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CHAPTER 7
THE CASE STUDIES : DISTRICT AND
PARISH CONTEXT

In the introduction to chapter 6 three basic aims were outlined for chapters 6 and 7, which were as follows:

(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.

(iii) To assess how typical the districts and parishes studied are of Shropshire's rural districts and parishes.

Chapter 6 responded to the first two of these aims, and the chapter outlined the policies which have been pursued at county level, with a view to improving accessibility or alleviating disadvantage, and relevant issues. In addition, the chapter established that Shropshire can be considered fairly typical of many 'rural' counties of England, with respect to the policies pursued in the county and the accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced by some of its rural population.

This chapter goes on to respond to the first and third of the aims stated above. The chapter focusses on the parishes and districts studied and the policies pursued in them, with a view to alleviating accessibility problems and disadvantage. It establishes the extent to which these districts and parishes can be considered typical of the rural parts of Shropshire, with respect to these issues. The structure of the chapter mirrors that used in chapter 6, except for the exclusion of any discussion of community development, for which the main points to be made have been covered in chapter 6. Section 7.2 discusses the settlement pattern and population structure and trends exhibited by North and South Shropshire Districts and the six case study parishes. Section 7.3 goes on to examine the planning policies pursued in these districts and parishes in post-war years. Sections 7.4 to 7.7 then discuss issues relating to facilities/services, employment, housing and transport.

7.2 SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND POPULATION STRUCTURE AND TRENDS

As discussed in chapter 6, two key underlying factors which may have considerable influence over the extent and nature of any accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced, are the settlement pattern and population structure and trends. These issues are discussed below with respect to the districts and parishes studied, in order to set the subsequent examination of policies, accessibility and disadvantage in context.

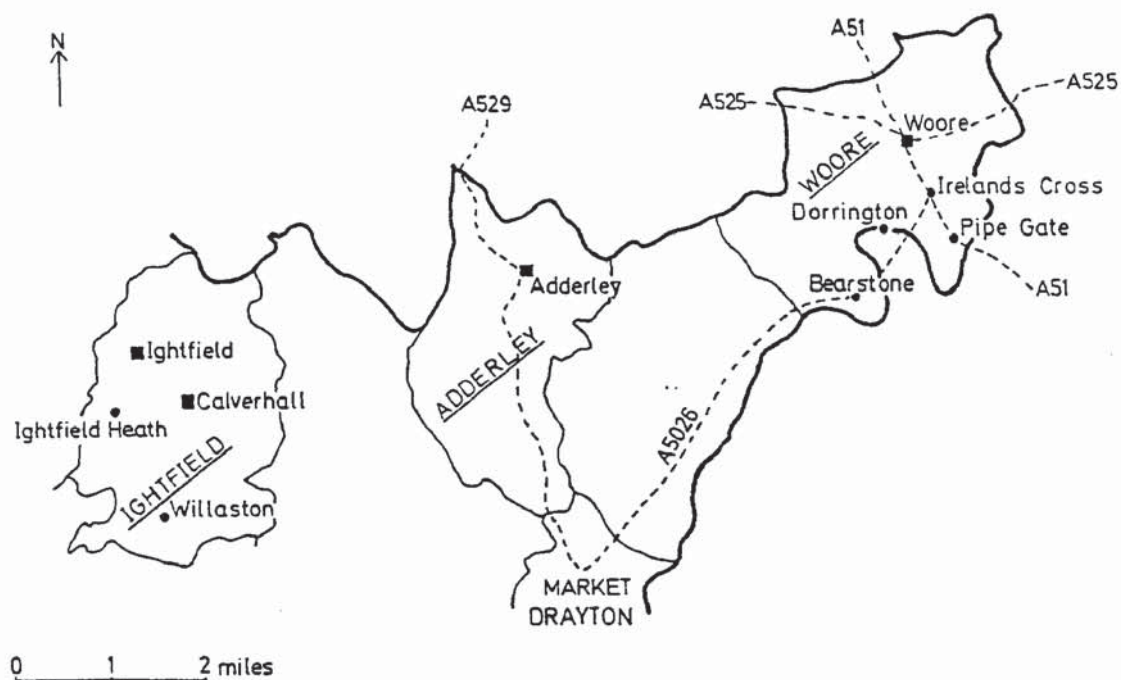
7.2.1 Settlement Pattern in the Areas Studied North Shropshire

The three case study parishes in North Shropshire, which form a part of North Shropshire District, lie on the gently undulating 'northern plain' (Figure 6.1). They are low-lying, with heavy soils as a result of glacial drift. Agriculture in both the District and the case study parishes is therefore dominated by pasture farming, and in particular dairying. The settlement pattern of the District reflects this basis, and consists of four market towns as shown in Figure 6.2 (Ellesmere, Wem, Market Drayton and Whitchurch), plus a wide distribution of villages.

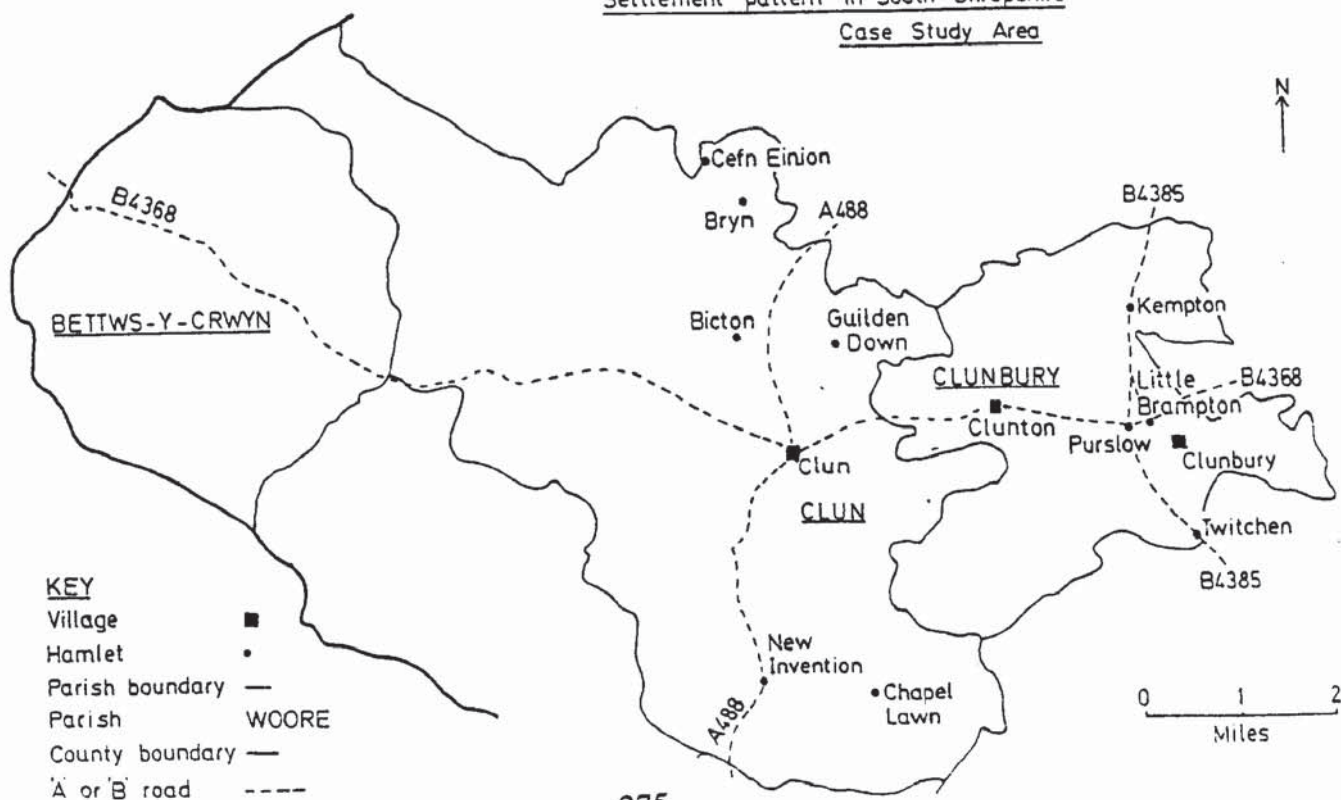
The settlement pattern of the three northern case study parishes is shown in Figure 7.1. Each of these parishes contains one or two villages, plus in two cases, a number of small hamlets (collections of a few houses, with virtually no facility outlet). Detailed maps of the parishes and villages are given in Appendix A. Briefly the Parish of Adderley contains one village (Adderley), which lies on the Market Drayton to Audlem road. The original buildings in this village were sited along the main road, but subsequent development has filled in the gap between the main road and a parallel railway line (now disused). This development has included local authority housing, an estate of twenty 'four-bedroomed' houses and roughly ten 'two-bedroomed' bungalows. Outlying dwellings are mainly on farms or other

Figure 7.1 Settlement patterns in the areas studied

Settlement pattern in North Shropshire Case Study Area



Settlement pattern in South Shropshire Case Study Area



houses associated with agriculture (See Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix A).

Ightfield Parish contains two villages - Ightfield and Calverhall, plus two hamlets and various dispersed farms and houses. Much of the eastern and southern parts, and the dwellings in them are owned by one estate (Cloverley-Shavington). Both villages are built at the meeting point of minor roads, and no 'A' road passes through the Parish (See Figures 3 and 4 in Appendix A). By contrast Woore Parish includes the sizeable 'Main Village' of Woore, which is situated at the strategically important cross-roads of the A51 (Chester - Stone), and A525 (North Wales - Potteries). Considerable housing development has occurred in the village in recent years, including an estate of over forty 'four-bedroomed' houses, and two smaller estates of pensioners bungalows. The Parish also contains four hamlets. Figure A.5 in Appendix A shows the distribution of dwellings in the Parish, whilst Figure A.6 shows the distribution in Woore village.

South Shropshire

By contrast all three case study parishes in South Shropshire, which form part of South Shropshire District, lie within the steep-sided valley of the River Clun (Clun Forest area, in Figure 6.1). Land within each of the parishes varies considerably in height, and agricultural value. In each case, the upper slopes of the valley reach over 400 metres, with the valley floor sloping down to the east, and reaching as low as 250 metres in Bettws-y-Crwyn, 170 metres in Clun, and 140 metres in Clunbury Parishes. Upper parts of the valley are therefore used for upland grazing, and lower-lying areas for pasture land. As in the rest of the area, settlements are few, and mainly located in the valleys. The main settlements generally developed as market towns and administrative centres, with Ludlow being the most important (Shropshire County Council, 1980b). Figure 7.1 shows the settlement pattern in the case study parishes. Detailed maps of the parishes and villages are given in Appendix A.

Briefly Bettws-y-Crwyn Parish (Figure A.7) is unusual in that it has no

nucleated settlement, but consists of dispersed dwellings, which are generally owner-occupied farms and houses. Little housing development has occurred in recent years. Clunbury Parish contains three villages: Clunbury, Clunton and Kempton, plus three hamlets, and various outlying farms and other dwellings. No single landowner predominates, and little housing development has occurred recently in the Parish. Figure 8 and 9 in Appendix A show the pattern of dwellings in the Parish and villages. Finally, the Parish of Clun consists of three Wards, of which Clun Ward was chosen for study, and is referred to subsequently as Clun 'Parish'. The 'Parish' consists of the Main Village of Clun, eight hamlets, and outlying farms and houses (Figure A.12). The village of Clun has been the focus of recent housing development, and in addition has received aid from the Development Commission, in the form of several small advance factories (Figure A.11).

7.2.2 Population Structure and Trends in the Areas Studied

As mentioned earlier, two other important underlying factors to be considered are the size of the population living in the areas studied, and the characteristics exhibited by this population. According to the literature, the incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage is closely related to the age and sex of the persons concerned, whilst overall population size is an important factor in controlling the availability of jobs, facilities/services and transport (since supply at least partly reflects demand).

Population size and density

With regard to population size, at the 1981 census North Shropshire had a population of 50,044 or 0.74 persons per hectare, and South Shropshire of 33,790 or 0.33 persons per hectare - both low population densities by county and national standards. Of the parishes studied Clun (all 3 wards) and Woore had the largest populations, with 1232 and 984 respectively, these both containing Main Villages. The other case study parishes had smaller populations : Clunbury 500,

Ightfield 414, Adderley 327 and Bettws-y-Crwyn 223. Population densities ranged from 0.55 persons per hectare in Woore, to 0.26 and 0.24 in Ightfield and Adderley, 0.16 and 0.15 in Clunbury and Clun and 0.06 in Bettws-y-Crwyn. Thus Woore Parish provided the largest concentration of people out of the six case study parishes and as discussed later, this was reflected in higher availability of facilities/services and transport and wider job opportunities.

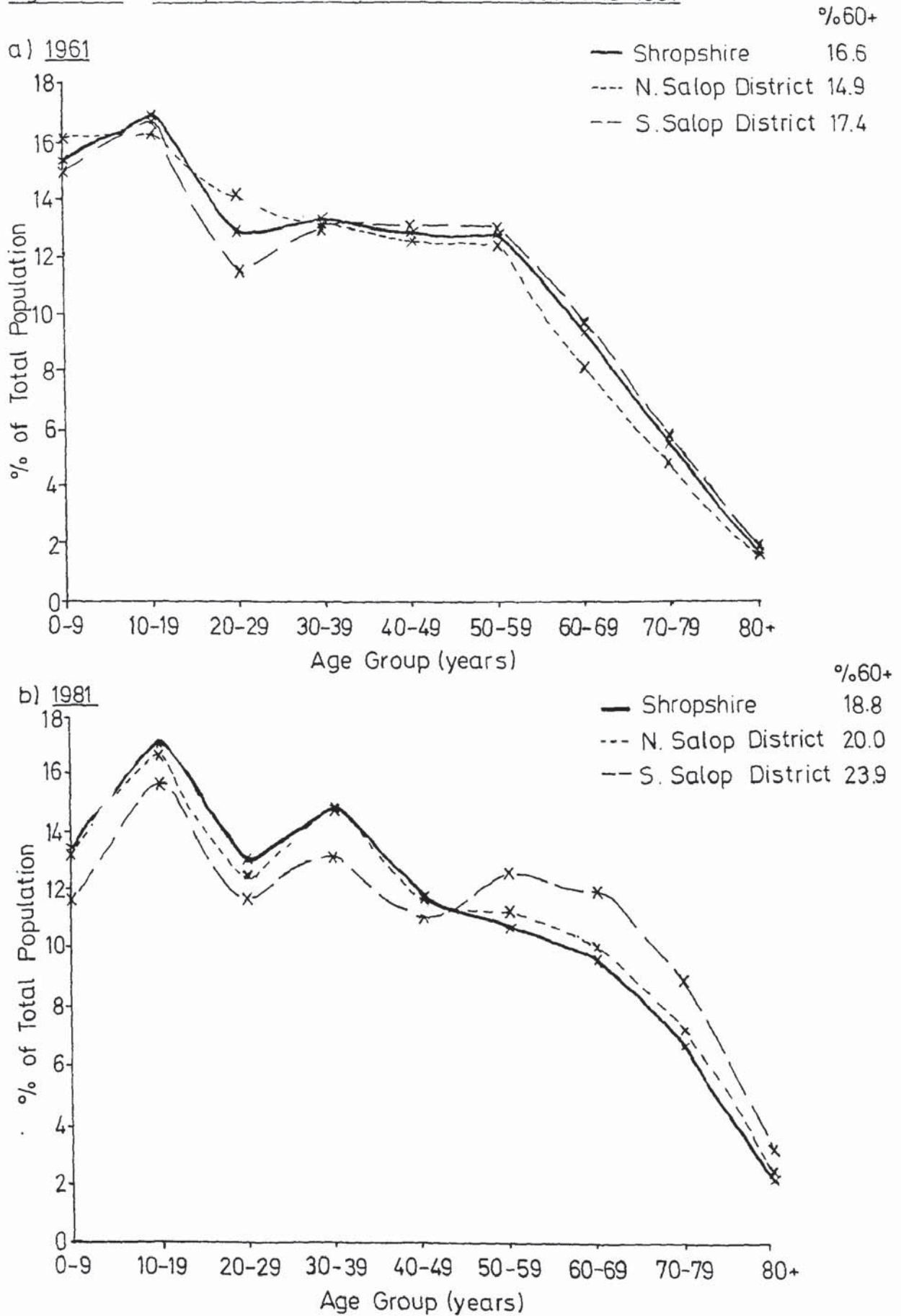
Population change

As discussed in section 6.2 many rural areas of Shropshire exhibited static or declining population levels until the 1950's or 1960's, and growth in the 1970's. Taking the six parishes together the overall picture obtained is one very similar to this, with 9% net population loss in the 1960's and 9% growth in the 1970's. However this conceals substantial differences between the parishes. Bettws-y-Crwyn and Clunbury conformed to the overall pattern, with net population loss in the 1960's (-20% and -16% respectively) and growth in the 1970's (+12% and +7% respectively). However Ightfield and Clun showed a continued pattern of net population loss during both decades (-17% and -9% in the 1960's and -2% and -2% in the 1970's respectively), whilst Adderley and Woore exhibited slight net population growth in the 1960's (+4% and +3%) and more substantial growth in the 1970's (+27% and +12%). Thus the case study parishes exhibit variations in patterns of population change, and offer an interesting set of parishes in which to examine the factors influencing population change, particularly the suggestion that migration patterns reflect variations in the incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage (chapter 4).

