELOPMENT IS APPROPRIATE TO THE SCALE AND CHARACTER OF THE SETTLEMENT AND IS ON A SITE WHICH IS CONSIDERED SUITABLE BY THE PLANNING AUTHORITY,

AND

(3)   THE DEVELOPMENT IS LIMITED TO INFILLING OF ONE OR TWO HOUSES OR, WHERE APPROPRIATE TO A GROUP OF THREE TO FIVE HOUSES,

AND

(4)   THE AMOUNT OF LAND RELEASED FOR HOUSING IS CONSISTENT WITH THE GUIDELINES SET OUT IN POLICIES R16 AND R16' (which give figures for each District).

(Shropshire County Council, 1984, p39)

Finally, in line with many other 'shire' county councils, Shropshire County Council maintain their support for essential public transport services; the promotion of non-conventional forms of transport in those rural areas where there is a proven need; and the protection, and where possible enhancement, of the County's landscape and natural environment, with particular priority being given to the AONB and areas defined as of special landscape character (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

This examination of the post-war planning documents and rural policies pursued by Shropshire County Council, shows therefore that the Council have by and large followed the timescales and trends of thought typical of most non-metropolitan county councils. One exception is that they state that in formulating their Structure Plan they considered a dispersal strategy with regard to rural development, and that the final policy pursued represents a compromise between a concentration and a dispersal strategy. In practice however the policy pursued at least in the 1970's was largely one of concentration of development.

This conclusion supports the selection of the county as a focus for research, and suggests that research findings with regard to Shropshire's rural planning policies should have a wider applicability.

6.4   POLICIES FOR FACILITIES AND SERVICES

One of the main basic requirements of rural dwellers identified in this thesis is that of access to facilities and services. As discussed in chapter 4, providers of facilities and services can be divided into public and private operators. Provision by private operators depends primarily on economic considerations in which case planning authorities are generally only able to exert any influence when new development is proposed. Provision of facilities and services by public agencies including local authorities depends less on economic considerations and more on the policies of the individual agency with regard to provision, as controlled by statutory requirements. This division is becoming increasingly blurred however as public agencies become more cost conscious.

As in other counties Shropshire's rural areas have exhibited a general pattern of increasing concentration of facilities and services into urban centres, and decline in rural areas. Broad Structure Plan policies for Shropshire were described in the last section. Briefly, with regard to services and facilities approved Structure Plan policies involve the concentration of new development into larger settlements and give priority to the retention of existing outlets in designated 'Main Villages' which are envisaged as service centers to their surrounding area (Shropshire County Council, 1980b). These Main Villages were selected partly on the basis of the presence in them of 'key' services an facilities. Housing development is recognised to be an important means of supporting rural services.

Evidence of the decline of rural facility outlets in Shropshire whose findings reflect those obtained in other rural areas (chapter 4) is provided by a number of surveys. The County Council based their policies for facilities and services in rural areas on data obtained from a series of surveys of rural facility provision undertaken by them in 1966, 1980 and 1982 (Shropshire County Council 1981a, 1982d). These have been united into a 'Rural Facilities Information System'. The basic procuedure used was one of obtaining existing inventories of

facility provision from the relevant organisations responsible for their provision, backed up by telephone contacts. The distribution of facility outlets was then related to settlement characteristics, such as population size, public transport provision and likely future scale of housing development.

The County Council surveys covered a range of facility types, but (in the case of the two later surveys) concentrated on seven of the eight facilities listed in the Structure Plan as being important to village life : primary school, general store, village hall, doctor's surgery, church, public house, post office. Table 6.4 shows the relatively high percentages of villages in the County without these facilities in 1966 and 1982, but also the high proportion of Main Villages to possess them - a situation typical of many rural areas as discussed in chapter 4.

Although slight differences in methodology exist between the surveys the findings are illuminating. It is apparent that whilst Main Villages have generally retained at least one outlet for each key facility, the proportion of the other villages without a primary school/post office/general store has increased significantly, so that by 1982 27% lacked all 7 'key' facilities. According to the Council's figures the proportion lacking a primary school had risen from 68% in 1966 to as high as 80% by 1982, a post office from 57% to 70%, a general store from 54% to 72%, a church from 37% to 42%, and a pub from 57% to 61%. On the other hand, the proportion with a public house/village hall has remained constant. Regarding other facilities, the number of garages and churches in rural settlements was found to have declined, whilst provision of social facilities, recreation fields, sports clubs and village halls was found to have significantly improved. According to the literature outlined in chapter 4, patterns of facility provision and trends in provision are similar in Shropshire to those exhibited by other counties.