Age structure

Another factor which was taken into account when selecting areas for study was their age structure, since this affects demand for 'basic requirements', and since the nature and incidence of disadvantage experienced varies between different age groups. According to the 1981 census North Shropshire District had a slightly

Figure 7.2 Comparison of Age Structures 1961 and 1981



Figures for North and South Shropshire Districts in 1961 refer to equivalent urban and rural districts and met. boroughs.

older age structure compared to Shropshire as a whole whilst South Shropshire's was considerably older. As shown in Figure 7.2, populations in both Districts had aged at a rate above that experienced in Shropshire as a whole and nationally in the 1960's and 1970's - a point of significance, since it suggests that difficulties experienced in these districts are likely to worsen, relative to other areas. The disparity between the two districts in terms of age structure was in general borne out by the case study parishes, according to 1981 census (Table 7.1). Census data showed that in 1981 the three northern parishes had an average of 31% of population falling into the 0-19 age group (Adderley having a particularly young structure), compared to 25% for the southern parishes. Only the southern parish of Bettws-y-Crwyn proved an exception, with a relatively young age structure similar to that of the northern parishes.

Table 7.1 Age structure of residents in 1981

Area	% Population aged			
	0-19	20-39	40-59	60+
Shropshire	31	28	23	19
N. Salop District	30	27	23	20
S. Salop District	27	25	24	25
Adderley	35	30	21	14
Ightfield	30	26	24	20
Woore	31	28	23	19
Bettws-y-Crwyn	34	28	18	21
Clunbury	25	22	24	30
Clun	24	23	24	29
Average for northern parishes	31	28	23	18
Average for southern parishes	25	23	23	28

Source : 1981 census.

Amongst the reasons for the selection of the two districts and six case study parishes for study were the high rate of ageing of their populations, plus the aged population structure of the southern district and parishes. Thus with the exception of Bettws-y-Crwyn, the parishes chosen for study showed, at the 1981 census, the same population characteristics for which they were selected using 1971 census data.

7.3 PLANNING POLICIES FOR THE DISTRICTS AND PARISHES STUDIED

As discussed earlier, two distinct phases in post-war planning can be identified - the first period during which the Development Plan was the main policy document, and the second during which Structure and Local Plans formed the basis for control of land-use and development. In addition however, local authorities in Shropshire, as in many other counties, produced a number of supplementary plans which were non-statutory. The policies put forward in these various plans which are relevant to the districts and parishes studied are discussed below.

The basic Development Plan policies put forward for Shropshire were discussed in section 6.3. Settlements in the areas now incorporated into North and South Shropshire Districts were classified in the same manner as those in the rest of the county. Settlements in the case study parishes were classified as follows:-

Class 'A' settlements suitable for a reasonable degree of expansion : Woore, Clun.

Class 'B' settlements suitable for infilling and possibly small groups of houses : Adderley, Ightfield, Calverhall, Clunbury.

The main policy for land-use and development put forward in the various Structure and Local Plan documents for Shropshire, which were also discussed in section 6.3, has been one of concentrating provision of employment, housing, services and facilities into selected settlements. Thirteen towns are named by the approved Structure Plan to provide the bulk of these basic requirements and receive most development. Otherwise a relatively small number of 'Main Villages' are named to provide and receive much of the remainder. The Structure Plan in fact recommends the proportion of development which should occur in these villages (Shropshire County Council, 1980b). Allowance is made in the approved Plan however for the designation of additional Main Villages in Local Plans.

The County Council applied its Structure Plan policies fairly uniformly across the county, so that the policies discussed below with respect to North and

South Shropshire Districts are broadly similar to those applied in the other four districts in the county. However North Shropshire District also produced a non-statutory 'Interim Planning Policy' in 1980. Both North and South Shropshire District Council like others in the county, produced a series of discussion papers in 1980-2 designed for public consultation, as a basis for Local Plan production. By the end of 1984 however, only South Shropshire had produced its draft district plan. Table 7.12 shows the various planning documents published with respect to the two Districts.

Turning to consider the actual policies laid down in the Structure Plan for the two districts studied, with respect to North Shropshire District the Structure Plan envisaged development of 2,600 houses and slight population growth between 1976 and 1991. The Plan recommended that 60-70% of these houses, plus most industrial and commercial development should be concentrated into four towns (service centres). Otherwise six Main Villages were selected as local centres for services, of which three were selected to take the bulk of remaining housing development : Baschurch, Shawbury and Woore, and three were not : Prees, Hodnet and Histock (Figure 7.3). However in the Structure Plan review this policy was changed, and Woore was no longer named as suitable for housing development of over five houses. In addition, other changes made in the review involved the introduction of even more restrictive planning policies for the district, as a result of high pressure for and recent rates of development (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

In South Shropshire District the Structure Plan supported the concentration of most industrial and commercial development into Ludlow, with some suitable development in Craven Arms and Bishop's Castle. The Plan also recommended that 40-50% of the 1300 new dwellings allocated to the area during the Structure Plan period, be built in the towns of Ludlow, Bishop's Castle and Craven Arms. The remainder were to be concentrated into Burford, and the Main

Table 7.2 Planning Documents Published by the
District Councils.

<u>North Shropshire District</u>	
1980	Interim Planning Policy for Rural Housing Development.
1980-	Preparation of Local Plan:
1980	Series of Discussion Papers, 1 for each town and rural area, including 'North-Eastern Parishes'.
1981	Draft District Plan produced for each town, including 'Market Drayton Draft District Plan'.
November 1984	Awaiting publication of Draft District Plan.

<u>South Shropshire District</u>	
1980-	Preparation of Local Plan:
1980	A Plan Brief for the South Shropshire Rural Area Plan
1981-2	10 Discussion Papers and Summary: (1) Population and Housing (2-9) One for each rural area, including: 9 Clun Forest Rural Area
1984	Draft District Plan, plus supplement 'Plans for Villages in South Shropshire'
November 1984	Awaiting publication of revised Local Plan following consultations.

Figure 7.3 Structure Plan Policies 1980

North Shropshire District



South Shropshire District



Villages which were considered suitable for 'larger scale' housing development: Bucknell, Church Stretton and Cleobury Mortimer, plus any Main Village named in the Local Plan. Thus Clun was regarded as a service centre, suitable only for infilling and small groups of houses due to its lack of employment, location in the AONB, and capacity in the sewage works for only 50 more houses (Shropshire County Council, 1977c, 1980b). Figure 7.3 shows the location of the designated Towns and Main Villages in the district. The draft first alteration maintains the restriction placed on Clun with respect to housing development, and none of the settlements studied are named in this review as being suitable for development of groups of over five houses (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

Like the County Council, the District Council give support to landscape conservation and greater development control in the South Shropshire Hills AONB, which occupies nearly 800 km² of south-west Shropshire. Furthermore the District Council are critical, as are the County Council, of the AONB boundaries and both appear united in pursuing landscape conservation in those areas which they define as being where 'preservation of landscape should have priority', and where 'conservation of landscape is important', some of which lie outside the AONB (South Shropshire District Council, 1984b). Thus a discrepancy exists between boundaries drawn up by the local authorities and those recognised by the Countryside Commission, although the local authorities have attempted to get the AONB boundaries changed - an example of the difficulties raised by the multiplicity of boundaries now defined with respect to rural areas by public agencies.

In section 6.4 evidence published by the County Council concerning the pattern of provision of and access to facilities and services in the rural areas of Shropshire was examined in the light of policies for provision. The basic pattern identified was one of increasing concentration of facilities and services into urban centres, and decline in rural areas. Many villages were found by the Council to be without key facilities by 1982, although most did have access via public transport to settlements containing outlets. In the draft and approved Structure Plan the County Council adopted a policy for rural areas of giving priority to outlets in selected Main Villages which were envisaged as service centres (Shropshire County Council, 1977, 1980). This priority was dropped in the draft review however (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

According to the County Council's evidence this basic pattern was repeated in the districts and parishes studied. Woore and Clun as designated Main Villages were therefore originally envisaged as service centres, and evidence available from the County Council suggests that at the time of the survey these villages did contain a higher number of services and facilities than others studied.

In addition to these surveys undertaken by the County Council, South Shropshire District Council (1984b) undertook a household survey of facility and service provision and use in their District, as an input into policy-making. The Council obtained similar results to the County Council surveys (low, declining levels of provision), and concluded that the population of the District was heavily dependent on Ludlow and a range of comparatively small settlements, for many essential services and facilities. Overall only 54% of villages and hamlets were found to possess any key facilities. The survey also highlighted the long distances that many people had to travel for services not found in the area (30 miles plus), e.g. 54% of interviewed households travelled to Shrewsbury for durable goods, and 39% to other towns.

The District Council suggests that because of the pattern of provision in the District, some residents experience difficulties in obtaining access to facilities, and as a result possibly migrate :

'while the low level of services has been accepted as a part of living in a rural area, it nevertheless causes difficulties and hardship and acts as a disincentive to the younger members of the community to stay in the area.'

(South Shropshire District Council, 1984b, p78)

The draft Local Plan therefore proposes the policies of encouraging the retention and development of rural facilities and services, and of giving greater support to the 'smaller and in many respects more susceptible villages', by allowing small-scale development, in order to stem losses of outlets (South Shropshire District Council, 1984b).

The Rural Community Council have also undertaken a survey of facility provision and access to facilities in the Clun area of South Shropshire. The survey produced evidence of accessibility problems and by-passing of outlets. Thus whilst nearly everyone was found to have a shop available within 3-4 miles, 78% of households studied regularly shopped in town. The survey also highlighted problems related to poor accessibility by bus services to hospitals and doctor's surgeries, and identified a demand for further education classes (Community Council of Shropshire, 1977).

As mentioned earlier, in recent years the Community Council has become involved in attempts to maintain services in rural areas. One such initiative which arose out of North Shropshire Community Development Project, has included a campaign to advise and boost support for village shops (Community Council of Shropshire 1981a, 1982d). The project involved a price survey, a promotional campaign designed to picture the shopkeeper as a member of the community worthy of support, and meetings organised to enable shopkeepers to meet and discuss mutual problems and the campaign.

The Community Council has also been active in South Shropshire

District. As mentioned earlier, in the mid-1970's the Community Council (1977) undertook a survey of rural services in the Clun area, and it also supported the County and District Councils in their survey of facilities and services in the County.

Thus according to evidence provided by other surveys, service and facility provision in the rural areas studied has been declining for some time, despite the attempts of local authorities and voluntary groups to stem this loss, and has resulted in problems related to accessibility and possibly out-migration of young people in South Shropshire.

7.5 EMPLOYMENT POLICIES IN THE DISTRICTS AND PARISHES STUDIED

7.5.1 Economic and Employment Structures in the Areas Studied

In section 6.5 the economic and employment structures of Shropshire were examined in the light of national and regional structures. Employment in Shropshire was found to be dominated by the service sector, especially for female employment, with agriculture also being relatively important, notably for male employment. Changes occurring to the county's economy in recent decades were found to include the decline of employment in the primary industries and the decline in some but expansion in other service industries. According to census data, North Shropshire exhibits a slightly more pronounced version of these structures and trends, whilst South Shropshire shows an even more extreme situation along these lines (Table 7.3). Thus in South Shropshire District the primary industries provide a quarter of male employment, and the proportion is even higher in some parishes, including the case study parishes of Clunbury and Bettws-y-Crwyn.

Perhaps surprisingly though (as shown in Table 7.4) North and South Shropshire Districts have exhibited low unemployment rates compared to county (and national) rates. Unemployment rates amongst men and women at the 1981 census were high in some of the case study parishes however, notably Adderley and Ightfield. Overall the unemployment rate was slightly higher for men than for women, and higher in the southern parishes studied. With regard to economic activity rates, at the 1981 census the Districts exhibited rates below the county average, and rates were particularly low in the South Shropshire case study parishes.

According to the County Council one particular difficulty in the county is that associated with access to work from rural areas, with public transport making very little contribution. Census figures for 1981 certainly confirm this to be the case. Thus in North Shropshire District the proportion travelling to work by car was

Table 7.3 Percentage of Persons Working in Various Industrial Classes

	S. I. C. DIVISION				
	0-1 Primary Industries	2-4 Manufacturing	5 Construction	6-7 Services	Total
England	6.5	32.5	9.9	50.3	99.2
Shropshire	9.5	25.2	7.1	57.5	99.3
North Salop District	15.4	20.4	7.9	55.4	99.1
South Salop District	20.1	19.4	8.2	51.0	98.7
Adderley	35.7	14.3	7.1	42.9	100.0
Ightfield	20.0	10.0	0	70.0	100.0
Woore	9.4	25.0	3.1	62.5	100.0
Bettws-y-Crwyn	62.5	25.0	0	12.5	100.0
Clunbury	57.1	9.1	9.1	22.7	98.0
Clun	34.6	11.5	9.6	38.5	94.2

Source: 1981 Census. Parish figures represent 10% sample.
Usually resident population aged 16 and over.

Table 7.4 Unemployment and Economic Activity Rates

	Unemployment Rate			Economic Activity Rate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
England	9.9	6.3	8.5	77.9	45.7	61.1
Shropshire	10.3	6.9	9.1	78.8	42.8	60.3
North Salop District	6.7	6.2	6.5	77.8	40.1	58.6
South Salop District	7.5	4.8	6.5	75.6	37.7	56.1
Adderley	7.3	10.2	8.3	82.1	40.8	61.2
Ightfield	8.9	10.3	9.3	77.5	35.8	56.5
Woore	5.8	4.6	5.4	79.0	41.7	60.4
Bettws-y-Crwyn	4.7	5.3	5.6	76.2	27.9	57.5
Clunbury	7.7	1.7	6.0	75.0	31.6	54.3
Clun	8.5	5.0	7.5	74.4	29.2	52.3

Source: 1981 Census

52.9% in 1981 but only 3.6% travelled by public transport, a very low proportion. However 9.2% worked at home, compared to 5.5% for the county as a whole. Perhaps surprisingly (in view of levels of public transport) South Shropshire District showed a lower proportion of people travelling to work by car than North Shropshire in 1981 (51.2%), and a higher proportion using public transport (5.7%). Also a relatively high proportion (12.6%) worked at home. The picture in both the Districts is certainly therefore one of a relatively minor contribution of public transport for journeys to work and one can anticipate problems for some of those without private transport in obtaining access to such employment opportunities as do exist.

7.5.2 Economic and Employment Policies in the Areas Studied

As described earlier in this chapter, much of Shropshire is classified as agricultural land, with a number of parts qualifying for a particularly high level of support from the EEC via MAFF, as a result of being given LFA status. The two areas chosen for in-depth research contrast sharply with respect to quality of land and designation - a key reason for their selection. As shown in Figure 7.4 much of the land in the parishes studied in North Shropshire is classified as Grade 3 agricultural land, whilst that in the South Shropshire parishes is generally classed as Grade 4 and 5 agricultural land, with some pockets of forest and higher grade land (the latter being in Clunbury). The southern parishes include some areas of forest planted by the Forestry Commission.

With regard to LFA designation no part of the northern three parishes was designated an LFA, although at the time of the fieldwork (1981-2) parts of Bettws-y-Crwyn and Clunbury in South Shropshire did qualify (as shown in Figure 2.3). From February 1984 the remainder of Bettws-y-Crwyn and part of Clun Parish were also given LFA status (MAFF, 1984). These areas therefore qualify for a particularly high level of agricultural support, with farmers being able to claim the

Figure 7.4 Agricultural Grade of Land in Case Study Areas

North-east Shropshire



South - west Shropshire



Source : Shropshire County Council (1977 c)

types of aid outlined in chapter 2, to compensate for the low productivity of their land.

Thus the northern case study parishes are fairly representative, as is much of North Shropshire District, of a lowland area containing of mainly Grade 3 agricultural land. By contrast the southern parishes and the District to which they belong are representative of an upland area containing mainly grades 4 and 5 agricultural land with pockets of forestry. Like many such areas, much of these three southern parishes is now designated an LFA - and the case study work should be able to reach some conclusions about the effect that the extra financial aid available in the southern parishes is having on the incidence of disadvantage amongst farming households living in them.

In the previous chapter the main policies and agencies involved in supporting manufacturing industry in Shropshire were discussed. The main agencies involved were identified as being local authorities and the Development Commission, plus to a lesser extent the Department of Trade and Industry. It was explained how the County Council give support to the promotion of new job opportunities in the county, especially in those areas which are likely to experience continuing employment problems. Both the area around Market Drayton in North Shropshire and the South Shropshire District are recognised by these organisations to have employment problems, despite their contrasting geography (quality of agricultural land, proximity to urban centres etc.). The problems are however considered to be particularly severe in South Shropshire.

North Shropshire District Council are clearly aware of their District's employment structure and problems, and have in the past outlined these, in relation to those of the county and region (North Shropshire District Council, 1976). Amongst the employment problems identified by the Council have been the decline in employment opportunities in the Market Drayton Employment Exchange Area due to the loss of jobs in agriculture, and the failure of the increase in manufacturing jobs

to keep pace with this decline, and to diversify the economy (with heavy dependence on 3 SIC groups : food, drink and tobacco, clothing and footwear, and chemicals and allied industries). In the Whitchurch area, a similarly weak structure was seen by the Council to exist. However both towns were seen to have potential for development.

The Structure Plan policy for North Shropshire advocates the concentration of industrial development into the four towns of Wem, Whitchurch, Ellesmere and Market Drayton. This policy has largely been followed by the Development Commission, which has designated much of the District as a Special Investment Area, and more recently a Rural Development Area. By April 1983 some 113,500 square feet of advance factory units had been completed/approved for the area by the Commission, although difficulties were being encountered in finding sites e.g. in Baschurch (Development Commission, 1983). Table 7.5 shows the allocations and the units constructed by August 1984.

With regard to South Shropshire the District Council has stressed the influence which low employment prospects is having on young people and migration from the area (South Shropshire District Council, 1984b). In response the District Council have put forward policies which aim to retain existing employment and encourage some growth in job opportunities, principally via the encouragement of small firms and public sector aid. In addition, they have stressed the need for widening the employment base, and reducing the reliance of the District on 3 or 4 large firms. The Council suggest that without concerted effort, the base is liable to contract even further, leaving little scope for further improvement (South Shropshire District Council, 1984b).