The draft revised Structure Plan however, subsequently acknowledged the failure of the 'Main Village' policy to improve the provision of basic facilities and services, or even to achieve the retention of existing outlets and the failure of

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Main Villages to act as service centres. The policy of having Main Villages as service centres was therefore removed

Table 6.4   Access to Key Facilities

Type of Facility Facility	% Villages Without Facility		No. of Main Villages Without Facility		% of Villages Without Access	% of Popn. Without Access
	1966	1982	1966	1982	1982	1982
Primary School	68	80	0	0	5.7	1.1
Gen. Store	54	72	0	1	5.7	1.1
Village Hall	61	61	0	0	5.4	0.9
Drs. Surgery	-	91	-	6	6.0	1.1
Church	37	42	0	0	3.3	0.7
Pub	57	61	0	0	4.7	0.9
Post Office	57	70	0	1	6.0	1.1
All key Facilities N = 250	21	27	0	0	6.0	1.1

Source: Shropshire County Council (1982a).

from the draft revised plan, and instead a policy favouring the retention of all rural outlets, regardless of location, was put forward (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

Local authorities are of course not only responsible, via their planning departments, for controlling development of facilities and services. In addition they are major providers and in this respect Shropshire County Council is no exception. The estimated total expenditure by Shropshire's local authorities on services for 1983-4 was £136,749,000 or £357.05 per head of population (Chartered Institute of

Public Finance and Accountancy, 1983). Table 6.5 gives the expenditure per head of population on services in the county, in comparison to the total for English non-metropolitan counties, and for England and Wales as a whole. Thus Shropshire compares favourably on most types of expenditure per head of population with the average for English non-metropolitan counties, but unfavourably to England and Wales as a whole. This does not however indicate the level of services provided, since Shropshire, because of its highly rural character (and therefore more dispersed population distribution), may be expected to face higher costs for providing a particular level of service, than other counties. However, given that Shropshire County Council does spend an above average amount per head on facilities and services, any difficulties experienced with regard to access to them are likely to be more than repeated in other rural areas.

Wide variations exist between the districts of Shropshire in expenditure per head on services, and the same qualification must be made when these levels of expenditure are considered (Table 6.6). In theory if one accepts that local authority services will cost more to provide in rural than urban areas generally, then one might anticipate that expenditure per head of population would be higher in more rural Districts. However, according to the information quoted by the Chartererd Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (1983), if the Districts are ranked according to their estimated expenditure per head 1983/4, the more rural Districts of Shropshire rank second (South Shropshire), third (Oswestry) and fifth (North Shropshire). On this basis it would appear that the quality of service being provided in the rural areas of Shropshire (as in other rural areas), is likely to be below that being provided in more urbanised areas of the county.

Policies of public agencies which provide facilities and services in Shropshire have, like private operators, tended to favour concentration into larger, generally centralised units. These policies have therefore been similar to those pursued by government agencies in other parts of rural England. Shropshire's Local

Table 6.5   Estimated Expenditure per Head   1983-4

Type of Expenditure	Expenditure per Head £		
	Shropshire	English Non-Metropolitan Counties.	England and Wales
Education	189.64	191.79	209.97
School meals, milk, etc.	7.83	7.28	8.81
Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries	5.46	5.68	7.87
Personal Social Services	26.73	34.10	45.40
Police	37.33	37.43	48.41
Fire	9.04	9.36	10.96
Administration of Justice	4.64	4.78	5.81
Highways and Local Transport	26.89	26.14	30.17
Housing (other than HRA)	8.43	0.01	10.01
Refuse Collection and Disposal	8.67	3.30	12.57
Environmental Health	4.78	0.05	6.85
Pools, Sports and Recreation Centres	4.91	0.08	6.15
Parks and Open Spaces	2.91	0.51	7.91
Town and Country Planning	7.30	2.06	8.75
Cemetaries and Crematoria	0.35	-	0.86
Cost of Rate Collection	2.43	-	3.33
Unallocated General Administration	0.40	0.52	3.86
Other Services	9.31	4.63	13.81
Total Expenditure on Services Per Head	357.05	327.72	441.50
Total Expenditure on Services £000	136,749	9,440,191	21,915,585

Source: Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (1983).

Table 6.6   Estimated Total Expenditure and Expenditure Per Head
             1983-4   for Districts in Shropshire.

District/County	Total Estimated Expenditure on Services £	Estimated Expenditure Per Head £
Bridgnorth District	1,401,000	27.90
North Shropshire District	2,060,000	40.01
Oswestry District	1,335,000	43.07
Shrewsbury and Atcham District	3,575,000	40.53
South Shropshire District	1,524,000	44.03
Wrekin District	7,157,000	56.14
All Districts	17,052,000	44.53
County Area Total (i.e. County & District Councils)	£136,749,000	357.05

Source: Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy   (1983).

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Education Authority has therefore favoured primary school rationalisation, and the closure of schools with less than three full-time teachers, in line with national standards (Shropshire County Council, 1977a).Other statutory facility providers have also followed the policy of rationalising rural services, and concentrating services into urban outlets, in line with national policies. Shropshire Area Health Authority has therefore favoured concentration of provision of hospital services into Shrewsbury and Telford with small cottage hospitals being closed because they have old facilities, provide only limited services, have an inadequate catchment population, and involve resource and capital under-utilisation. With regard to other health services, the trend towards centralisation has to some extent been halted, as the importance of local services has been recognised. Thus policies for provision of medical services in Shropshire have been similar to those in other mainly rural counties (chapter 2). Few social services facilities e.g. homes, rehabilitation centres, have been provided in rural areas, since policies have always favoured centralisation of these (Shropshire County Council, 1977c).

In a limited number of cases however, as discussed in Chapter 2, agencies are required by statute, to provide a basic service to all households, e.g. postal deliveries. Policies of agencies in these cases, have therefore focussed on ways of reducing costs of provision in Shropshire. These are not the particular concern of this thesis however.

In recent years the Community Council of Shropshire has become involved in attempts to maintain services in rural areas, generally through the provision of support and advice. In particular it has been active in offering support and advice for the retention of village shops and the renovation and building of village halls, with in the latter case financial support for the building work coming from the Department of Education and Science and County Council (Community Council of Shropshire, 1979a). It has also provided support for Shropshire Playing Fields Association which has done much to promote the provision of playing fields

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in the County. Finally it has provided advice to rural communities, with the help of NCVO, on the opposition of closure of publically - provided facilities, such as village schools and post offices.

Of course as far as rural dwellers are concerned it is not the availability of facilities and services which is important as much as the accessibility which rural dwellers have to outlets. The studies mentioned above which were conducted by the County Council took this issue into account, and considered not only availability therefore but also albeit in a rather simplistic manner, access to other settlements for those people living in villages which did not possess each of the key facilities. Thus the number of villages (and their population) which lacked access to key facilities (in the settlement or in a settlement which could be reached by public transport) was calculated. The results obtained for 1982 are shown in Table 6.4. According to these figures between 3 and 6% of villages lacked 'access' to 'key' facilities, the proportion being as follows : church 3.3%, pub 4.7%, village hall 5.4%, primary school 5.7%, general store 5.7%, doctor's surgery 6%, post office 6%. Overall 6% of the 250 rural settlements studied lacked 'access' to all of these 'key' facilities, although the percentage of the population studied which lacked 'access' was only 1.1%.

With respect to provision of facilities and services, and the relevant policies pursued by public organisations, Shropshire would appear to typify most rurl areas of England. Increased centralisation of publically and privately provided outlets has been occurring in the county, with voluntary organisations trying to stem the closures and lessen the resulting difficulties for less mobile residents.

6.5 EMPLOYMENT POLICIES IN SHROPSHIRE

6.5.1 Economic and Employment Structures in Shropshire

A second basic requirement for rural dwellers identified in this thesis is that of employment. A number of factors related to the economic and employment structures of Shropshire were therefore considered in its selection for study (Table 5.1). In particular, examination of available data showed that by national and regional standards the economic and employment structures of Shropshire, like those of many predominantely rural counties, are dominated by the service sector, especially where female employment is concerned. Thus according to the 1981 census 57.5% persons aged 16 and over in employment in Shropshire were working in service industries, compared to 50.3% in England. Agriculture is also relatively important, particularly for men. Thus according to the census 9.5% of persons aged 16 and over in employment in Shropshire worked in the primary industries, compared to only 6.5% in England. Manufacturing therefore provides a low proportion of jobs (25.2% compared to 32.5% for England at the 1981 census. In addition, these tend to be concentrated into a few firms.

Major structural changes are recognised to have occurred in recent decades to Shropshire's economy including the decline of employment provided by the primary industries and certain services (transport, communications, public administration and defence), and the growth of employment in other service sectors, such as banking, insurance and finance, and professional and scientific services (Shropshire County Council 1977c).

Thus four main weaknesses can be identified in relation to Shropshire's economy, which create problems for the rural population in particular (Shropshire County Council, 1977c) :

a) the small size and limited range of the manufacturing sector;

b) the concentration of manufacturing employment into a small number of large firms;

c) the decline of employment in certain sectors, notably agriculture;

d) reduced employment growth prospects, particularly for key service sectors.

According to the literature these are typical of the problems faced by many rural areas of England in recent years.

In addition, population growth in the county in the 1970's, and increased female economic activity rates, have generated a major demand for new jobs in the county (Shropshire County Council, 1982b). Partly as a result of these changes, Shropshire has exhibited a pattern of employment problems in recent years, typical of many more rural counties including net out-commuting, low wages and high and rising unemployment rates. For example, unemployment rates for Shropshire at the 1981 census were 9.1% (male 10.3, female 6.9) compared to 8.5% (male 9.9, female 6.3)for England.

Another problem which has been identified in relation to employment in Shropshire is that of transport to work. Again this has been identified as a problem which affects access to jobs in many rural areas (chapter 4). According to the 1981 census 56.6% of workers in Shropshire travelled to work by car, compared to 50.9% for England. By contrast only 8.2% used public transport compared to 21.6% nationally.

On the basis of this examination of the available information relating to the economic and employment structures of Shropshire, it would appear that the county is experiencing many of the problems identified in chapter 4 as occurring throughout rural England. Findings of the case study work with regard to economic and employment-related problems should therefore be relevant to most rural areas of England.

6.5.2   Economic and Employment Policies for Shropshire

As discussed in chapter 2, agriculture in Britain occupies a privileged position with regard to government support in Whitehall and considerable financial

aid is made available to farmers in LFA's, in an attempt to boost their income and ensure that the areas maintain production. The majority of Shorpshire's land surface is classified as agricultural land - one of the main reasons for its selection as a county for study. As in the country as a whole half the agricultural land in the county is classified as grade 3 land, although compared to England and Wales Shropshire has no grade 1 land, and slightly above average percentages of the poorest quality land (as shown in Table 6.7). With regard to LFA designation various parts of the county are so designated, and therefore qualify for a high level of agricultural support. An interesting aspect of the case study work is therefore the examination of the presence or not of any forms of disadvantage amongst farm households studied.