Following County Council policy, the Structure Plan and draft Local Plan for South Shropshire have both supported the concentration of industrial development, this time into Ludlow, plus to a lesser extent Craven Arms and Bishop's Castle. In the Local Plan sites for small-scale industrial uses were

identified by the District Council in Bishop's Castle, Burford, Church Stretton, Cleobury Mortimer, Clun and Craven Arms. In Clun the site named was that already used by the Development Commission in conjunction with English Industrial

Table 7.5 Development Commission Factories Approved/Completed

Location	Square Feet of Factory Unit Space		
	Approved/Completed April 1983	Completed August 1984	Under Construction August 1984
Whitchurch	23,000	15,000	-
Market Drayton	32,500	27,500	5,000
Baschurch	3,000	-	-
Ellesmere	7,000	-	-
Wem	7,000	-	-
Oswestry	41,000	28,612	-
Ditton Priors	7,000	-	-
Cleobury Mortimer	6,000	-	-
Bishop's Castle	14,000	14,000	-
Church Stretton	12,000	12,000	-
Clun	8,300	8,920	3,500
Craven Arms	24,500	24,500	-
Ludlow	20,500	17,500	-

Source : Development Commission (1983),

Communication with English Industrial Estates.

Estates, and in fact the pattern of aid provided by the Commission (shown in Table 7.5) reflects the policies for location laid down by the local authorities. In South Shropshire the programme of aid from the Development Commission has taken place in conjunction with that in North Herefordshire, as administered by a Joint Development Committee, which has been responsible for making submissions to the Commission for aid (for example North Herefordshire/South Shropshire Joint Development Council, 1978). The Committee includes representatives of the County and District Councils, CoSIRA, Community Councils, Development Commission, and regional offices of relevant government departments. Thus a high degree of integration between the policies and activities of the various agencies appears to be being achieved.

By April 1983 some 92,300 square feet of advance factory units had been approved/constructed in South Shropshire (Development Commission, 1983), as shown in Table 7.5. However, difficulties had been encountered in finding sites in Ditton Priors and Cleobury Mortimer - again an illustration of the lack of power invested in a public agency for achieving the alleviation of its 'social' objectives. In addition, the cattle market at Bishop's Castle had been re-opened with the help of a £10,000 grant from the Commission, and two experimental 'craft homes' had been approved for construction in Chirbury. At the time of writing six units have been built in Clun of the following sizes (square feet) : 1760 plus extension, 1650, 1600, 1500, 1400 and 1000. These employ 31 people : 12 males and 16 females (personal communication with English Industrial Estates).

7.6 HOUSING IN THE DISTRICTS AND PARISHES STUDIED

7.6.1 The Housing Stock

It was explained in the previous chapter how variables related to the size and quality of the housing stock have not only been used to examine the existence of housing disadvantage, but also to indicate the likelihood of disadvantage as a wider concept. Information relating to the housing stock in Shropshire was examined (taken principally from the 1981 census), and it was found that the county as a whole exhibited an unusually high proportion of council/new town accommodation and low proportion of owner-occupied housing, for such a predominantly rural county. The reason behind this pattern was identified as being the presence of Telford, and exclusion of Telford from the figures for Shropshire produced a pattern more typical of predominantly rural counties, i.e. above average incidence of owner-occupied and privately-rented accommodation.

When selecting areas for study one of the main criteria taken into account was housing quality, and the areas selected were partly chosen on the basis of census data which indicated the existence housing disadvantage within them - particular in the case of South Shropshire. Examination of 1981 census figures for North and South Shropshire Districts and the case study parishes showed this same tenure structure, with the exception of Ightfield, this being most pronounced in the more remote South Shropshire. As Table 7.6 shows, according to 1981 census figures the proportion of owner-occupied housing was high in all the parishes studied with the exception of Ightfield, by county standards. Similarly the proportion of privately - rented accommodation was above average in both districts and all the parishes studied, with the exception of Woore. As in many rural areas however, the proportion of publically - rented accommodation was well below the county average in both districts and five of the six parishes studied, the exception again being Ightfield. The case study work should help establish the reason behind Ightfield showing an unusual tenure structure, but with this exception the parishes

Table 7.6 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
North Salop District	57.0	24.3	18.7	100.0
South Salop District	60.5	18.7	20.8	100.0
Adderley	66.3	9.6	24.0	99.9
Ightfield	17.5	30.1	52.4	100.0
Woore	72.5	15.2	12.2	99.9
Bettws-y-Crwyn	66.7	6.3	27.0	100.0
Clunbury	64.6	6.7	28.7	100.0
Clun	67.0	12.1	20.9	100.0

Source: 1981 Census

studied appear to have a tenure structure typical of many rural parishes in England.

Moving on to consider housing density, both North and South Shropshire Districts averaged 0.5% of households with more than 1.5 persons per room at the 1981 census, and on this evidence it appears that over-crowding is not a problem generally in the areas studied. In fact, as mentioned earlier over-crowding is more of an urban phenomenon - a factor which reduces the validity of its use in studies of rural disadvantage. Poor housing standards are however a problem within the districts and parishes studied. It was described earlier how at the 1981 census 2.0% of households in Shropshire were found to lack a bath and inside W.C. (compared to 1.3% nationally). The proportion was even higher in North Shropshire District (2.6%), but South Shropshire District had the highest percentage of 4.8%.

Furthermore, within South Shropshire District, Clun Forest area has been identified as having a particularly high number of sub-standard dwellings. Thus in a survey undertaken in 1979 South Shropshire District Council (1982a) found that 11.8% of dwellings in the Clun Forest area lacked either hot water, a bath/shower and, or indoor toilet. In fact the Council recommended that Clun village be made a General Improvement Area, in view of its particular problems (South Shropshire District Council, 1980a).

Second home ownership is also an important factor in South Shropshire District, and particularly in the Clun Forest area; the latter was found to have some 140 second homes, making up 11% of all dwellings, by South Shropshire District Council (1982a). In addition the area has a high percentage of vacant dwellings - 8.2% in the Clun Forest Rural Area (South Shropshire District Council, 1982a) and the Council suggest that in three parishes, including Bettws-y-Crwyn, over a quarter of dwellings were either vacant or second homes (1979 survey) - a factor which may be expected to reduce the supply of accommodation and create problems with respect to access to accommodation. Indeed this situation is also indicated by the amount of

non-permanent accommodation being used in South Shropshire District, with 0.8% of the District's households in 1981 (census) living in non-permanent accommodation - double the county average of 0.4%.

7.6.2 North Shropshire District Policies

In North Shropshire District the Structure Plan identified six villages as service centres (Main Villages) but interestingly only three were selected to take the bulk of housing development (Baschurch, Shawbury and Woore) along with any subsequently listed in the Local Plan. The others were therefore identified as suitable only for infilling and small groups of houses. At the time, the three Main Villages selected for housing development were also those with a large number of outstanding planning permissions granted. This policy was felt to complement that for employment, provide a reasonable choice of locations, cater for local demand in the rural area, and avoid considerable public investment, commuting and environmental problems (Shropshire County Council, 1980b). It also seems to have had the advantage of following the underlying market trends.

Woore was therefore selected as a Main Village for housing development, and it had at the time existing planning permissions granted for 69 houses. Reasons given for its selection however focussed more on its proximity to the Potteries, Crewe and Nantwich, and the presence of a range of services and substantial spare capacity in the sewage works in the village. Certain restraints were identified however, including lack of capacity in the primary school, access problems for sites, traffic problems, lack of a doctor's surgery, and proximity to Audlem (a 'Main Village' in Cheshire). Thus it was expected that the existing planning permissions would use up much of its capacity for growth (Shropshire County Council, 1977c), and concern was felt by District Council planning officers over the effects of growth on Woore (personal communication).

The Structure Plan settlement policy in North Shropshire however faced

major problems in achieving its objectives (where these differed from underlying trends) due to lack of control over underlying factors, particularly the high pressure for development (Harvey 1980, personal communication with North Shropshire Planning Officers). Thus in the late 1970's when North Shropshire District Council began to prepare the District Plan, the development pressure was so great that the Structure Plan policies were already in need of revision. Substantial population growth had occurred in the 1970's in the District, partly as a result of high rates of in-migration. The District Council therefore published an Interim Rural Housing Policy (North Shropshire District Council, 1980b), which updated and slightly amended the Structure Plan Policies. In particular the Interim Policy increased the allocation of new housing in the rural area to 1415 (draft plan: 700-900, approved Plan 800-1050), in view of the high rates of development in the rural area between 1976 and January 1980 (355 completed, 510 permissions granted for new homes); added Hinstock to the list of Main Villages suitable for larger groups of new housing (subject to the completion of bypass and sewerage schemes); and categorised Woore as only suitable for infilling due to the considerable scale of development which it had experienced.

Even with the Interim Policy however the District Council had difficulty in restraining development. Thus according to Shropshire County Council's own figures (shown in Table 6.9) 9 applications for single developments involving more than 5 houses in North Shropshire District were granted between 1978 and 1982, in villages not named as suitable for this scale of development (Shropshire County Council, 1982b). In total these applications represent 132 houses.

At the same time as producing its Interim Policy the District Council also produced a number of Discussion Papers, as part of the consultation process related to the Local Plan. These largely outlined a similar selective settlement policy, but allowed for much greater development including small estate development, and gave the following categories of settlement with regard to rural housing development

(North Shropshire District Council, 1980a):-

- (i) 'one or more estates of 15 dwellings are permitted or proposed',
e.g. Adderley, Woore.
- (ii) 'groups of up to 10 dwellings permitted or proposed', e.g.
Norton-in-Hales.
- (iii) 'infilling and groups of 3-5 dwellings' e.g. Ightfield.
- (iv) 'infilling of no more than 2 dwellings' e.g. Calverhall.

Housing development was seen as a way of supporting existing services, especially schools. With respect to Adderley and Woore the discussion papers suggested that development should be limited to infilling once then current estate developments were completed (existing commitments 28 and 53 respectively). The development of small housing estates in phases of 3-5 dwellings was however considered suitable for Ightfield, in order to support local services (existing commitment to development 3). Potential for development in Calverhall was felt to be considerably restricted, owing to the lack of investment there by the water authorities on a sewerage system. Thus conflict or at least a lack of co-ordinated effort was apparent between the District and County Councils and between the District Council and water authorities.

Furthermore, at the time of writing the draft Local Plan is still awaiting publication, partly as a result of the rapid changes occurring to the District's population and employment opportunities, and the proposed policy changes recently made by the County Council to the Structure Plan, including the removal of the concept of Main Villages as service centres (Shropshire County Council, 1984). These changes alter the basis on which the Local Plan has to be written, and the District Council are, at the time of writing, therefore reviewing the rural policies incorporated in the Plan. Confusion appears to exist at present therefore. Thus the most recent projections for North Shropshire District are for the period 1981-96, and suggest a population gain of 3300 (made up of 1300 through natural change and

2000 through migration), an increase in the number of households by 2700, and housing requirements of 3100 (Shropshire County Council, 1984).

7.6.3 South Shropshire District Policies

With regard to South Shropshire District, the most recent projections for the District between 1981-96 are: population growth of 2500 (with a loss of 300 through natural change and gain of 2800 through migration), an increase in the number of households of 1700, and a housing requirement of 2200 (Shropshire County Council, 1984). The most recent policies available at the time of writing are those stated in the Structure Plan review and draft Local Plan (Shropshire County Council 1984, South Shropshire District Council 1984b). The latter was however based on the earlier and still statutory Shropshire Plan policies of 1980 (Shropshire County Council, 1980a).

Before publishing the draft Local Plan, the District Council outlined its proposals in a consultative document and 11 Discussion Papers produced for the purposes of public participation (South Shropshire District Council 1981, 1982b). As in the statutory Structure Plan (Shropshire County Council, 1980b) the draft Local Plan allocated 40-50% of new housing development to the towns of Bishop's Castle, Craven Arms and Ludlow, with large-scale development only in these towns plus the Main Housing Villages of Bucknell, Church Stretton, Clee Hill, Cleobury Mortimer and Burford. All other settlements are therefore restricted to small-scale development, or infilling only. The draft Local Plan recognised however, that during the period 1976 to 1983 roughly 1000 houses had been built in the district, and that with outstanding permissions standing at 1400, it was likely that the figure would be exceeded. The policies outlined in the draft Local Plan in fact support the principle of suitable small-scale development in the smaller villages, which the Council considers may help support existing rural services. In addition it also seems to be an acceptance on the part of the Council of the difficulty of restricting

development in smaller settlements - a problem highlighted by County Council figures which show that between 1978 and 1982 6 applications for single developments involving more than 5 houses were granted in South Shropshire, in villages not named as suitable for this scale of development (Shropshire County Council, 1982b). In total these applications represent 145 houses (Table 6.9).

With respect to housing initiatives in North and South Shropshire, the District Councils appear (on the basis of personal communication) to be well aware of the problems being experienced in their areas, but hampered by a lack of money for building public housing. The general policy, with regard to local authority building, appears to have been one of providing sheltered housing where possible for groups such as the elderly. Rates of building by the Councils of other types of accommodation have been negligible in recent years.

With reference to the case study areas in South Shropshire, the particular problems of Clun village have been recognised by the District Council. In 1975 it was considered for designation as a conservation area, but this idea was dropped after local consultation. Subsequently the District Council considered the possibility of declaring Clun a General Improvement Area or Housing Action Area (South Shropshire District Council, 1980a). Involvement of housing associations has been limited, however the Development Commission has treated the County as an experimental area for its involvement in housing initiatives. Not only has the Commission therefore encouraged the building of housing in locations which complement advance factories, but it has also supported the building of a pair of experimental 'craft homes' in South Shropshire. These combine a workshop with living quarters, and are intended to provide starter units for small businesses involving craft-work - a type of small business thought particularly well-suited to rural areas.

Examination of the availability of transport in Shropshire as a whole (undertaken in chapter 6) showed that, by national standards, the county exhibited low and declining levels of public transport except on urban and inter-urban routes, above average levels of private vehicle ownership, and provision of a limited number of innovative schemes designed to fill gaps in the public transport system. This pattern of availability was considered to be typical of most rural areas in England today (chapter 4).

Without exception the available evidence suggested that an even more pronounced version of this pattern was exhibited by the two districts and six parishes studied, particularly in South Shropshire. As Table 7.7 shows therefore, whilst 30.0% of the households in Shropshire lacked a car (compared to 38.6% nationally), the proportion varied from 25.0% down to 10.8% in the parishes studied, averaging roughly 26% in both North and South Shropshire Districts. Similarly whilst 22.3% of Shropshire residents lived in a household with no car, the proportion dropped as low as 5.1% in one of the parishes studied (1981 census).

With regard to public transport North Shropshire District which lies in close proximity to the Potteries, is crossed by a number of major inter-urban routes, and therefore is comparatively well served by public transport (for rural Shropshire). However, away from inter-urban routes the level of service provided is still very limited. Services are mainly provided by stage carriage buses, with the Shrewsbury-Crewe railway line passing through the District and stopping at three places, none of these being in the parishes studied (Shropshire County Council, 1977c).

By contrast South Shropshire District is remote from urban areas and as a result lines of public transport. South Shropshire District Council (1984b) identify the main issue facing the rural area as that of providing access for the various population groups, to the facilities and services located in the District - a point of

Table 7.7

Car Ownership Levels 1981

	% Households With No Car	% Persons In Households With No Car
England	38.6	30.2
Shropshire	30.0	22.3
North Salop	25.7	18.0
South Salop	26.2	17.7
Adderley	12.1	8.7
Ightfield	21.7	14.9
Woore	18.8	9.8
Bettws-y-Crwyn	10.8	5.1
Clunbury	15.6	10.1
Clun	25.0	13.7

Source: 1981 Census.

significance to this study. The Clun Forest area is identified as being particularly badly served. The Council suggests that car ownership is particularly high in the rural area of the District, especially outside the main towns and villages, and that carless households are generally made up of old age pensioners or younger families with small children.

Details of the bus services available in the case study parishes are given in Appendix N. Briefly Adderley and Bettws-y-Crwyn had 1-2 services per week to a local market town, whilst Ightfield, Clunbury and Clun had 1-2 per day on weekdays to market towns and in the latter cases in some instances also to Shrewsbury. By contrast Woore had 5-7 bus services per day to market towns and the Potteries, as a result of its location at the cross-roads of two relatively busy 'A' roads. All of the six parishes studied had a Voluntary Car Scheme operating in them, but other types of non-conventional transport were not found.

Planning officers from both District Councils were found, during the informal interviews conducted, to be aware of the problems associated with the provision of public transport to the rural areas of their districts. South Shropshire District Council clearly support the use of unconventional schemes, which were present in all the case study parishes. Public bus services are seen by South Shropshire District Council (1984b) as being very limited in their real use to the area, and viable stage carriage bus services as being very difficult to operate in the rural area. Thus, although the Council advocates the maintenance of existing services, it also encourages the provision of non-conventional schemes, in order to relieve the hardship suffered by those without access to a vehicle. Retaining village services and transport are seen as essential to relieving their problems.

To conclude, according to the literature, North Shropshire District and the parishes studied within the District are broadly representative of a lowland rural area lying in relatively close proximity to a major conurbation. According to 'objective' social indicators and other available information, both the District and the parishes studied exhibit average to slightly above average incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage, by County standards. As described in the chapter, policies pursued by the local authorities and other government organisations in the District and parishes studied have, to a large extent, mirrored those put forward at County level, for rural areas. Planning policies have focussed on the concentration of development into market towns, with Main Villages taking much of the remainder.