Table 6.7   Classification of Agricultural Land

	Grade 1 %	Grade 2 %	Grade 3 %	Grade 4 %	Grade 5 %
Shropshire	0.0	19.5	55.2	19.7	5.6
West Midlands	1.2	19.8	59.4	16.6	3.0
England and Wales	2.8	14.6	48.9	19.8	13.9

Source : Shropshire County Council (1977c).

The main policies for manufacturing industry in rural areas are those put forward by local authorities, the Development Commission, and to a lesser extent the Department of Trade and Industry (as discussed in chapter 2). An examination of the policies put forward by these agencies shows that they are to a large extent typical of those put forward for many largely rural counties. Local authority policies for Shropshire have been discussed in section 6.3. These were formulated with reference to national and regional policies for economic growth. In the 1970's these regional policies involved those put forward in the Regional Strategy for the West

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Midlands production by the West Midlands Economic Planning Council and Planning Authority in 1974, and subsequently updated in 1979. The 1979 publication for example envisaged a shift in the main economic problem for the region, from chanelling growth into selected locations to re-generating growth, with an anticipated increase in labour supply by 1991 of 165,000 - 250,000 and a structural decline in the manufacturing industry base.

The aims of the updated strategy were therefore to regenerate the region's economy, regenerate the older urban areas, and make the best use of limited resources. The strategy envisaged three rings in the region - the inner urban centre, a middle ring, and an outer ring (which includes Bridgnorth and Wrekin Districts of Shropshire), plus the 'Rural West' (which includes the west of Shropshire). The strategy supported industrial develoment in the middle ring, and an inter-dependence between the inner areas and this middle ring. The Economic Planning Council has since been disbanded, but their policies were considered in the formulation of Structure Plan policies.

In recognition of the problems being experienced by Shropshire's residents in obtaining access to job opportunities, Shropshire Coutny Council (1980, 1984b) have adopted a range of policies designed to give support to the promotion of opportunities in the county. In particular, they have focussed attention on those areas which are likely to experience continuing employment problems. As discussed in section 6.3, since the mid 1970's the Council's stated policy is that industrial (and commercial) development should normally be located in the 13 main towns in the county - a policy which appears to discriminate against people living in rural areas who do not have easy access to these towns. However, in recognition of the serious employment problems of the county's rural areas, the draft revised Structure Plan (Shropshire County Council 1984) proposes greater flexibility towards industrial development in villages named in Rural Development Programmes as requiring more employment opportunities (in line with central

goverment thought in the early 1980's). Shropshire's local authorities therefore show awareness of the severity of rural employment problems, and of the necessity of co-ordinating planning policies with those of other agencies.

Another key factor in the decision to study Shropshire was the extent to which the Development Commission had become involved in the county. A review of the literature identifed Development Commission activities as being an important factor in generating rural job opportunities in manufacturing (their basic aim) and worthy therefore of examination. The Development Commission discusses its involvement in Shropshire in its fortieth report (Development Commission, 1982). Until 1975 the Commission's support only included grants to the Community Council and aid via CoSIRA. After 1975 however, thanks to a new remit, the Commission began a programme of small factory building and limited assistance for housing for workers. Between 1975 and 1982 the Commission completed 103, 800 square feet of factory space in Shropshire and had approved a further 109,000 square feet. Eight hundred jobs had been provided by April 1982, and the grants/advances approved from the Development Fund amounted to £703,503 in 1981-2 (the second largest amount, by county, in the country).

Figure 6.5 shows the location of Shropshire's advance factories and Special Investment Areas, at the time of the case study work. These differ to some extent from the new Rural Development Areas. As this figure shows, a number of areas of Shropshire were eligible for Development Commission aid, including both case study areas, however the basic policy was to concentrate action on larger key settlements and market towns in line with local authorities policies. The types of work undertaken by the Development Commission and associated agencies are generally typical of those undertaken in many rural areas, although a number of more innovative pioneering projects have been tested in the county. As such therefore the county provides an interesting area in which to examine the Commission's activities, and the findings of the examination should be of relevance

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Figure 6.5 Development Commission priority areas:

Shropshire 1982

Source: Development
Commission (1982)

to other counties where such projects may have been undertaken, or are being considered.

In addition to aid provided by the Development Commission to certain rural areas in Shropshire, aid has also been available to Telford New Town which has been developed for the purpose of accepting the overspill population of the West Midlands conurbation. Since its designation various incentives have been available to employers in/moving to the town, in an attempt to attract employment. The areas chosen for case study work within Shropshire were however carefully selected so as not to be unduly affected by the proximity of the New Town - a factor which could have reduced the degree to which findings could be applied to other counties. Finally, Shropshire Employment Promotion Association acts to support employment opportunities in the county, although its effect on rural areas appears limited.

No area of Shropshire was therefore eligible for aid under the Assisted Area Scheme, although part of north-west Shropshire had previously been. In 1979 north-west Shropshire had Intermediate Area status, as had the part of Cheshire adjoining North Shropshire, whilst the area of Wales adjoining western Shropshire had Development Area status (Welsh Development Area). By 1982 this had changed and no area of Shropshire was eligible for aid as an Assisted Area, although those parts of Clwyd adjoining Shropshire were still. Again this situation resembles that in many of the more rural counties of England (chapter 2).

6.6 HOUSING POLICIES IN SHROPSHIRE

6.6.1 The Housing Stock in Shropshire

Since another of the basic requirements identified in this thesis is that of access to housing, a further factor taken into account when selecting Shropshire as a county for study was the size and quality of its housing stock and the tenure pattern. The census in particular, provides reasonably reliable evidence regarding the quality and tenure structure of the housing stock; data which has often been used in social indicator studies of disadvantage, in the belief that poor housing quality and certain types of accommodation, are associated with wider aspects of disadvantage (chapter 4). For this reason available information regarding the housing stock was considered carefully, prior to the case study work. The picture obtained showed Shropshire's housing stock to be similar in many respects to that in other more rural counties, with certain rural areas apparently having a high incidence of housing disadvantage, as indicated by available data. Results obtained should have a wider application therefore.

According to the Structure Plan the county's housing stock has increased substantially in post-war years, especially in the area around Telford (Shropshire County Council, 1980b). However, South Shropshire District has exhibited a rate of growth well below the rest of the county. Size of dwellings and the vacancy rate in the county are thought to have increased gradually during this period, whilst average household size has tended to decrease so counteracting the apparent growth in housing availability.

Examination of the tenure structure of accommodation recorded for the county at the 1981 census in comparison to the national structure (for England) shows that, at that time, Shropshire had a comparatively low proportion of households living in owner-occupied accommodation, and high proportion in accommodation rented from the council or new town. The proportion renting from a public organisation is however boosted by the presence of Telford in the county.

Table 6.8   Percentage of Private Households by Tenure, 1981

Area	Owner-occupied	Rented from council or new town	Other rented	TOTAL
England	57.8	28.9	13.3	100.0
Shropshire	54.6	32.1	13.3	100.0
Shropshire excluding Wrekin District*	59.5	23.7	16.7.	99.9

Source : 1981 Census

* Includes Telford

Moving on to consider housing density, in terms of persons per room Shropshire had a low percentage of households living at over 1.5 persons per room in 1981 (0.3%) compared to levels in England as a whole (0.6%). This is typical of many more rural counties, as described in chapter 4, and highlights the pitfall associated with using this variable as an indicator of disadvantage in studies involving a comparison of metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. Poor housing standards are however a problem within the county. Thus at the 1981 Census 2.0% of households in Shropshire lacked a bath and inside W.C., compared to 1.3% nationally, although the incidence of households lacking such amenities was considerably higher in some, generally more remote parts of the county.

6.6.2   Policies for Housing in Shropshire

The main policies put forward by central and local government for housing were outlined in chapter 2. In recent years these have involved the control of the location of housing development by local planning authorities, and direct control over public housing by District Councils. In addition a range of initiatives

have been introduced by local authorities, government agencies, voluntary organisations and private developers to provide particular types of dwelling and to ease specific rural housing problems, such as the decline and lack of rented accommodation.

Shropshire illustrates well the range of problems which rural areas generally face, and many of the policies and solutions which have been tried. The county includes areas which exhibit virtually every possible combination of high/low incidence of housing problems, demand/lack of demand from commuters/holiday and second home owners, and involvement/non-involvement of organisations such as the Development Commission, Housing Corporation, etc. It therefore provides an excellent example of the ways in which planners have to formulate policies flexible enough to cope with widely diverging situations within a single county.

The planning policies used for housing development in Shropshire were outlined in section 6.3. These have involved the concentration of development into the larger towns, with remaining development being channelled into selected villages. In the Structure Plan these villages were generally, but not always, 'Main Villages' for service provision. The Structure Plan however also supported the development of suitable, small-scale housing projects in all villages, on the grounds that these would meet local needs and provide support for existing facilities (Shropshire County Council, 1977b, 1980b). The policy is typical of that pursued in many non-metropolitan counties (chapter 4).

By 1982 the County Council was able to conclude, as a result of its monitoring process, that house building in the county was averaging 2,400 houses per annum, and proceeding at roughly the rate outlined in the Structure Plan. However, compared to allocated levels of building, Telford and Shrewsbury had exhibited a shortfall and South Shropshire District had exceeded its allocation by roughly 1300 houses (Shropshire County Council, 1982b). It would appear from Council figures therefore that the Structure Plan policies are attempting to restrain

housing development, but failing to some extent in certain areas, notably South Shropshire.

Moving on to consider location of development at a smaller scale, as mentioned earlier the County Council's policies favour the concentration of any development involving more than five houses into 'Main Housing Villages' (also termed Policy 14 villages). Again according to figures supplied by Shropshire County Council (1982b) it is clear that the local authorities have not been totally successful in restricting such development to the locations they have defined as suitable. As shown in Table 6.9 45 planning applications were granted for groups of six plus houses between 1978 and 1982 in villages not named as suitable for such development.

Shropshire's housing policies seem likely to have a number of detrimental effects on the county's rural population. Firstly by restricting development they constrain the supply of housing, which is likely to inflate prices to the detriment of the less affluent in terms of access to the housing market. Secondly, by applying the policy inconsistently they allow too large a scale of housing development to occur in certain villages which is likely to cause a breakdown in social cohesion. Both effects are likely to cause resentment from rural dwellers towards the policies, which may itself reduce the degree of success achieved in implementing them. Obviously these are issues which the case study work can help to shed light on.