Turning to consider the five basic requirements considered in the chapter, according to the literature facility and service outlets available in the District are mainly located in the market towns and larger villages, as in the rest of rural Shropshire. The distribution of these settlements in North Shropshire District is however sufficiently dense, as to ensure that few people live more than a few miles from one. Employment in the District and parishes studied is dominated by the service sector, with agriculture also being relatively important. Unemployment rates vary, being above the County average in some parts of the District and two parishes studied. In recognition of the lack of employment available in some locations, especially in manufacturing, the Development Commission has been active in the District.

With regard to housing, North Shropshire District and two parishes studied in the district have a low proportion of local authority accommodation and high proportion of owner occupied and privately-rented accommodation, by County standards. As in other parts of rural Shropshire, recent local authority building rates have been low and generally limited to sheltered housing. The proportion of

dwelling lacking basic amenities in the District is above the County average. Finally, the District is crossed by a number of roads and one railway line which link urban areas, and along which run relatively frequent public transport services, by County standards for rural areas. Off these routes however, services are generally limited, with many parishes (including one studied) only having a weekly service. Car ownership is above the County average in North Shropshire District and all parishes studied in the district.

By comparison, according to the literature, South Shropshire District and in particular the parishes studied are broadly representative of an upland rural area which is relatively remote from any conurbation. Available evidence including 'objective' indicators suggests that the District and to an even greater extent the parishes studied, exhibit a comparatively high incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage. As in North Shropshire, policies pursued in the District have, to a large extent, followed those put forward at County level.

According to the evidence presented in this chapter, facility and service outlets in South Shropshire District are sparsely distributed outside the market towns and larger villages, with some parishes, including those studied, lying over 30 miles by road from certain types of outlet, e.g. general hospital. As a result, the District Council gives priority to service retention in the draft Local Plan (South Shropshire District Council, 1984b). As in North Shropshire, employment in South Shropshire District is dominated by the service sector, although the primary industries provide a fifth of all employment, with the proportion being higher still in the case study parishes (1981 Census). As in other upland areas of Shropshire (and Britain) parts of the District, including much of the parishes studied, are designated 'Less Favoured Areas', and farmers in these areas receive special support. The Forestry Commission is also particularly active in the District. Few manufacturing jobs exist in the District, these being concentrated into only a handful of firms. The economic structure is unbalanced therefore and heavily dependent on sectors which are

unstable, e.g. tourism. Unemployment and economic activity rates are below the County average, especially for women. In recognition of the District's severe problems, the Development Commission has been active in promoting job opportunities in the area, notably via its advance factory programme.

With regard to housing, South Shropshire shows the same pattern as North Shropshire, with a high proportion of owner-occupied and other rented accommodation by County standards. The three case study parishes exhibit an even more extreme example of this structure, with only 6-12% of households living in council accommodation (Shropshire 32%), at the 1981 census. As in North Shropshire local authority building has been largely restricted in recent years to a limited amount of sheltered housing. Within Shropshire the Clun area (containing the three case study parishes) has been identified as having one of the highest proportions of sub-standard dwellings. The vacancy rate is also high, despite its having attracted second home ownership.

Public transport in most of South Shropshire District is by any standards minimal, with many parishes, including those studied, having only a skeleton public bus service. Indeed the District Council go as far as to suggest that conventional schemes are only of limited use and the Council support the use of unconventional schemes (South Shropshire District Council, 1984b). Dependence on private transport is therefore high, although by no means all households have a car. As a result of its the combination of these factors in the District, and especially in the case study parishes, the accessibility problems and disadvantages faced by a substantial proportion of rural residents are likely to be considerable, and to a large extent typical of those experienced by people living in other more remote upland areas.

CHAPTER 8

**THE CASE STUDIES - ACCESS TO
FACILITIES AND SERVICES**

In this thesis the basic hypothesis put forward is that certain sections of the rural population lack adequate access to five basic requirements : facilities/services, employment, housing, social contact and travel, and that they thereby experience disadvantage, despite the attempts of local authorities and other government agencies to reduce their difficulties. The secondary information which is available with respect to the issues involved was discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis. However, four main gaps in the literature were identified in chapter 5, namely:

- i) 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 within and between different population sub-groups within rural areas.
- ii) The inadequacy of existing techniques for the assessment of accessibility problems and disadvantage which can be used in the policy-making process.
- iii) The lack of rural studies designed to compare and contrast the results obtained from using objective and subjective social indicator analysis in a rural context.
- iv) Consequentially, 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.

This research is designed to examine post war rural planning and other relevant government policies, and the influence which these have had on the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage as assessed by means of 'objective' and 'subjective' measures. These were the issues focussed upon by the hypotheses and research questions defined in chapter 5 (notably those numbered 11, 12 and 14 which draw together the issues raised by the other hypotheses and questions). The research has focussed on a household questionnaire survey in two contrasting rural areas of Shropshire, plus interviews with the officers of relevant organisations.

This chapter discusses the research findings with respect to people's access to facilities/services in the case study areas. The findings are discussed in

relation to post-war planning and other government policies which have been implemented in the areas studied, in an attempt to alleviate problems related to access to facilities/services and resulting disadvantage. The following chapter, chapter 9, discusses the research findings with respect to the other four 'basic' requirements. During these discussions reference should be made to figures and tables in the appendices where relevant. These are indicated in the text by a letter before the number of the table or figure, e.g. Table E.1 is in Appendix E.

In addition to the hypotheses and research questions mentioned above this chapter responds particularly to two hypotheses put forward in chapter 5, which state:

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 areas, whilst patterns of usage vary between individuals and subgroups within the population.

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.

A series of research questions flow from these hypotheses:

Static Facility Outlets:

- 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?

Mobile Facility Outlets

- 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?

Details of those contacted

As discussed in chapter 5 the case study work involved two strands. The major part involved a structured questionnaire survey covering 30 households in each of six parishes. In total 208 households were contacted by letter before 180 interviews were completed, i.e. 30 in each parish. Thus 87% of the 208 households contacted gave a detailed interview. The reasons for which 28 households could not be interviewed are given in Table D.1, and generally involved the death or migration of the individuals concerned. The 180 interviews covered 205 respondents and the interviewed households contained 536 people. Overall 90 households lived within a village and 90 outside (limits defined according to the village envelope designated by the relevant District Council). Where possible the head or spouse of head of household was interviewed, because the questionnaire contained questions which required the understanding of household affairs which only these people were likely to have. The number of households living in a village in North Shropshire was however significantly higher - 57 compared to 33 in South Shropshire.

In addition a range of public, private and voluntary organisations, planners, local leaders' and facility providers were interviewed, backed up by postal and telephone contacts, including:

- i) Community Council of Shropshire, area RCC representatives, parish representatives and the North Shropshire Field Officer (fieldwork project).
- ii) Planning officers of Shropshire County Council.
- iii) Planning officers of North and South Shropshire District Councils.
- iv) Transport operators, including operators of bus services, taxis and Voluntary Car Schemes.
- v) Facility providers covering a wide range of types of facility, both static and mobile.
- vi) Local leaders, including clergymen, school teachers, parish councillors, village hall organisers and organisers of local activities such as WI's, childrens groups etc.
- vii) Officials from MAFF, ADAS, the Forestry Commission, and the Development Commission and its agencies.

Together these provided much information concerning the case study parishes which is referred to throughout this and subsequent chapters.

Clearly before discussing the research findings it is important to outline the characteristics of the populations contacted in the household survey. The following section therefore outlines the characteristics of the respondents and the households to which they belong, in comparison to those of the case study parish populations. Not only does this provide useful background information, since age, sex etc. are important factors controlling the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced, but it also provides a check on the representative nature of the sample. The chapter then describes the research findings with regard to the availability and use of facility outlets. Resident's attitudes and reactions to accessibility problems with respect to facilities are considered next, and a method is put forward for predicting people's levels of satisfaction with their accessibility from their observed conditions. The final section sets out the conclusions reached regarding

the success of policies in alleviating accessibility problems with respect to facilities and services, and the extent to which these have added to or alleviated relative disadvantage.

8.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWED HOUSEHOLDS AND RESPONDENTS

In this section the characteristics of the respondents and of the people living in the interviewed households are considered. As mentioned above this provides important background information since, according to the literature, age, sex etc., are key factors controlling the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage experienced. For example, pensioners, teenagers, married women are often considered groups which experience a high incidence of accessibility problems. In addition it also allows an important check to be made on how the representative the sample is of the general population in these areas. In order to do this reference is made therefore to the analysis of the population structures of Shropshire, North and South Shropshire Districts and the case study parishes undertaken in chapters 6 and 7, which was designed to assess the extent to which the areas studied are typical of the county and other parts of England, using information derived largely from the census. The first issue to be examined is that of population size and patterns of population change, followed by age structure, household size, male : female ratio, marital status, position in the household and stage in the family cycle.

8.2.1 Population Size and Patterns of Change

In chapters 6 and 7 population totals and the patterns of population change which have occurred in the areas studied in recent decades were studied. The basic pattern identified for rural areas of the county was one of static or declining population levels until the 1950's and 1960's, and growth in the 1970's and 1980's - a pattern typical of many English rural areas (chapter 4). Local variations were however recognised to have occurred. Thus although the six case study parishes showed a pattern very similar to this, with 9% net population loss in the 1960's and 9% growth in the 1970's, only Bettws-y-Crwyn and Clunbury reflected this pattern of reversed decline. By contrast Ightfield and Clun showed a pattern of continuing loss, and

Adderley and Woore continuing growth (Table 8.1). On the basis of the case study work and discussions with local representatives it would appear that growth in Adderley and Woore in the 1970's reflected the building of new housing estates in these parishes designed for younger couples with children, and in Bettws-y-Crwyn its younger population. Decline in Ightfield appeared to be the result of a lack of housebuilding, largely due to control exerted by a single landowner. The difference between Clun and Clunbury is less easy to explain. Both had a relatively old population and Clunbury had received less housing development in recent years. However in the case of Clun the proportion of one person, pensioner households was very high. That the 'Main Village Parish' should show net population loss is a significant point, since Main Villages are envisaged as centres for development - yet this is unlikely to be attracted to a parish exhibiting net population loss.

Table 8.1 Population present on census night, and change 1961-96

	1981 Population	% Population Change 1961-71 1971-81	
Adderley	327	+4.0	+26.7
Ightfield	414	-17.1	-1.7
Woore	984	+3.4	+11.6
Bettws	223	-20.0	+11.5
Clunbury	500	-16.2	+7.1
Clun	1232	-9.2	-2.3

Source: 1971, 1981 Census.

Turning to consider patterns of population change, two issues which the household survey was particularly concerned with were migration patterns, and the motives behind migration. The issue of motives behind migration is discussed later in chapter 9. It is worthwhile considering here however, the scale of migration occurring. This responds therefore to the first part of hypothesis 13, which states:

Hypothesis 13: Rural communities are dynamic, with constant population movements occurring, both locally and over longer distances.

This hypothesis gives rise to the following research question:

Research Question 13:

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

The household interviews produced evidence of a continuous exchange of people occurring between the case study parishes and other areas - a finding which supports the hypothesis put forward above. Obviously certain problems exist in establishing by survey methods how many people have left a parish and why they have left, unless one has access to confidential records such as DHSS or electricity board files. However, through the household survey it was possible to obtain information about the locations of independent children of current residents; a population group of particular interest since the out-migration of school leavers is recognised in the literature as being of great importance with respect to the future viability of communities. Discussions of out-migration therefore focus on this group. The pattern of in-migration was also traced through questions concerning how long a household had lived in the area and parish and where they had moved from. In addition, respondents were also questioned about expectations of moving in the future. The household survey therefore produced a wealth of information not only concerning people's migration history, both in and out of their parish of residence, but also about future intended movements.

Table 8.2 shows the length of residence of the interviewed households in the case study parishes and the areas of which they form a part. In total more than a third of interviewed households (35%) had lived in their parish for more than 30 years, and over half (54%) had lived in their local area for this length of time. Conversely just over a quarter had lived in the parish for 5 years or less and 16% in the area. Looking at figures for individual parishes it can be seen that Adderley and

Woore had a particularly high number of residents who had lived in the parish and area only a relatively short time. Thus out of the 47 interviewed households resident in their parish for 5 years or less, 15 lived in Adderley and 11 in Woore. By contrast the three southern parishes had a relatively high number of long-term residents, particularly with regard to residence in the same parish. Thus out of 63 households which had lived in the same parish for over 30 years, 15 lived in Bettws-y-Crwyn and 13 each in Clunbury and Clun.

Table 8.2 Length of Residence

a) In Parish

Years	Number of Households						Total
	A	I	W	B	CB	C	
0 - 5	15	4	11	5	7	5	47
6 - 10	3	5	4	1	3	9	25
11 - 20	4	10	5	3	4	2	28
21 - 30	3	3	1	6	3	1	17
31+	5	8	9	15	13	13	63
% resident 10 years or less	60.0	30.0	50.0	20.0	33.0	46.7	40.0

b) In Area

Years	Number of Households						Total
	A	I	W	B	CB	C	
0 - 5	7	2	7	5	3	4	28
6 - 10	1	3	3	1	3	4	15
11 - 20	5	5	4	2	2	2	20
21 - 30	3	2	2	5	3	3	18
31+	14	18	14	17	19	17	99
% resident 10 years or less	26.7	16.7	30.0	16.7	20.0	26.7	23.9

Parishes:

A =	Adderley,	B =	Bettws-y-Crwyn,
I =	Ightfield,	CB =	Clunbury,
W =	Woore,	C =	Clun

In order to examine the differences between households which varied in terms of their length of residence, length of residence was cross-tabulated with 9 variables related to basic household composition and type, and location.

- i) Number of vehicles owned.
- ii) Socio-economic group of head of household.
- iii) Employment status of head of household (economically active and in work, or not).
- iv) Number of persons in household.
- v) Stage of household in family cycle.
- vi) Age of head of household.
- vii) Location in Shropshire.
- viii) Location in parish (village or not).
- ix) Location in Main Village parish or not.

Chi-square tests were used to establish the statistical significance of any association between variables, using the procedure described in Appendix C. The analysis, like all those reported in this thesis, were performed using the SPSS9 statistical package on the Harris computer of Aston University. The cross-tabulations produced significant results with 5 variables. Thus a shorter length of residence appeared to be significantly associated with younger families with children (family stage and age), higher socio-economic group, location of dwelling within a village envelope and residence in North Shropshire. This reflects the in-migration of younger families with children and households belonging to higher socio-economic groups into several of the village studied in North Shropshire, where recent housing developments have generally catered for these groups. This pattern contrasts with several previous studies

therefore which have found that in-migrants are rather older (Chapter 3), and may reflect a pattern of counter-urbanisation.

Previous locations and destinations of migrants

Information collected concerning 164 household's previous locations (before moving to its location at the time of being interviewed), indicates that roughly one third of the households had moved from a location within the same parish - the proportion being higher in South Shropshire. A further 16% had previously lived in the local rural area and 7% in a local market town, i.e. 61% of households had moved from a location in the same District, (Table 8.3). Thus, whilst some in-migration from major towns in the region and other parts of Britain had occurred, particularly in North Shropshire, a high proportion of in-migrants did not move to the area from an urban area. Indeed, only 13% came from a 'major' town in the area. This disagrees with the general image of rural in-migrants as ex-urban dwellers therefore (chapter 4).

Turning to consider out-migration, in total 139 children were reported to have left home: 27 in Adderley, 30 in Ightfield, 17 each in Woore and Bettws-y-Crwyn, 23 in Clunbury and 25 in Clun. Of these locations were give for 128. Overall 55% of the 128 independent adult children for whom a location was given were still living in the same District, although only 13% had stayed in the same parish. A further 11% had moved to a major town in the region, whilst 29% had left the region altogether; suggesting that a movement out of the District tends to be long distance. Proportions staying in the parish varied between parishes from 4% in Adderley to 31% in Bettws-y-Crwyn, although it should be emphasised that this represented only 4 people in Bettws-y-Crwyn. Figures for the other parishes lay between 11 and 17%.

To conclude therefore, the case study findings do confirm, as postulated in the hypothesis, that rural communities are dynamic, with constant population movements occurring. These movements occur both into and out of the areas studied, and involve both short and long distance moves. As suggested in the literature

Table 8.3 Previous locations of households and locations of independent

adult children

Location	% of households			% independent children		
	North Salop	South Salop	Total	North Salop	South Salop	Total
Same Parish	38	50	43	10	15	13
Rural Locn. in District	16	16	15	28	20	24
Market town in District	7	2	5	24	12	18
Major town in region	16	11	13	13	8	11
Other location in region	4	10	7	1	10	5
Rest of Britain	21	11	16	21	35	27
Abroad	0	0	0	3	0	2
Total number (100%)	81	82	164	68	60	128

* excludes 11 children for whom no location given.

(chapter 4), many young people are leaving the areas studied, although contrary to the image put forward in the literature many in-migrants into the areas studied were also fairly young.

8.2.2 Age Structure

Examination of the age structure of the interviewed households show that the basic structure was broadly similar to that exhibited by the populations of the districts of which they form a part. In particular members of the interviewed households in North Shropshire were rather younger (33% being under 20 compared to 25% of those interviewed in South Shropshire), as shown in Table 8.4 and Appendix D. A slight discrepancy existed between the age distribution in the interviewed households and census figures for the case study parishes however, namely that the 60 plus age group was under-represented in the interviewed households by 8%. In North Shropshire this discrepancy was balanced by a slight over-representation in the other three age groups, and in South Shropshire by the 40-59 age group. The selection procedure does not appear to be the cause, and possible explanations (apart from sampling error associated with relatively small samples) could be failure to record the presence of aged, housebound dependants in a few households, the reluctance of single old people to answer the door to a stranger (five households could not be contacted despite repeated visits), death of a single elderly person selected from the electoral register (this occurred in two cases), and ill-health (two single elderly people refused to help for this reason).

Table 8.4 Age Structure of Interviewed Households and Respondents

	% Population Aged			
	0 - 19	20 - 39	40 - 59	60+
<u>All members:</u>				
North Shropshire	33	31	25	10
South Shropshire	25	24	30	20
Total	30	28	27	15
<u>Respondents:</u>				
North Shropshire	0	41	39	21
South Shropshire	1	24	38	37
Total	0	32	39	29

Given the research methodology which favours the interviewing of the head of household or their spouse, one would not expect the respondents to show the same age structure as the parishes to which they belong. Only one person under 20 was interviewed. As might be expected, respondents in North Shropshire showed a greater tendency to be in the 20 - 39 age group, and in South Shropshire in the 60+ age group.

8.2.3 Household Size

In line with national and county trends (discussed in Chapter 6) the interviewed households showed a tendency towards smaller households. In all the 180 interviews covered 205 respondents, and the 180 interviewed households contained 536 people. Average household size was therefore 3.0, being lowest in Clunbury and Clun (2.6) and highest in Adderley (3.4), as shown in Table 8.5. The number of persons in each household varied from 1 to 8 persons, although only 23 households (13%) contained more than 4 persons. A similar proportion contained only 1 person (25 households), and the majority therefore contained 2 to 4 (73%), in line with the county and national situation.

Table 8.5 Number of respondents and persons in interviewed households

Parish	No. of respondents	No of people in interviewed households	Average no. of people per household
North Shropshire	101	287	3.2
Adderley	32	101	3.4
Ighfield	33	91	3.0
Woore	36	95	3.2
South Shropshire	104	249	2.8
Bettws	39	93	3.1
Clunbury	31	77	2.6
Clun	34	79	2.6
Total	205	536	3.0

8.2.4 Other Characteristics

i) Gender

Overall 68% of the respondents were female (Table D.4) compared to an average of 50% for the northern three parishes and 49% for the southern three, according to the 1981 Census. The high proportion is explained by the fact that many interviews were conducted during normal working hours. In the interviewed households females were slightly under-represented in North Shropshire, making up 48% of the members of households interviewed, whilst in South Shropshire exactly half were female, as shown in Table D.5. The interviewed households are therefore representational of the parishes to which they belong, regarding male: female ratio.

ii) Marital status

Overall 78% of the people interviewed were married, as compared to only half the population of the six case study parishes at the 1981 Census (average for northern parishes and southern parishes both 51%). Single people made up only 8% of respondents, the widowed 12% and divorced 2% (see Table D.6.). In North

Shropshire the composition of the interviewed households was roughly similar to the average for the three parishes at the 1981 Census, but in South Shropshire the single, widowed and divorced category was slightly under-represented and married category over-represented (see Table D.7). The proportion of the population which is widowed or divorced is of some importance, particularly with regard to single-parent households which the literature suggests face particular problems. Four such households were interviewed.

iii) Position in household

In all the case study parishes the vast majority of respondents were either the head of household (42% overall), or the spouse of the head of household (52%), as shown in Table D.8. This compares to 34% and 26% respectively, of the members of interviewed households, as shown in Table D.9. The high proportion amongst respondents was intended, according to the research methodology.

iv) Stage in the family cycle

Using a three-fold categorisation and defining a child as someone under 20 years of age, it was found that 87 households were composed of adult(s) aged 20-59 with child(ren), 48 of adult(s) aged 20-59 without a child, and 45 of adult(s) aged 60 years and over. The more aged structure of the South Shropshire population was however illustrated by the lower number of households containing adult(s) of under 60 with a child (37 compared to 50 households in North Shropshire), and the higher number of households containing adult(s) of 60 years and over (29 compared to 16 in North Shropshire). Thus in North Shropshire the 90 interviewed households averaged 1.3 children per household (1.2 Ightfield, 1.3 Woore, 1.4 Adderley), but in South Shropshire the average was only 0.9 (0.8 Clunbury and Clun, 1.2 Bettws-y-Crwyn).

The interviewed households may therefore be considered on average, reasonably representative of the parishes to which they belong, although the interviewed households in the southern area contained a higher proportion of married

people, and interviewed households in both areas contained a low proportion of retired people in comparison with figures from the 1981 Census. The respondents showed a different set of characteristics, as a result of the chosen procedure for selecting respondents which emphasised the interviewing of the head or spouse of head of household where possible. In particular however, 68% of respondents were female compared to half of the actual population. Whilst this has certain important implications for interpreting attitudinal data, it has various advantages also. In general, women were found to be rather more involved with and therefore aware of the feelings of other members of their household. Furthermore women are, according to the literature, the ones to experience a high incidence of problems with respect to accessibility and disadvantage e.g low mobility, restricted job opportunities. Finally 78% of respondents were married, compared to half of the parish populations (1981 Census), and only one person under the age of 20 was interviewed.

In order to examine whether or not the interviewed households varied in their composition with location, variables related to household composition (size, age of head of household and stage in family cycle), were cross-tabulated with three variables concerning location, location in Shropshire (North/South), in the parish (village or not), and in relation to a Main Village (in a Main Village parish or not). The significance of any difference in characteristics with location was tested using chi-square tests. Only one cross-tabulation produced a significant value: heads of household living in South Shropshire showed a significant tendency to be older than those in North Shropshire (5% Confidence Interval).

8.3 AVAILABILITY OF FACILITY OUTLETS

8.3.1 Existing Levels of Provision

Five surveys have provided evidence of patterns of service and facility provision in the areas studied, namely those undertaken by the County Council (1981b, 1982a, 1982b), South Shropshire District Council (1984b), and the Community Council (1977). These together with the household survey described in this thesis, show the same general pattern for rural Shropshire, which is similar to that described in the literature for most parts of rural England (chapter 4). This pattern is one of concentration of provision into larger, generally urban centres, and of low availability of outlets in the rural areas.

The three surveys carried out by Shropshire County Council (1981a, 1982d) were undertaken as a means of obtaining information concerning facility provision on which to base planning decisions. 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 which had been listed in the Structure Plan, as being important to village life. Table 6.4 shows the relatively high percentages of villages in the County without these facilities, in 1966 and 1982.

Although slight differences exist between the County Council surveys, it is apparent that whilst in 1982 Main Villages generally had at least one outlet for each key facility, the proportion of other villages without them varied from 42% in the case of a church, to 91% for a doctor's surgery. The case study work also showed that whilst the two parishes studied which contained a Main Village possessed a range of facility outlets, the number present in the other parishes was more limited, especially in South Shropshire, as shown in Table F.2. Both the County Council surveys and the case study work showed considerable differences between facilities, in terms of their availability in villages. With regard to 'static outlets' (i.e. permanent, stationary outlets), in general certain types of facility were found to be present in most of the case study parishes, as shown in Table F.2, including the Post Office, 'odd item'

shopping, pub, restaurant (often in pub), primary school, bowling green/playing field, church, WI and village hall. Other facilities were found to be only sparsely distributed or absent. This agrees with the findings of earlier studies in other counties (see for example Lincolnshire County Council, 1981).

In order to obtain information about the availability and use of 'mobile' facility outlets (Research Question 2) respondents were asked what mobile and delivery services visited their area. Two types of 'mobile' service were therefore recognised, although these over-lapped: delivery services which were those brought to the home, and mobile services which were generally delivered at fixed locations away from the user's home and available to anyone on demand. These definitions are rather broader than those used by Moseley (1983), in his study of mobile services.

Respondents were questioned about their awareness and use of such mobile and delivery services. Overall 10 facilities were available in the six parishes, although by no means all visited every parish or every location within a parish, as shown in Table 8.6. All the parishes had at least one mobile facility/service available, with Bettws-y-Crwyn having the least and Woore the most. The most frequently available were grocer, library, milk, meat and newspaper deliveries/mobiles. Other types of mobile/delivery service were however available in the larger settlements (Main Villages) : fish in Woore and Clun, and fish and chips and chiropodist in Woore. Thus in general the parishes which contained the most mobile/delivery services were those with the most static facilities also, since they were the ones containing the largest villages and concentrations of potential customers, a conclusion also reached by Moseley (1983). Based on these findings one can conclude that mobile and delivery services are not only failing to fill the gaps in static service provision, but that they are also reinforcing disparities which exist between different rural locations, in terms of static service provision.

The case study work therefore supports the hypothesis put forward in chapter 5 and the start to this chapter. Static outlets for most types of facility were

Table 8.6 Mobile and delivery services available

Type	Adderley	Ight- field	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun
<u>Delivery</u>						
Newspaper	D	D	D	-	D	D*
Milk	D	D	D	Grocer	D-S/W	D
Chiropodist	-	-	on demand	-	-	-
<u>Delivery and/or Mobile</u>						
Butcher	-	W*	M≠	M	S/W≠	W*
Grocer	W*	S/W	S/M≠	S/M	S/W	S/W
Baker	-	-	Milkman≠	Grocer	S/W	S/W-F
<u>Mobile</u>						
Library	F	F/M	F	F	F	F
Fish	-	-	W*	-	-	W*
Fish & Chips	-	-	W	-	-	-
Health Clinic	-	-	W*	-	-	-
Total	4	5	9	3	6	7

D = Daily

S/W = Several times per week

W = Weekly

* = Villages only

F = Fortnightly

M = Monthly or less

- = Not available

≠ = Outlying houses only

sparsely distributed and largely concentrated into larger villages and market towns. A limited number of services were provided by mobile outlets, but distribution of these largely reflected that exhibited by static outlets, thus reinforcing disparities between different locations.

8.3.2 Changes in Availability Over Time

Existing patterns of facility availability reflect changes in provision which have been occurring over some decades. The fourth hypothesis established in chapter 5 was concerned with changes in provision and attitudes to changes, and states:

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.

In order to test this hypothesis, research question 4 then poses the following questions which the research should answer:

- 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 population of different areas?

The loss of facilities and services from rural areas has been of major concern for some time, with local authorities and other public agencies, including those in Shropshire, attempting to stem this loss by means of their policies. In

particular, the County Council as mentioned earlier, has attempted to stem the loss of outlets, especially from designated Main Villages, and has even tried to encourage provision, by means of its policy for rural settlements.

The case study work, in line with other pieces of research conducted in the county (discussed in chapter 6), produced evidence of the general trend in Shropshire being one of declining availability in rural areas. This pattern of change reflects the national trends in rural areas outlined in chapter 4. The questionnaire survey obtained information regarding changes in the availability of facility outlets. It was found that none of the six parishes had gained an outlet, although every parish had lost at least one—generally a shop or Post Office. Thus Calverhall (Ightfield Parish) had lost its shop-cum-Post Office; Woore, Clunbury and Clun a shop each; and Clun a cafe and some years previously a small hospital. In addition every parish but Ightfield had had its bus services reduced.

In the discussions which took place with facility providers, questions were asked about why outlets should close, and the problems of running small facility outlets in rural areas. Reasons suggested included many identified in chapter 3 and by Shropshire Rural Community Council in its (unpublished) work on rural facilities in Shropshire: low turnover; high running costs/low profitability; declining usage by local people who prefer to use cheaper urban outlets; problems created on retirement if the occupier wishes to go on living in the premises (as happened with Calverhall Post Office), difficulties in customer relations arising from customer and operator living in the same small community; and the policies of the Post Office and Local Education Authority, which favour rationalisation. Planning issues were not generally mentioned by facility providers as a factor which contributed directly to closure.

According to the case study work, the effect of the policies of statutory providers which have favoured rationalisation is clear. Although none of the parishes studied had lost a primary school in recent years, 62 rural primary schools were closed in Shropshire between 1952 and 1977 and not replaced. Reasons given

stressed the inadequacy of buildings, educational advantages of larger, newer schools; and, or declining school numbers (Shropshire County Council, 1977c). Given these types of reason there seems little prospect of such rationalisation policies being reversed in future years.

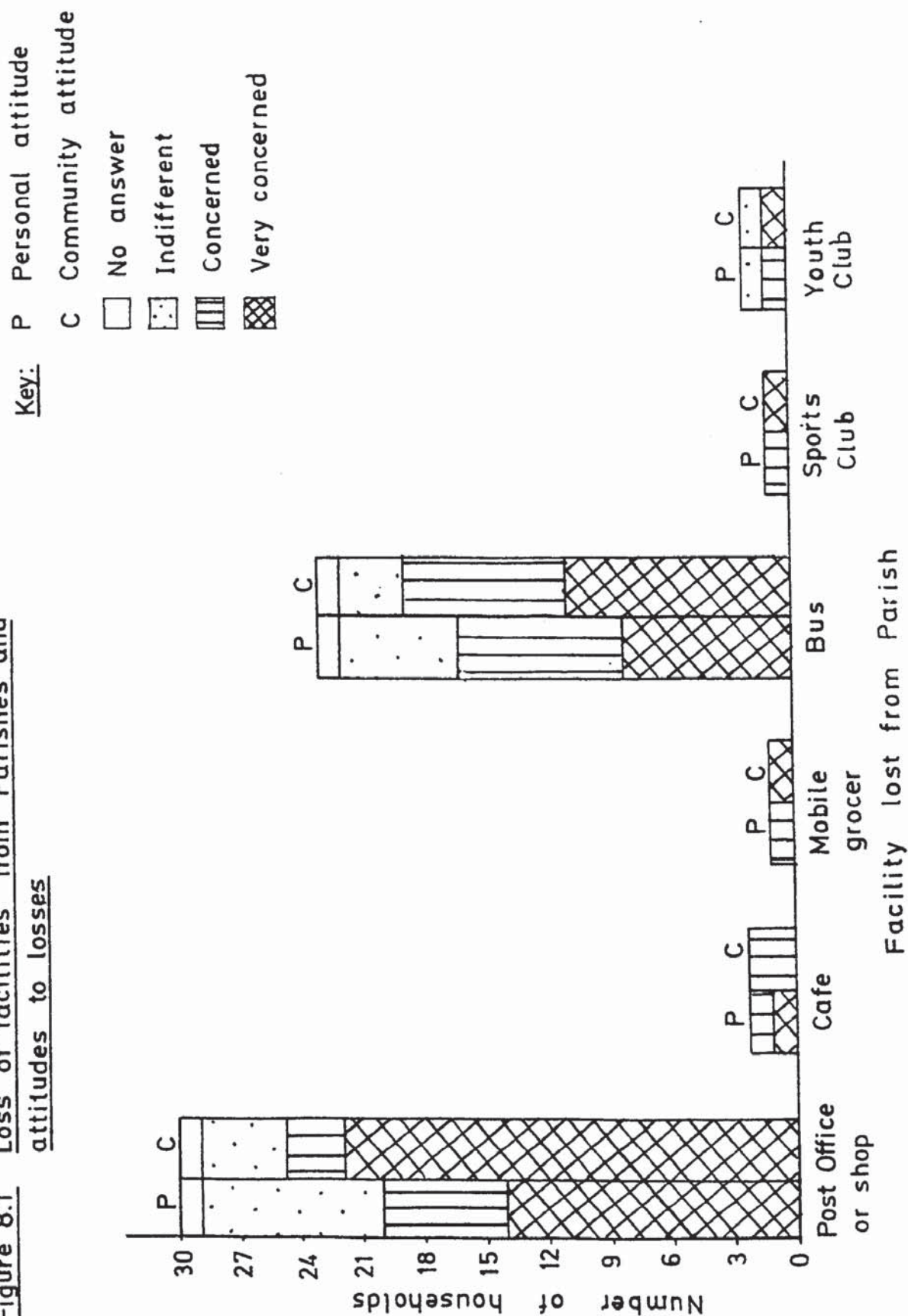
The case study work to a large extent therefore supports the hypothesis put forward above. The number of facilities based in rural areas has been declining in recent years. Losses of outlets have varied between the types of facility, being highest amongst shops/sub Post Offices in the parishes studied. However losses have not apparently varied greatly with location having occurred in all the parishes studied.

8.3.3 Attitudes to Changes in Provision

Numerous examples have been given in the literature of the declining availability of service and facility outlets in rural areas, which are envisaged to be regretted by rural residents because of the effects this decline has on their access to facilities, feelings of community vitality etc. (chapter 4). Few studies have however actually assessed the views of the residents to closure. Thus another issue which the household survey was designed to test was rural dwellers attitudes to the changes occurring in rural areas in the provision of outlets.

Respondents were not only asked about the recent loss of any services or facilities from their parish, but also about their, and the community's attitudes to any losses. As discussed earlier, none of the parishes studied had gained an outlet, whilst every parish had lost at least one, the most common being a bus service or shop/post office. These losses were not, however, mentioned by all the respondents, as shown in Figure 8.1. This figure shows the numbers of interviewed households mentioning the loss of a facility from their parish, and the type of facility lost. The highest proportion mentioning a loss was in Ightfield Parish, with respect to Calverhall shop-cum-Post Office. This had closed roughly one year prior to the survey, and was mentioned by respondents for 67% of households. From the results of the survey it

Figure 8.1 Loss of facilities from Parishes and attitudes to losses



appeared therefore that closure of this facility had been strongly opposed by the community, for when no alternative existed in the village. For other closures however only a relatively small proportion of respondents mentioned the loss.

Generally the people who did report any losses said that they were (very) concerned. However, a minority stated that they were indifferent personally, but that they thought the community was (very) concerned (5 households for post office/shop and 3 for the bus). Thus it seems that the majority of households studied had been largely unaware, or fairly quick to forget the loss of individual facility outlets, whilst a minority were both aware and very concerned, mainly because they had been particularly reliant on the outlet involved. The basic conclusion to be drawn therefore is that closure of outlets has a long-lasting impact only on a minority of households which remain. The extent to which problems related to access to facilities contribute to out-migration are discussed in the following chapter.