Table 6.9

Permission for More Than Five Houses

Granted Outside Policy 14 Village, 1978-1982

| District | Permitted | |
	Applications	Houses
Bridgnorth	17	220
North Shropshire	9	132
Oswestry	6	75
Shrewsbury	5	103
South Shropshire	6	145
Wrekin	2	16
Shropshire	45	691

Source: Shropshire County Council (1982b).

6.7　　　RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN SHROPSHIRE

In addition to its other work the Development Commission, via the Community Council of Shropshire, has shown concern for community life in Shropshire. As a result of this concern it has undertaken or supported various initiatives in the county which have been designed to boost aspects of community life in rural Shropshire, some of which are similar to those undertaken in other counties by RCC's, and others of which are not. These initiatives have included:

a) North Shropshire Community Development Project. This incuded a study which highlighted problems faced by residents in North Shropshire, such as isolation, plus lack of housing for adult children of rural residents, difficulties in getting to doctors and hospitals etc. This study led to the introduction of various new schemes, including a number of experimental projects in community development organised by a special field officer (Community Council of Shropshire 1983 and personal communication with the field officer).

b) Good Neighbour Scheme.

c) Local Representatives. One innovative scheme introduced by the RCC has been a referral service for people seeking information in rural areas of Shropshire (personal communications with area and local representatives). 'Local representatives' are voluntary workers who act as a referral point and provide information for people in the rural areas. Area representatives offer them support and the scheme is organised by the Community Council.

d) Countryside Officer. This officer organises and promotes various of the Community Council's projects e.g. village ventures, holiday play scheme.

e) Support for various voluntary organisations. This has included support for Shropshire Association of Parish and Town Councils (1980), Shropshire Playing Fields Association (1980), and a number of volunteer bureau (which co-ordinate voluntary activities).

f) Encouragement of liaison between voluntary organisations and representations of

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rural interests. To these initiatives must be added the work of Shropshire's Rural Community Council to promote provision of 'social' facilities, notably village halls and sports facilities, as described in section 6.4.

In Shropshire therefore, as in other counties, the RCC has been active in encouraging, organising and advising on rural community development. Its use of a study in North Shropshire, followed up by a project and the appointment of a field officer was innovative, as is its use of an advisory referral scheme in rural areas. Findings with respect to its activities should therefore be of interest to other counties.

6.8   POLICIES FOR PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN SHROPSHIRE

6.8.1   The Availability of Public Transport in Shropshire

The fifth basic requirement of people identified in this thesis is that of travel. Shropshire lies on two major routes - one from the West Midlands to North Wales, and the other from Merseyside and Manchester to South Wales (Figure 6.2). Rail services link Shrewsbury to Wolverhampton, with other lines providing connections to Crewe, Chester, Aberystwyth and South Wales (Figure 6.6). Few rural areas are served however. As in other counties rural bus services have been severely cut back in recent years, and this decline is expected to continue (Shropshire County Council, 1977b). Many parishes are now without a daily service (Figure 6.6), leaving the population increasingly reliant on private transport.

As part of their survey of rural facilities Shropshire County Council (1981b) examined the provision of public transport in rural Shropshire. The study found that in 1980 only 14% of villages had no public transport service, and that these were mostly small, accounting for 3% of the population of the villages surveyed. Half of the settlements, accounting for (85% of the population surveyed), had a daily bus service (Table 6.10). This survey also found that one quarter of the villages in the county had a daily service available suitable for a journey to work in Shrewsbury, which was by far the most accessible town. However 290 villages had no journey to work service (19% of the population surveyed). Levels of bus service provision varied between the District, with South Shropshire being particularly badly served, and North Shropshire, Oswestry and Wrekin best served.

The survey of rural facilities undertaken by the County Council (1981b) found that the number of Voluntary Car Schemes (VCS) in the county was increasing, with North and South Shropshire being best served (58% and 75% of villages served respectively). The VCS is the main unconventional form of transport supported by the County Council, it being run by the RCC as agents to the County Council. Figures for the period April to December 1984 show the average monthly

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Figure 6.6   Public Transport Services in Shropshire

1985

Source: Shropshire
County Council (1985)

number of trips being made by VCS in the county as 1351, and passengers carried as 2156. During the same period roughly 32,000 miles were covered per month on average. Total operating costs for the 9 month period were £55,748, with 33.7% of these being met by passenger contributions (Shropshire County Council, 1985). The total cost of the scheme to the County Council is not therefore high compared to the benefits in terms of number of trips made - in total averaging a cost of £3 to the Council per trip made ,which is cheap if one considers its flexibility and the cost of running a bus service which carries only a few passengers. The types of trip which can be made by VCS are however rather narrow. For example according to Shropshire County Council (1985) trips to hospital for treatment accounted for 41% of the trips made by VCS in 1984, with most others involving some other form of medical trip (doctor/optician 11%, prescriptions 2%, other medical 8%). Trips to the bank/shopping accounted for only 5% and visiting 12% (23% unclassified).

Table 6.10 Levels of Public Bus Service - 1980

District	% Villages with No Public Transport	% Villages with a Daily Service
Bridgnorth	18	55
North Shropshire	4	56
Oswestry	5	66
Shrewsbury	15	67
South Shropshire	c33	c33
Wrekin	7	51
TOTAL	18 (N=77)	56 (N=317)
Population in These Settlements	3% of popn.	85.1% of popn.

Source: Shropshire County Council (1981).

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Perhaps as a result of low public transport levels, car ownership levels in Shropshire have tended to be above the national and regional average, particularly in rural areas of the county. Overall in the county, at the 1981 census 30% of households had no car, compared to 38.6% for England as a whole. The proportion of persons in households with no car was similarly low - 22.3% for Shropshire, compared to 30.2% for England. This situation is widely accepted as being typical of rural areas in England (chapter 4).

The pattern exhibited by Shropshire is therefore one of low, declining levels of public transport except on urban and inter-urban routes and above average levels of private vehicle ownership by national standards, and of provision of a limited range of innovative schemes. This is very similar to that pattern described in the literature as typical of most rural areas in England today (chapter 4), and since the issues involved are crucial to the accessibility experienced by rural residents, research findings with regard to the problems created should be of particular interest, and applicable to many other areas of rural England.

6.8.2   Current Transport Policies for Shropshire

Like many other County Councils, Shropshire County Council spend a considerable sum of money on supporting public transport in the county. Estimates for 1985-6 put the figure at £859,000, allocated as follows: NBC subsidiaries £672,000, independent operators £130,000, VCS £52,000, and publicity and experiments £5,000 (Shropshire County Council, 1985). Even so, as discussed above, the general trend which has occurred throughout rural Britain, of withdrawal of uneconomic public transport services (chapter 4) has occurred in Shropshire. The County Council's rural transport policies have focussed on the continuing of support for essential but generally uneconomic public transport services, and the encouragement of non-conventional forms of transport where conventional services are 'unable to solve accessibility problems because of high costs or unsuitability of

roads' (Shropshire County Council, 1985). Where cuts to public bus services have been inevitable, the Council has sought to rationalise rather than withdraw services altogether (personal communication with County Council transport research group).

The approved Structure Plan (Shropshire County Council, 1980b) policies for public transport in Shropshire's rural areas are therefore as follows:

'IN RURAL AREAS, THE COUNTY COUNCIL WILL SEEK TO ENSURE, BY PROMOTING IMPROVEMENTS IN OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY AND WHERE NECESSARY AND FEASIBLE BY THE PROVISION OF SUBSIDIES, THAT ESSENTIAL SERVICES ARE MAINTAINED. PRIORITY WILL BE GIVEN TO MAINTAINING SERVICES WHICH:

(1)   LINK 'MAIN VILLAGES' TO THE NEAREST TOWN.

(2)   ARE LOCALLY IMPORTANT.

(3)   CARRY A LARGE NUMBER OF SCHOOL CHILDREN WHO WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE TO BE CARRIED BY AN ALTERNATIVE SERVICE PROVIDED BY THE COUNTY COUNCIL.

(4)   ARE LIKELY TO IMPROVE AS A RESULT OF ECONOMIES ALREADY ACHIEVED OR PROPOSALS FOR NEW DEVELOPMENT.

(Shropshire County Council, 1980b)

The County Council therefore give emphasis to links between Main Villages and towns. Removal of the Main Village concept with regard to facilities in the first alteration to the Plan (Shropshire County Concil, 1984) has obviously led to the proposal of certain changes to the policy. Thus it is proposed at the time of writing that the priority given previously to services which 'link Main Villages to the nearest town' should be changed to giving priority to services which 'provide important journey to work services' (Shropshire County Council, 1985). This covers far fewer rural services since only a minority of existing services could be considered journey to work services.

The County Council implements its rural transport policies by designation of an 'approved rural bus network'. The County Council's aim in designating the approved network is to provide a means for:

"a) Evaluating the social need for public transport throughout the County.
b) Determining the level and distribution of subsidies to retain or establish 'approved routes".

(Shropshire County Council, 1985, p9)

The County Council believe that the application of an approved rural network ensures that it receives 'value for money' from its expenditure on public transport, whilst 'meeting the needs of the whole County' and 'maintaining a consistent approach to financial support for services between different areas' (Shropshire County Council, 1985). Economic issues are thus given some importance by the Council where provision of public transport is concerned - a reflection of the increasing pressure being put on them by central government to cut costs.

The Council defines the approved network with reference to a series of objectives, as follows:

(i)   To maximise accessibility to work.   )peak
(ii) To integrate contract and stage carriage services for school)services
      transport.   )

(iii) To maximise accessibility to centrally provided facilities.   )off-peak
(iv) To maximise accessibility to locally provided facilities.   )services

(v)   To implement Structure Plan policies (notably the
      requirement for maintaining adequate public transport links
      between main villages and towns.....)
(vi) To take account, where possible, of the distribution of
      benefits in terms of service and subsidy to different social
      groups.

(Shropshire County Council, 1985, p14)

The Council suggest that the basic peak network should meet two criteria : services should have a revenue/cost ratio of not less than 70% and should link together villages with towns, or towns with other towns, with particular emphasis on Main Villages. The Council determine the 'approved network' by first examining the current level of access in relation to a set of 'accessibility standards' for villages. They then determine ways of improving the efficiency of routes without breaching these 'accessibility standards' and make recommendations for route and timetable changes, taking into account the operational feasibility of the recommendations and the financial and social costs/benefits.

The 'accessibility standards' for each village are defined in terms of nine key activities which should be accessible at peak and off-peak times:

(i) Peak - employment centre, primary and secondary school.