8.4 USAGE OF FACILITY OUTLETS

8.4.1 Static Facility Outlets

The household survey obtained information regarding the patterns of usage of 28 types of static facility outlet (listed in Table E.1). The following characteristics of this usage are considered here : locations used; frequency of use and reasons for non-use if applicable; distance from home to outlet by road in miles and travel time; by passing of outlets; and mode of travel. The early part of the section outlines the basic patterns of usage. Variations in usage between areas and population sub-groups are examined in the latter part of the section.

a) Locations used

The past and present patterns of static facility availability in Shropshire and the case study areas were discussed in the previous section. The following goes on to examine patterns of usage of these outlets. Locations of those static outlets available and used are given in Appendix F for reference purposes. It should be noted that in the tables given in the text and appendix, figures refer to one location per facility per household unless stated otherwise. If respondents mentioned more than one location used for a particular facility, the highest order location is the one recorded in the tables etc., unless otherwise stated. 'Major towns' are the highest order settlement recognised (major by rural standards), these being defined as towns with a population of over 10,000 (the limit often used in the literature to indicate rurality) . 'Market town' and 'Main Village' are defined in accordance with Local Planning Authority designations. Table F.1 lists the locations mentioned and their 'order', as defined on this basis.

With regard to usage, a general pattern emerged for most facilities whereby the majority of households in each parish used their nearest, and therefore often the same outlet, whilst a minority by-passed their nearest outlet, to use those in scattered, and often comparatively distant locations (see for example Figure F.1).

Generally households either used outlets in their own parish, or a local market town, or a more distant major urban area, as shown in Table F.3. Little use was made of facilities located in neighbouring parishes therefore, even if they contained a Main Village. This was particularly the case in North Shropshire. The proportion of households using a facility outlet in a Main Village, is shown in Table F.4. This makes it clear that Woore only acted as a service centre to an area roughly equivalent to other villages in the area. Conversely a limited number of households did travel to Clun from the neighbouring parishes studied (notably Bettws-y-Crwyn for commercial facilities and the doctor's surgery). The finding is interesting, in view of Shropshire County Council's (1984) proposal to remove the concept of Main Villages as service centres.

b) Frequency of use

One way in which the different accessibility to facilities experienced by households may be manifested is in a different frequency of use of outlets. The frequency with which households used outlets varied between facilities, as shown in Appendix E. According to these figures, four categories of facilities may be recognised, based on the frequency with which households use them:

- i) Facilities which 80% + households use, and which a majority use at least weekly: Post Office, 'main weekly' and 'odd item' shop (bulk and day-to-day purchase of perishable goods respectively), garage for petrol and bank.
- ii) Facilities which 80% + households use, but which the majority use less than weekly: 'major shopping' (for durable goods), doctor's surgery, dentist and chemist.
- iii) Facilities which 50-79% of households use at varying frequencies: pub, restaurant, doctor (home visit) and optician.
- iv) Facilities which less than 50% of households use at varying frequencies: all social facilities considered, higher education,

evening classes, hospitals, vet.

Respondents gave various reasons for not using facilities (listed in Table E.4). The main reason given for not using facilities was lack of interest, whilst other reasons given (in order of frequency mentioned) included lack of transport, use of a mobile/delivery service, receipt of errands, poor service available, and problems related to money and time. For educational and social facilities lack of interest was the main reason mentioned, followed by transport, whilst for commercial facilities a number of reasons were stated.

c) Miles travelled and travel time

Another aspect studied was the distance between the household's home and locations of static outlets used, in terms of road miles and travel time. Differences in usage between households resulting from varying accessibility may be reflected not only in different frequencies of use, but also in different distances travelled to outlets, be this measured in miles or in minutes (the latter also being determined by mode of travel used). Table G.1 gives the proportion of households falling into each of five 'distance bands', and Table G.2 the mean and range of distances travelled. It should be noted that when a household used more than one location, the average mileage was recorded. With regard to travel time, Table G.3 gives the percentages of households which fell into each of 5 time-bands, for each facility.

The two parameters of usage were found to be highly related. Using the mean distance and time travelled by the majority of households, it becomes possible to identify three categories of facility: those generally used within 4 miles/10 minutes of home e.g. Post Office; those generally used at 5-13 miles from home at varying travel times; and those used at least 20 miles/30 minutes from home e.g. hospital. This three-fold categorisation is discussed later.

d) By-passing of outlets

As mentioned above, some households by-passed their nearest outlet, in order to use a more distant outlet. This may be an important factor in determining the

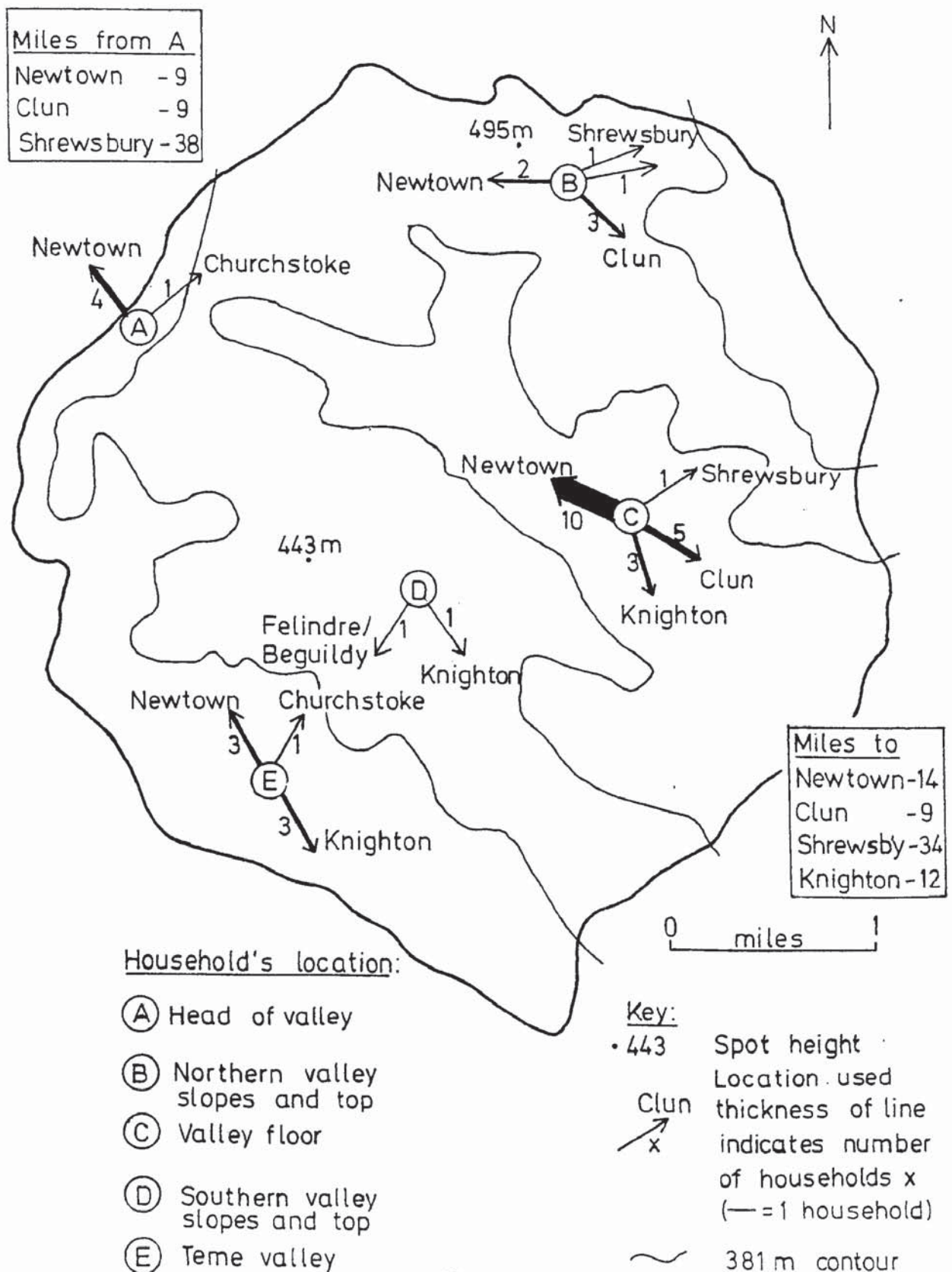
degree of accessibility experienced where the range or quality of service offered by local outlets is low, as in some rural outlets. The proportion of households by-passing their nearest outlet varied between facilities, from 86% in the case of main weekly shopping, to 3% in the case of the W.I. (Table H.1). Interestingly, it appeared that where households had to travel to relatively distant settlements, e.g. for major shopping, theatre and higher education facilities, so they tended to exercise greater choice over location used.

Respondents gave a variety of reasons for not using their nearest outlet, although many found difficulty in identifying a particular reason. The most common reason was that the trip was combined with one to work, or in some cases trips to commercial and medical facilities or to visit friends and relatives (Table H2). Other reasons mentioned by a number of households included 'institutional reasons', notably with regard to hospitals and secondary schools (although some flexibility was displayed); habit, generally after moving house (particularly for doctor's surgeries, dentists and banking facilities); price (shops and petrol); range of goods/services (shops and sports facilities); and transport (shops). It appeared that many households considered that if a journey by vehicle was necessary, one might as well travel an extra few miles to a market town as use a village-based outlet, especially if this involved waiting for a return bus. It was also apparent that topography had some effect in South Shropshire, with households tending not to cross the watersheds to the Clun Valley, as illustrated by Figure 8.2.

e) Mode of travel used

Obviously mode of travel is a crucial factor in determining access to facilities in rural areas where many outlets are not within easy walking distance. The modes of travel used by households, to travel to 27 facilities are summarised in Table I.1. It should be noted that every mode used by a household was recorded, so that these figures refer to the percentage of modes used, not percentage of total number of households using each facility. Overall it was found that the household car was by far

Figure 8.2 Effect of topography on locations used for Main Weekly Shopping by Bettws-y-Crwyn households



the most common form of travel used, being particularly important in Bettws-y-Crwyn. Thus the private car or motor cycle made up an average 69% of the total number of modes used, compared to 13% walking/bicycling, 6% lifts, 5% public bus, and 7% other modes of travel combined. The low usage of public transport is particularly striking.

The mode of travel used varied considerably between facilities however. Walking and bicycling were important for trips to village-based facilities e.g. Post Office, pub, whilst school transport and ambulance/hospital car services were only used for trips to school and hospital as a patient respectively. The Voluntary Car Scheme was used by a number of households for medical trips, as were other lifts, which were also used for trips to a range of other facilities, notably whist and the W.I. Taxi's were also regularly used by a handful of households, for trips to a variety of facilities. Finally public bus transport was not used by any household for trips to social facilities, the pub, hospital as an in-patient or visitor, schools or evening classes, and usage was particularly low in Adderley (weekly bus only). It was however used by a minority of households, notably from Clunbury, particularly for trips to commercial facilities, medical facilities excluding hospitals and higher education facilities.

8.4.2 Usage of Mobile and Delivery Services

Full details regarding the number of households in each parish using mobile and delivery services and their frequency of usage are given in Appendix K. Overall the proportions of households which used each mobile and delivery service were very small (Table 8.7) Only newspaper deliveries were reported to be widely used (48% of households), although this proportion varied from 83% in Woore to 0% in Bettws-y-Crwyn where the service was not available. Respondents for 20% of households stated that they used the mobile library, but again the proportion varied from 27% in Woore to 13% in Bettws-y-Crwyn where the service was only readily

Table 8.7 Usage of Mobile and Delivery Services

Parish	Number of households using service				
	Newsagent	Butcher	Grocer	Library	Baker
Adderley	22	0	1	5	0
Ightfield	16	1	8	6	0
Woore	24	1	1	8	1
Bettws	0	1	12	4	0
Clunbury	10	1	7	7	4
Clun	12	0	3	6	2
TOTAL	84	4	32	36	7
% of 180hh	48%	2%	18%	20%	4%

available to a few households. The third facility to be used by quite a number of households was the grocery delivery/mobile service which, by contrast, was most widely used in the most remote parish of Bettws-y-Crwyn (40% of households), and least in Adderley and Woore (3% each). Otherwise such services as were provided were little used or considered, for example mobile butchers, although those that did use them were in some cases heavily reliant on them.

Respondents were asked to give their reasons for not using mobile and delivery services, and their replies are shown in Table K.7. The most common reasons given (notably for the mobile library) were that they were not required (37% households); inappropriate timing (26%); and convenience of using a static outlet, at a location which had to be visited for another purpose anyway (20%). Thus to many people mobile/delivery services were inadequate. They did provide a vital service to a number of less mobile households but these also tended to be those less well-off financially. On the basis of this evidence it would appear that operators are likely to face continuing financial difficulties, and that the services are not effectively filling the gaps which exist in static outlet provision.

8.4.3 Access to Communication Systems and Information Sources

The third hypothesis and research question defined in chapter 5 was concerned with the availability and use of information sources and telecommunication systems. Thus it stated:

Hypothesis 3: 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.

Two research questions are raised by this hypothesis:

- 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.

The information sources and telecommunication systems available in the case study parishes included television, telephone, newspapers, friends and relatives, and in a limited sense more formal information providers such as policemen, doctors etc. In general people seemed heavily reliant on these systems, particularly the television and telephone (Table 8.8). Whilst virtually all households owned or rented a television and three-quarters had their own telephone (78%), only half bought a national daily paper (49%) and a quarter a local daily paper (27%). Of the 39 households which did not have a telephone, 18 had to travel over 50 metres to reach a public call box and 6 had severely restricted access to this source of information and communication. Variations in purchasing/availability of telephones, television and newspapers existed too, being generally higher in North Shropshire.

Table 8.8

Access to Television, Telephone and Newspapers

Facility	Owned/ Rented	Number of households		Total answering question
		Borrowed or use public source	Not owned etc or borrowed	
Television	170 (89+1)	0	6	176
Telephone	138 (70+68)	35	4	177
National daily paper	84 (47+37)	4	84	172
Local daily paper	46 (38+8)	3	123	172

Figures in brackets refer to North and South Shropshire.

In order to identify the effects of variations in service provision on access to information, respondents were asked how they would find out the location of their nearest DHSS office, the name and address of their local M.P., and hospital visiting times at the nearest District General Hospital. Respondents gave similar replies for the first and third of these, with respondents for roughly half the households saying that they would telephone the office/hospital, 20% 'ask a friend or relative', and 20% that they already knew (as shown in Table K.8). In response to the question regarding the M.P.'s name and address respondents for only 14% of households said that they would use a telephone contract, whilst 32% said they would ask a friend/relative, and 34% that they already knew. In each case therefore the telephone and friends and relatives proved important sources of information, more so than community leaders, or public offices such as CAB, DHSS, libraries (which were often some distance away).

Some differences between the two areas emerged, with more households in North Shropshire replying that they already knew, would ask a community leader or at a public office, or (for the questions involving the hospital and DHSS) would

telephone. More South Shropshire households stated that they would ask a friend or relative, suggesting that informal, community-based sources of information are more important in South Shropshire, possibly due to its remoteness. In general however, rural dwellers in the areas studied appeared to make use of a range of information sources and communications networks, and many respondents stated that they were heavily dependent on them, particularly with regard to the telephone.

8.4.4 Variations in Usage Between Facilities

The household survey provided a considerable amount of data related to facility usage by the interviewed households, and some underlying patterns in the data have emerged. In order to examine these underlying patterns further, it was decided to apply factor analysis to selected variables related to static facility usage. Factor analysis is a statistical technique which allows one to investigate the underlying patterns of relationships which exist in multivariate data, on the basis of inter-correlations among variables. The technique expresses these intercorrelations in the form of a limited number of derived 'factors', and therefore has the advantage of data-reduction, such that it becomes possible to identify more easily, the underlying relationships which exist.

As used here factor analysis involves three stages: the calculation of the correlation coefficients between variables, the extraction of the initial orthogonal (uncorrelated) factors, and the rotation of these factors, using the varimax technique. Rotation is a method of translating the initial factors into a simpler, more stable, and more explanatory form, whilst still maintaining their statistical properties. Varimax is the standard method of orthogonal rotation (which maintains the orthogonal structure of the factors i.e. the factors remain uncorrelated). The final result is a set of rotated factors therefore, and values which express the degree of correlation (loading) between each original variable and each factor. These values are negative or positive, according to whether the relationship is negative or positive. A further explanation of the

technique, as used here, is provided by Nie et al. (1976).

One limitation of factor analysis with respect to this data set, is that cases which have a 'missing value' recorded for any of the variables have to be excluded from the analysis. Non-use of a facility is necessarily recorded as a 'missing value' for every parameter of usage except frequency of use. Therefore, in order to preserve an adequate ratio of cases to variables, only those facilities which were used by virtually every household could be included in the analysis. Certain other limitations also exist in using factor analysis on this kind of data. For the purposes of this analysis, any variables which were not interval data, were transformed into one or more (binary) variables with just two categories, one category taking the value of 0 and the other 1 (otherwise the value of the category 1, 2, 3 etc. is taken to have some intrinsic statistical meaning). If more than one variable was created, one had to be omitted from the analysis. For example the variable for housing tenure had three categories when used in simpler analyses : owner-occupied, privately-rented and publically-rented. For the purposes of the factor analysis this variable had to be transformed into three variables, one for each form of tenure. Households in privately-rented accommodation would then score 1 for this variable and 0 for the other two, etc. Only two variables out of the three were then entered into the analysis. The weaknesses of factor analysis include the fact that it assumes there to be a structure in the data, that it obscures weaknesses in the data and that care has to be taken when selecting variables. With respect to the latter point it is necessary in particular to avoid selecting two similar variables, the similarity of which is of no interest to the researcher, as this may lead to more interesting relationships being obscured.

After careful consideration, variables were selected relating to six parameters of usage (frequency of use, size of settlement used, distance to outlet in miles and time, mode of travel and by-passing of outlets) for four facilities : Post Office, main 'weekly' shopping, major shopping and dentist. These represented a

range of types of facility and availability in different sizes of settlement. Two variables related to these had to be excluded however, due to low response rate (frequency of use of dentist), and poor split between size of settlement used (Post Office). Thus 22 variables were included in the analysis. The analysis was performed using the SPSS9 statistical package on the Harris computer of Aston University. This computer routine allows one to control the number of factors used in the varimax rotation, on the basis of their eigenvalue, which measures the amount of variance in the data that is explained by each initial factor. In this case all initial factors with an eigenvalue of more than 1.0 were included.

The analysis identified 7 factors, which together accounted for 74.0% of the variance in the data. These factors are illustrated in Table 8.9., which shows the variables which were found to be highly loaded on each factor. In this context, a variable was considered to be highly correlated, if it had a loading of at least ± 0.5 . The first component is representative of 'mode of travel', and gives a high positive loading to all the variables related to mode of travel, suggesting consistency on the part of households, in terms of mode of travel used. This first factor explained 24.9% of the variance in the data, and was therefore particularly important. Factors 2 to 5 are representative of certain parameters related to the four facilities, i.e. one factor each (size of settlement, distance travelled - miles and time, and by-passing of outlets). The results suggest therefore that these parameters of usage are highly correlated with each other, with respect to a particular facility. The final factors had only one variable highly loaded on them: miles to main weekly shopping and frequency of use of major shopping. This suggests that these variables are in some way distinct from the other variables.

On the basis of these and earlier results, it becomes possible to identify three categories of facilities, on the basis of size of settlement used, distance travelled, travel time, and proportion of households by-passing the nearest outlet. These categories are shown in Table 8.10. Thus category A facilities were used by a

Table 8.9 Variables related to facility usage with high loadings on the 7 factors

Factor	Representative of	Variance explained	Variables with a loading of variables	Loading
1	'Mode of travel'	24.9	Mode of travel to PO Mode of travel to MWS Mode of travel to MJS Mode of travel to Dentist	0.66720 0.93069 0.95033 0.93256
2	'Usage of major shopping facilities	13.0	Size of settlement MJS Miles travelled MJS Travel time to MJS By-passing of MJS	0.76216 0.66683 0.77264 0.68246
3	'Usage of Post Office'	10.2	Miles travelled to PO Travel time to PO By-passing of PO	0.94790 0.69598 0.75644
4	'Usage of dentist'	8.6	Miles travelled to Dentist Travel time to Dentist By-passing of Dentist	0.57476 0.86753 0.67824
5	'Usage of Main weekly shopping'	6.2	Size of settlement MWS Miles travelled to MWS	0.77508 0.52347
6	'Distance travelled to main weekly shopping'	6.2	Miles travelled to MWS	0.61485
7	'Frequency of use of major shopping'	4.8	Frequency of use of MJS	0.74774

PO = Post Office
MWS = Main Weekly Shopping (perishable goods)
MJS = Major item shopping (durable goods)

majority of households, at village outlets within 4 miles/10 minutes of home, and by two-thirds of households at their nearest outlet. Category B facilities were used by the majority of households at market town outlets, at a mean distance of 5-13 miles, but with varying travel times. Nearly half to three-quarters of households used these facilities at their nearest outlet. Finally category C facilities were used by a majority of households through a major town outlet, at a distance of at least 15 miles/30 minutes. Generally only a quarter to a half of households used these facilities via their nearest outlet, reflecting the exercising of greater choice over location used by most households.

8.4.5 Variations in Usage Between Population Sub-Groups

Two main possibilities existed, with the regard to the analysis of variations in facility usage between population sub-groups. Firstly, factor analysis could be used to examine the underlying patterns which existed between selected variables related to the population sub-groups and facility usage. Secondly, a range of chi-square tests could be used, to examine the significance of individual associations between any population sub-group and any parameter of usage for a particular facility.

Factor analysis had the advantage of data-reduction, but the disadvantage that the analysis would pick up correlations between the different parameters of usage of the various facilities (already considered), and correlations between the various population sub-groups, which would obscure the usage: sub-group correlations. In addition, as mentioned above, only those facilities which were used by virtually all households could be included in the analysis. Chi-square tests on the other hand could include lesser-used facilities, but did not have the advantage of data-reduction. Since both types of analysis had advantages and disadvantages, it was decided to undertake both.

Factor analysis was therefore performed on a range of variables related to facility usage and household characteristics. In order to avoid overlap between

Table 8.10 Categories of facility according to four parameters of usage

Parameter	Category A	Category B	Category C
Size of settlement used by majority of hh:	Village	Market town	Major town
Mean distance:	0-4	5-13 miles	20 + miles
Majority hh. use outlet:	Below 4 miles	Below 9 miles	15 + miles
Travel time for majority of hh:	Below 10 mins.	Varies	30 + mins.
% hh. using nearest	65+ %	44-75%	23-50%
Facilities which fall into category on the basis of 4 parameters	Post Office Odd item shop Pub Primary School Social Club Church Child group W.I.	Petrol Bank Doctor Dentist Optician Chemist Vet	Major shop Higher edn. Cinema Theatre
Facilities which fall into category on the basis of 3 parameters	Restaurant Whist Sport	Main weekly Shopping Evening class	Hospital

variables related to facility usage, reference was made to the research findings with respect to usage, discussed above. These findings suggested that considerable overlap existed for a particular facility, between parameters related to size of settlement used, distance travelled (miles and time), and by-passing of outlets, and that facilities could be grouped, on the basis of these parameters, into three groups. Variables were therefore selected related to the two parameters which did not overlap to such an extent (frequency of use and mode of transport), plus distance travelled. One facility was selected from each category, which was used by virtually every household : Post Office, dentist and 'major item' shopping, and to these were added 'main weekly' shopping, since it appeared to display different patterns of usage and was a particularly vital facility. Frequency of use of dentist facilities had to be excluded however, due to the poor response rate. The 24 variables included in the analysis, are shown in Table 8.11.

The factor analysis was undertaken using the same procedure and computer routine as described above. The analysis produced 9 factors, which explained 72.4% of the variance in the data. Table 8.12 gives the variables which were highly loaded (with a loading of at least ± 0.5) on each factor. The first factor, which explained 25.7% of the variance, is largely representative of 'wealth', and gives a high positive loading to use of a car to travel to the four facilities, vehicle ownership and head of household in active employment and a high negative loading to manual workers and Local Authority accommodation. This was the most important factor therefore, and illustrated the restricted access to facilities experienced by those households which:

- did not have a car;
- did not use a car to travel to facilities;
- had a head of household not in active employment;
- had a head of household in manual worker socio-economic group;
- lived in local authority accommodation.

Table 8.11 Variables included in Factor Analysis involving facility usage and household characteristics

A. Facility usage

- 1 - 3 Frequency of use of Post Office, main weekly shop, and major shopping
- 4 - 7 Miles travelled to Post Office, main weekly shop, major shopping and dentist
- 8 - 11 Use of household car to travel to Post Office, main weekly shop, major shopping and dentist

B. Household characteristics

- 12 Head of hh. in active employment
- 13 Head of hh. professional/employer/manager
S.E.G.
- 14 Head of hh. manual worker
- 15 Privately-rented accommodation
- 16 Local Authority accommodation
- 17 Number of vehicles owned
- 18 Length of residence in Parish
- 19 Size of household
- 20 Age of head of household
- 21 Presence of children in household
- 22 Proximity to major urban area
- 23 Proximity to a village
- 24 Proximity to a designated Main Village

Table 8.12 Variables related to household characteristics and facility usage with high loadings

Factor	Representative Of	% variance explained	Variables with a loading of ± 0.5	
			Variable	Loading
1	'Wealth'	25.7	Use car to PO Use car to MWS Use car to MJS Use car to dentist Manual worker Local Authority housing Number of vehicles owned	0.67283 0.89023 0.92565 0.92954 -0.57560 -0.67805 0.66605
2	'Younger family with children'	11.5	Head of hh. in work Children in hh. Age of head of hh. Size of hh.	0.54717 0.81360 -0.75758 0.79764
3	'Mileage to MWS, SEG'	9.5	Miles travelled to MWS Professional etc. worker	0.50561 0.70966
4	'Mileage to MJS, proximity to major. urban area'	7.1	Miles travelled to MJS Accessibility to urban area	-0.68828 0.66464
5	'Mileage to PO, proximity to Main Village'	5.3	Miles travelled to PO Proximity to Main Village	0.61616
6	'Frequency of use PO, length of residence'	5.1	Frequency of use of PO Years lived in Parish	0.56509 -0.66179
7	'Village Proximity'	4.2	Proximity to Village	-0.69201
8	'Frequency MWS'	4.1	Frequency of use of MWS	0.55562

PO = Post
Office
MWS= Main
Weekly
Shop
MJS= Major
Shop

The second factor was representative of 'younger families with children', and none of the variables related to facility usage were highly loaded on this factor. The remaining factors were generally representative of single variables or pairs of variables related to a particular parameter of usage and household variable, notably socio-economic group, proximity to a major urban area, and proximity to a Main Village.

In order to examine the variations in patterns of usage between households, 10 household variables were selected which were considered to be particularly relevant to a household's usage of facilities. These 10 'key household variables' were as follows:

- i) Number of vehicles owned
- ii) Length of residence in the parish
- iii) Socio-economic group of head of household
- iv) Employment status of head of household
(economically active and in work/or not)
- v) Number of persons in household
- vi) Stage of household in family cycle (adult(s) under 60 years plus/or
minus children/adult(s) 60 years and over)
- vii) Age of head of household
- viii) Location in Shropshire (North/South)
- ix) Location in parish (village/or not)
- x) Location in parish containing a Main Village (or not)

These variables were cross-tabulated with the six parameters of usage considered in section 8.3, for 15 selected facilities. Chi-square tests were used to establish the statistical significance of any association between the variables, using the procedure described in Appendix C. Details of the categories used for the parameters of usage are given in Appendix J.

Unfortunately chi-square poses some limitations on the data which can be

used, since tests are only valid if 80% of the cells contain a minimum of 5 cases, if the degrees of freedom are more than one (Gregory, 1978). Thus, most variables had to be restricted to a maximum of three categories (plus no answer), although it might have been desirable to use more e.g. for socio-economic group. For the same reason those facilities which were used by less than 45 households had to be excluded (9 cells x 5). In addition, primary school and church were excluded, on the grounds that patterns of usage were controlled by the Local Education Authority and legislation, and religious beliefs respectively. The 15 facilities which remained provided a useful basis for the analysis.

The results obtained from this analysis are given in Appendix J, and these are summarised in Table 8.13. Two cross-tabulations are excluded - those between size of settlement used for vet and hospital out-patient, since most households used the same category. As Table 8.13 shows, patterns of usage for many of the facilities considered, and particularly frequency and mode, were found to be significantly associated with the key household variables. The household variables which were significantly related varied however, with the parameter of usage concerned. The direction of the most consistent associations are shown in Table 8.14.

Thus, with regard to frequency of use households with no, or only one vehicle, with a head of household in a lower or middle socio-economic group, and/or living in the more remote area, consistently showed a significant tendency to use facilities less often. Moving on to consider size of settlement used, use of a 'village-based' (local rural) outlet showed an above expected tendency to be associated with residence in a Main Village parish (indicative of the larger settlement and higher levels of facility availability in the parish), South Shropshire location, and head of household in low socio-economic group. The latter finding agrees with that of Moseley (1977), who found that village-based shops were used more by people with lower incomes. This clearly has serious implications for the long-term economic viability of outlets, and for the financial position of those on low incomes who appear

Table 8.13 Number of facilities for which the key household variables gave a significant

chi-square value (5% C.I.)

Parameter of facility usage	No. of facilities considered	Locn. in Salop	Main village in Parish	Locn. in Parish	Years lived in Parish	No. of vehic-les	SEG Head of hh.	Work status head of hh.	Family stage	Age of head of hh.	Size of hh.
Frequency of use	15	8	3	4	5	12	8	9	12	11	11
Size of Settlement	13	10	11	1	5	4	8	2	4	4	4
Miles travelled	15	11	9	8	2	6	6	5	4	4	2
Travel time	15	10	7	10	0	3	4	2	2	3	0
By-passing outlets	15	7	11	4	0	4	4	2	1	2	1
Travel mode	15	0	5	6	4	13	12	12	9	9	6

Table 8.14 Variables significantly related to parameters of facility usage for at least 7 of the facilities considered

Para-meter of usage	Number of facilities considered	Variables significantly related	Direction of relationship
Frequency	15	Number of vehicles owned Family stage Age of head of hh. Size of hh. Location in Salop S.E.G. head of hh.	<u>Low frequency associated with:</u> 0-1 vehicles No child in hh. 60+ 1-2 persons South Shropshire S.E.G. 2 or 3
Size of settlement	13	Main Village Policy Location in Salop S.E.G. head of hh. Main Village Policy Location in Salop S.E.G. head of hh.	<u>Local rural with:</u> Main Village South Shropshire S.E.G. 3 <u>Major town with:</u> Varies North Shropshire S.E.G. 1
Miles travelled	15	Location in Salop Main Village policy Location in Parish	<u>Low mileage with:</u> North Shropshire Main Village Village location
Travel time	15	Location in Salop Location in Parish	<u>Less time with:</u> North Shropshire Village location
Use of nearest outlet	15	Location in Salop Main Village policy	<u>Use of nearest outlet with:</u> North Shropshire Varies
Mode of travel	15	Number of vehicles owned Work status head of hh. S.E.G. head of hh. Family stage Age of head of hh.	<u>Non-use of own car with:</u> 0 vehicle Not in work S.E.G. 3 Varies 60+

hh. = household,

Socio-economic group: 1 = Professional worker/employer/
(S.E.G.) manager

2 = Other non-manual, skilled manual

3 = Semi- or unskilled manual

to be paying more for basic commodities. Observations made during the case study work suggested that prices in village outlets were roughly 10% higher than those based in towns.

With regard to the distance travelled to facilities, those households which travelled a comparatively short distance to facilities showed a significant tendency to be those which lived in North Shropshire (particularly for medical facilities), in a Main Village parish, and in a village (the latter two particularly with respect to commercial facilities). Thus location of residence seems to be an important determinant of distance travelled to facilities, which is to be expected given the concentration of outlets into villages, and the relatively short distances between settlements in North Shropshire. However it is interesting to note that only a minority of households in South Shropshire, and virtually none in North Shropshire travelled from a neighbouring parish to a Main Village to use any of the facilities studied. The County Council's original concept of Main Villages as service centres to their area therefore seems inappropriate. Thus, the 'catchment' area of an outlet in the Main village of Woore appeared to be no greater than that of any other village, and Clun's influence, although wider, was limited to certain types of facility, notably doctor's surgery and commercial facilities.

Similar results were obtained with regard to travel time, with shorter times often being associated with location in a village and in North Shropshire. Examination of the figures for each parish however highlighted considerable differences in North Shropshire between parishes, with Adderley households tending to make more short trips to outlets and Woore households comparatively more long trips. This contrast reflects the tendency of Adderley households to travel to Audlem or Market Drayton (both 4 miles away) and Woore households to travel to the Potteries (only 8 miles from Woore).

Households in North Shropshire also tended to by-pass outlets more often. Cross-tabulations between by-passing of outlets and Main Village parish

location did produce significant results for 11 facilities, but the direction of the relationship varied. Thus, for 6 facilities households which used their nearest outlet showed a significant tendency to be those living in a parish containing a Main Village. For 5 other facilities however use of the nearest outlet was associated with those households which did not live in a Main Village parish. Finally, with regard to mode of travel a number of variables were strongly and consistently related to the (non) use of a household car. In particular households which did not use their own car to travel to outlets tended to have a head of household not in active employment or retired, and who was in a lower socio-economic group.

Overall, these findings tend to support those described in the literature and obtained from the factor analysis. In particular, a number of types of household may therefore be identified which appear to exhibit restricted use of facilities, and to be disadvantaged with respect to their access to facilities. These include those households:

- (1) with low vehicle ownership
- (2) composed of retired persons
- (3) with head of household in low socio-economic group.
- (4) with head of household not in work (unemployed, sick, economically inactive)
- (5) living in South Shropshire
- (6) living outside villages.

The case study results show therefore that the households studied varied considerably with regard to their patterns of usage of facilities, with some exhibiting very restricted usage. An important question is whether this is a reflection of individual tastes or preferences, or due to accessibility problems. Reasons given for non-usage of facilities varied considerably, and whilst many respondents stated that they were not interested in using certain facilities, a substantial minority suggested other reasons, including transport problems, poor quality of local services, and problems related to time and money.

8.5 ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS TO ACCESSIBILITY PROBLEMS

8.5.1. Perception of Problems

The previous section has described how some of the households studied were exhibiting restricted usage of facilities and services, whilst others were able to identify specific reasons related to accessibility which were inhibiting them using facilities and services. This prompts several supplementary questions, such as: did they perceive that they had a problem with regard to access to facilities? What were the main accessibility problems, with regard to facilities, perceived by the respondents and households studied? How did they react to them? Were those with problems dissatisfied, and in what way were levels of satisfaction with accessibility a reflection of a households situation (as judged by the researcher)? This section considers the evidence which the survey sheds on these questions, and responds to hypothesis which states:-

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.

A series of research questions are raised by this hypothesis:

- 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?

Respondents were asked what sort of problems they and their household had, in obtaining access to facilities. Overall 61 households reported a particular problem, with problems being expressed equally with respect to the various different types of facility (Table 8.15).