(ii) Off-peak-grocery shop, post office, doctor's surgery, chemist, market town and sub-regional centre.

The standards for each activity are then defined by the number of days when access should be possible , and the length of time people should be able to spend at the destination. For example, the Council suggest that Main Villages should have access to primary and secondary schools 5 days/week, an employment centre, grocers, post office, doctor's surgery, chemist and market town 6 days/week and sub-regional centre 1/week. By contrast villages with less than 50 population are allocated a standard of access to primary and secondary schools 5 days/week, to a market town once a week, and to a sub-regional centre once a fortnight (Shropshire County Council, 1985). Timetables are designed to provide the following length of time at the facilities:

Post Office	- $^1/_2$ hour
Chemist, grocery shop	- 1 hour
Doctor's surgery	- 1 to $1^1/_2$ hours
Market town	- 2 to 3 hours
Sub-regional centre	- 3 to 5 hours

However, it is recognised by the County Council that where services are infrequent, multi-purpose trips will be necessary, with a minimum of 2 hours at a market town being 'desireable'. The Council also try to devise timetables to fit hospital visiting times and connect with rail services.

The County Council are therefore able to compare each year the existing bus services and facility provision in all the county's villages with their accessibility standards. They then recommend adjustments to service levels, in order to try to ensure that these standards are met for each settlement. Financial performances of routes are also taken into account. The Council focus attention on services which

draw less than 10 passengers for the total journey, and examine the effects of withdrawal on operations and accessibility. The accessibility standards do not take account of the necessity of evening or Sunday Services, although the Council recognise the case for retaining the better used of these on social grounds.

In their current Public Transport Plan Shropshire County Council outline the implications of the Transport Bill published in January 1985 for the County (Shropshire County Council, 1985). They identify the most important change as their loss of an overall co-ordinating role for public transport, with the County Council only being able to exert direct influence over services which would not be operated without a subsidy. The Bill states that after 9 months any services which operators have not agreed to run without a subsidy will be subjected to competitive tendering. At the time of writing therefore the effects of the ensuing Act of Parliament have yet to be seen, but the County Council appear as concerned about its effects as many others.

6.9 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE CHAPTER

To conclude, the County of Shropshire appears, on the basis of information available from the literature, to be reasonably representative of many largely rural counties in England, with respect to the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced by the rural population and the policies pursued with a view to alleviating these. According to the examination of the policies for rural areas pursued by Shropshire County Council provided in this chapter, the Council have, by and large, followed the timescales and trends of thought typical of most non-metropolitan county councils. One exception is that the County Council considered a dispersal strategy when formulating Structure Plan policies, with regard to rural development, and in the end supported a compromise between a dispersal and concentration policy. In practice however, the policy pursued under both the Development and Structure Plans, has largely been one of concentration of development, with only small-scale development generally being allowed outside selected 'Main Villages'; a situation typical of most counties.

The County Council's policies have certain implications for the accessibility of rural dwellers, and particularly for those who live outside the settlements selected for development, since concentration policies reduce the number of settlements in which opportunities are to be found. For example, according to the literature, facility and service outlets in Shropshire have become increasingly concentrated into larger settlements. Again this trend has been repeated throughout rural England, with voluntary organisations such as the rural community councils, trying to stem the closures and lessen the resulting difficulties.

Shropshire was also found to typify more rural counties of England with respect to its economic and employment structures and policies pursued. The economy is unbalanced, and as a result vulnerable, with manufacturing providing only a low proportion of jobs, particularly in rural parts of the county. Agriculture is an important source of male employment in rural areas, but the county is heavily

dependent on jobs in the service sector, notably for female employment, which can be unstable, e.g. in tourism. As in most parts of the country, unemployment became an increasing problem in the late 1970's. Transport to work is also identified as a problem for some rural dwellers in the county. Support to rural industry has focussed on support to agriculture, plus to a lesser extent small-scale manufacturing industry via the Development Commission and English Industrial Estates. Indeed Shropshire has been one of the counties at the forefront of the Commission's activities.

A number of parts of rural Shropshire have been subject to high pressure for housing development, notably those within commuting distance of the West Midlands and Potteries, and the more scenic areas. Planning policies have attempted to restrict housing development to set targets, and to concentrate development into selected settlements, with partial success. Again, this pattern is one which has been repeated in many non-metropolitan counties, with local authorities at times apparently lacking the tools needed to control or encourage development against market forces. Obviously any control over development can act to restrict people's access to housing, but can also offer benefits to communities which are protected from being swamped with developments. The case study work helps shed light on the effects of relatively large-scale estate development on villages, and the extent to which in-migrants support local facilities and activities.

Turning to consider community aspects, as in other counties the Rural Community Council have been active in promoting community development, e.g. through support for village hall development. Finally, the literature suggests that in Shropshire, as in other counties, rural public transport has been caught in a spiral of declining usage and increasing costs, leading to service withdrawals. Despite support from the County Council, many rural areas of the County now lack a daily service, leaving rural residents heavily dependent of what private means of transport they can afford.

Based on these conclusions it seems reasonable to assume that Shropshire is sufficiently 'typical' of 'rural' counties in England, with regard to the nature and extent of accessibility and disadvantage experienced by its rural residents and the policies pursued in the County with a view to alleviating any accessibility problems and disadvantage, for results obtained form the case study work to apply to other counties besides Shropshire.