Table 8.15 Problems experienced in obtaining access to facilities

Problems experienced	Commercial facilities	Number of Households Medical facilities	Educational facilities	Social facilities
Number experiencing problems	37	53	30	43
Roads	3	3	3	3
Transport	23	28	17	23
Distance	3	12	2	6
Distance & Transport	6	7	6	9
Health	2	3	2	2
No problems	136	125	148	135
TOTAL	173	178	178	178

The most commonly mentioned contributory factor was lack of adequate transport, although distance to facilities was also mentioned (particularly in connection with medical facilities), along with hazardous road conditions, and ill health. Respondents generally stated that these problems were experienced all the time, although a few households experienced problems specifically during the working day (7 households), winter (3), evenings (2), or other times (3), as shown in Table L.3.

In order to establish the identity of the households whose respondent(s) perceived that they had an accessibility problem, a number of cross-tabulations using chi-square tests were performed. These showed that households which were reported to have a problem had a significant tendency to be those which were reportedly more

dissatisfied with their access to facilities and transport situation. Chi-square tests involving the 'key household' variables (defined in section 8.4) however failed to indicate any significant relationship.

8.5.2 Reactions to Problems

The sixth hypothesis to be defined (chapter 5) was concerned with people's reactions to their perceived problems in obtaining access to facilities, and states:

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.

This gives rise to a series of research questions:

- 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?

The household survey considered a number of possible behaviour patterns, which could be considered indicative of difficulties in reaching facilities, according to the literature. These included the use of outlets/services of a quality below that considered satisfactory, and reducing the need to travel to static facility outlets by using mobile or delivery services and communication and information systems (considered earlier), owning a freezer, taking lifts, relying on others to run errands, and combining trips.

Regarding use of facilities of a quality below that considered satisfactory (assessed using a 5-point scale), it was found that only a small proportion of

households (5%) used outlets which they were dissatisfied with. However, the majority (56%) were reported to be 'satisfied', and only 35% of households were reported to be 'very satisfied' with the quality of the facilities and services which they used (Table 8.16). Tables L.8 and L.9 list the specific qualities of the services and facilities, with which respondents were particularly satisfied or dissatisfied. As these tables show, the most commonly mentioned complaints were high prices in the local shops and for petrol, plus poor range of goods in the local shops, and education in the local schools. Only a few households reported satisfaction with a particular service or facility, and those who did tended to use highly generalised terms. Thus 12 households were reported to be particularly satisfied with one or other medical service, and a few mentioned other services.

Table 8.16 Satisfaction with Quality of Facilities and Services Used

Level of satisfaction	Percentage of respondents						Total
	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun	
Very Satisfied	33	33	57	30	33	23	35
Satisfied	53	53	27	67	60	73	56
Indifferent	3	3	6		7	3	4
Dissatisfied	10	7	3	3			4
Very Dissatisfied		3	3				1
Varies			3				1
Total number of households (100%)	30	30	30	30	30	30	180

With regard to other possible reactions to problems in obtaining access to facilities, not considered previously, most households were found to own a 'fridge or freezer', and a sizeable minority of households (20%) were found to deliberately shop in bulk (less than weekly), as shown in Table L.9 (Appendix L). In addition, 28% of households received lifts (and 23% gave them) as shown in Table L.10, and 14%

received errands (and 7% ran them) regularly. Finally, 40% of households were reported to consciously combine trips, notably trips to work with trips to commercial facilities such as shops for odd item and main weekly shopping, banks and garages (Table L.11). Whilst these behaviour patterns could not always be directly attributed to accessibility problems, the survey work suggested that they were often associated with them.

8.5.3 Aspirations and dependence

In order to examine people's aspirations with regard to facility usage, and the possibility that certain facilities were so difficult to use that households did not consider using them, respondents were asked:

"Are there any facilities which you would like to use more often if you could reach them more easily?"

"Are there any facilities which you would like to see opened in the parish?"

In addition, in order to examine household's dependence on particular outlets, respondents were asked:

"Is there any facility which you would particularly miss if it were to close?"

The results are given in Appendix L, Tables 4, 5 and 6 respectively.

Overall respondents for 37% of households mentioned a facility which they would like to use more often (notably sports facilities, shops for food/day-to-day use, and cinema); respondents for 27% mentioned one or more facilities that they would like to see opened in the parish (notably chemist and food/day-to-day shops); and respondents for 30% one or more facilities which they would particularly miss if closed (notably Post Office and food/day-to-day shops). Thus shops which supply food or other 'odd items', seem particularly important to the interviewed households. Unlike the results discussed above, given in response to the question: 'do you personally have problems in reaching facilities generally...' these more specific questions produced answers relating to one type of facility more than others-shopping.

This partly concurs with the emphasis given in the literature, to problems related to access to health and shopping facilities (Chapter 4).

8.5.4 Satisfaction with Access to Facilities

The preceding sections of this chapter have examined the patterns of facility usage exhibited by the interviewed households, people's perceptions of their accessibility problems with regard to facilities, and the facilities which households would use more often if they could reach them more easily. This section goes on to examine people's satisfaction with their access to facilities, and examines their expectations with respect to facility provision.

In order to examine levels of satisfaction, respondents were asked the following questions, with regard to their access to facilities.

'Would you say that you personally have problems in reaching facilities generally, or are you satisfied with your access to facilities?

Would you say that the rest of the household has problems in reaching facilities, or are they satisfied with their access to facilities?'

Tables L.1 and L.2 give the responses given to these questions using a five-point scale. Taking the answers to the two questions together it becomes possible to calculate the overall levels of satisfaction in each household, as shown in Table 8.17. As these results show, levels of satisfaction with access to facilities were generally high, with respondents for 38% of households stating that everyone in their household was 'very satisfied', and 43% that everyone was 'satisfied'. Overall respondents for only 18% of households stated that someone in their household was (very) dissatisfied, but this included 7 (4%) households in which everyone was reported to be dissatisfied.

Differences in levels of satisfaction between population sub-groups

The characteristics of the respondents and households were compared with reported levels of satisfaction (for the respondent and household combined),

Table 8.17 Levels of satisfaction with access to facilities in households

Level of satisfaction in household	Number of households							% of households
	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun	Total	
All very satisfied	14	13	14	7	9	11	68	38
All satisfied	9	12	9	14	18	15	77	43
Varying levels of satisfaction	1			1			2	1
All dissatisfied	3	3	3	5		1	15	8
All very dissatisfied	1	1	2		1	2	7	4
Varying levels of dissatisfaction						1	1	1
Some (very) satisfied								
Others (very) dissatisfied	2	1	2	2	2		9	5
Total	30	30	30	29	30	30	179	100%

using chi-squared tests. Respondent and household levels could not be considered separately owing to low numbers in the dissatisfied categories (which would have invalidated the tests). Results of the tests showed that reporting of dissatisfaction was significantly higher amongst households with a head of household in a low socio-economic group, households which lived in North Shropshire, households which were dissatisfied with their transport situation, and households which had a couple of respondents. Other tests involving cross-tabulations of satisfaction/dissatisfaction against number of vehicles owned, family stage, age of head of household, size of household, length of residence, employment status and age, marital status and position in household of respondent did not give significant results (5% confidence interval).

Dissatisfaction was therefore higher amongst households belonging to one of the social groups which 'objective' measures also suggested had restricted patterns of usage: those with a head of household in a low socio-economic group. With regard to other groups however 'objective' and 'subjective' measures produced contrasting results. Firstly, it is interesting to note the higher rates of dissatisfaction reflecting greater expectations amongst North Shropshire households, for whom proximity to urban areas and the high levels of provision to be found there was much greater. There appeared to be a tendency for North Shropshire households to be more aware of urban levels of provision and to aspire more to these levels. South Shropshire households however were more prepared to accept lower levels of provision as an integral part of rural life. Secondly, no strong association between dissatisfaction and fewer household vehicles was obtained, despite 'objective' measures having identified car-less households having restricted patterns of usage. This may be due to dissatisfaction arising not because the household lacks a vehicle, but because whoever uses facilities most (notably whoever does the shopping) does not have day-time use of a vehicle. Thirdly, there was no strong association between dissatisfaction and pensioner households, another group which 'objective' measures

suggest have restricted usage. This appeared to be due to the lower expectations of this group.

Overall the proportion of '(very) dissatisfied' households was low considering the variations in usage which households exhibited, and that respondents for 34% of households reported that they had a problem with respect to access to facilities, and for 37% that there was a facility they would like to use more often. Two important questions are therefore: 'What were the factors causing the lack of an exact correspondence between results obtained using 'objective' measures and the various types of 'subjective' measure used which were tapping people's attitudes?', and 'Were the discrepancies significant?'. Referring back to the theories discussed in chapter 3 with respect to factors influencing a person's reported subjective assessment of their own situation, a number of models were discussed. Together these envisaged a number of stages existing whereby a person perceives their environment, forms a judgement of it, and expresses this judgement. Each one of these stages is seen to be influenced by the person's attitudes and expectations (as affected by their past experiences, socialisation etc.), plus their emotional state at the time the judgement is made. As a result of these factors past studies have tended to find a lower level of association between a person's conditions as measured using 'objective' measures and their 'subjective' assessments of their situation, than might have been expected. This appears also to be the case here.

Differences in levels of satisfaction and patterns of usage

In order to examine whether or not dissatisfied and satisfied households differed significantly in terms of their observed patterns of facility usage (measured by means of 'objective' indicators), a number of cross-tabulations were performed between six parameters of usage for 15 facilities (as discussed earlier), and levels of satisfaction. Two variables related to satisfaction with access to facilities were available - one for 'respondents' and one for 'the rest of their households'. Unfortunately as mentioned previously, neither gave a large enough number of

households in the dissatisfied categories to validate the chi-square tests (at least 5 households falling into each cell). However when the two were combined into a measure of satisfaction for the 'whole household', a sufficient number of dissatisfied households were obtained as to make the chi-square tests valid. Furthermore chi-square tests between 'whole household' level of 'satisfaction' and 'respondent' and 'rest of household' levels of satisfaction showed a high degree of association.

Results of these cross-tabulations between pattern of usage and levels of satisfaction are given in Appendix J. Chi-square tests showed that only travel mode was consistently significantly related (for 10 of the 15 facilities studied) to satisfaction with access to facilities. Thus for use of at least 10 facilities household's levels of satisfaction appeared to be associated with whether or not they used a car to travel to facilities.

It was noted earlier that not all respondents who perceived that they or their household had a problem with regard to access to facilities reported that anyone in their household was dissatisfied with this accessibility. Chi-square tests however showed that the number of households which mentioned a problem was significantly related to the number which expressed dissatisfaction at the 1% confidence level. The degree of association between these two 'subjective' measures of people's attitudes is therefore high and merits greater examination. It appeared from the interviews that quite a number of the people studied had low expectations with regard to facility accessibility, i.e. they accepted accessibility problems as a part of living where they did. In some cases these low expectations were a reflection of the fact that they had always lived in a rural area where there was poor accessibility to facilities. In other it was an adjustment made on moving to the area from a location with better accessibility. In this case people had chosen to live in the area and had accepted low accessibility to facilities as the price they had to pay for other perceived benefits which the area had to offer. A third reason for low reported levels of dissatisfaction (and one which has been found to occur in studies of this type elsewhere) might be that people

were reluctant to express dissatisfaction for personal reasons such as desire not to appear a 'complainer', although this was not perceived to be occurring during interviewing.

These findings have three important implications therefore. First of all it appears that objective and subjective assessments of people's accessibility will give results which contrast to some extent. The extent of this contrast will depend on the population sub-groups involved and the exact measures used. This finding concurs to a large extent with the handful of other studies which have examined in parallel the results obtained using these two types of measure. This finding has an implication for policy-makers, since it identifies the necessity for them to use both types of measure.

Secondly, the findings suggested that different subjective measures tap people's perceptions in different ways. Thus the question 'do you have problems with regard to....' will produce results which are significantly related to, but which differ to some extent, from results to the question 'how satisfied are you with...', because in the latter case respondents appear to compare their situation to their expectations more, and take into account their satisfaction with other aspects of their life.

Finally, this acceptance by certain rural dwellers of their accessibility problems may well explain why rural dwellers have been slow to draw attention to their problems and to campaign for better accessibility, or at least retention of service outlets. Only when levels of accessibility fall, or their expectations rise sufficiently will they 'feel' and express dissatisfaction. This has implications for the work of such groups as the RCC's who seek to encourage rural communities to take more positive action to retain facilities and control events occurring in their areas. Rather than wait for a decline in accessibility it seems important for such groups to encourage awareness amongst communities of the steps they can take to protect their interests.

8.5.5. Prediction of Satisfaction with Access to Facilities

The research findings discussed in the previous sub-section indicate that it

is possible to identify certain 'observable' characteristics common to many '(very) dissatisfied' households. However disparities were found to exist between results using different types of measure. This suggests that it is important for policy-makers to consider both 'objective' and 'subjective' assessments of accessibility. Unfortunately the cost of obtaining 'subjective' data is high and certain methodological problems exist, notably obtaining standardisation between interviews when several interviewers are involved. It was decided therefore to explore further the possibility of identifying a number of 'objective' measures of accessibility which could be obtained more cheaply and with fewer methodological problems, and which could be used to explain and predict people's levels of satisfaction with a reasonable degree of accuracy. In other words it was decided to identify the 'objective' variables which could best be used as surrogates for 'subjective' variables. The technique selected for doing this was discriminant analysis.

Discriminant analysis, as used here, is a technique which allows one to use a set of discriminating variables, to statistically discriminate between two groups of cases. In this situation, the two groups used were:

- a) Those households in which everyone was (very) satisfied with their access to facilities; and
- b) Those households in which at least one person was (very) dissatisfied.

A fuller explanation of the technique is given in Appendix C, and in the publications produced by Klecka (1976) and Goldstein et al. (1978). Briefly however, discriminant analysis is a technique for deriving a discriminant function which represents a linear combination of the discriminating variables, such that two groups of cases are separated as much as is statistically possible. The function is made up of the weighted, standardised values for each of the discriminating variables, which can therefore be used to examine the relative contribution being made by each discriminating variable, to the separation of the two groups of cases. The overall degree of separation obtained is indicated by two measures: Wilk's lambda, and the

canonical correlation (discussed in Appendix C). In addition, the SPSS9 package used for this analysis then uses the discriminant function to classify the cases, as if their membership with regard to the two groups was unknown. The percentage of cases which are correctly classified then indicates the degree to which the function and the discriminating variables, are able to classify the cases correctly.

The first discriminant analysis performed involved the ten 'key household variables identified in section 8.4 and the results are shown in Table M.1. The analysis did not produce a high degree of separation, as shown by the high Wilk's lambda and low canonical correlation figures, and only 67.8% of cases were correctly classified, using the function. A second discriminant analysis was then performed using variables related to the respondent's characteristics, but this produced an even lower degree of separation, as shown by the very high Wilk's lambda, and very low canonical correlation figures, and the low proportion of cases correctly classified (Table M.2.).

The third analysis performed however, produced a much higher degree of separation. This involved parameters of usage related to four facilities (Post Office, main weekly and major shopping, and dentist), which were selected on the grounds that they were used by virtually all households (and therefore fairly 'essential') and represented a range of types of facility and availability. Unfortunately two variables related to these had to be excluded because of limitations in the data (frequency of use for dentist, and size of settlement for Post Office). The analysis produced a Wilk's lambda figure of 0.69 and canonical correlation of 0.56, with 86.82% of cases being correctly classified, using the function (Table M.3).

The standardized coefficients for two variables were particularly high: mode of travel to major shopping and dentist, and a further discriminant analysis based on these two variables only, produced a function which was able to predict 76.13% of the cases correctly (Table M.4). The addition of other variables related to household characteristics failed to improve on this percentage. According to these results

therefore, it seems that, out of all the discriminating variables considered, mode of travel to facilities is a critical factor, in determining household's levels of satisfaction, with access to facilities. Furthermore, it seems possible to predict with roughly 87% accuracy, household's levels of satisfaction with access to facilities, on the basis of a limited number of variables related to patterns of facility usage. Using only two variables (mode of travel to major shopping and dentist), the accuracy is still 76%.

According to these results therefore discriminant analysis was not able to predict levels of satisfaction accurately from the 'key' household characteristics, nor from the respondents characteristics. However quite a high degree of accuracy was obtained from analysis involving variables related to usage, and particularly from two variables : mode of travel used to major shopping and dentist. Of course local authorities face certain problems in obtaining these types of data and analysing it. Social surveys are expensive and time-consuming to undertake, they require specialised knowledge on the part of researchers and if complex analyses are involved require also computer resources. However it would be feasible to incorporate such variables into the Census, as is done already for mode of travel to work, and for a centralised government body to undertake the analysis if County Councils could not do so. Alternatively local authorities could send out a simple questionnaire to be returned with electoral register returns.

8.6. ACCESS TO FACILITIES AND THE INFLUENCE OF POLICIES

According to the case study work a substantial proportion of the interviewed households were experiencing problems in obtaining access to facilities, as assessed by means of both 'objective' and 'subjective' measures. On the basis of the results of 'objective' assessments it proved possible to identify a number of 'disadvantaged' sub-groups in the population which showed a significant tendency to have a restricted pattern of usage of facilities. These include those who do not have use of a private vehicle at the time; pensioners; those belonging to low socio-economic groups; and those living in South Shropshire, outside villages and, or in parishes which did not contain a Main Village.

These findings are consistent with those of earlier, albeit more limited studies in the areas concerned. As discussed earlier Shropshire County Council (1982a) highlighted the low levels of access to even basic facilities being experienced by residents of some villages. Both South Shropshire District Council (1984b) and the Community Council of Shropshire (1977) have also examined access to facilities in the South Shropshire and Clun areas respectively and identified the presence of problems in them.

An issue central to this thesis concerns the effect which planning and other government policies have had on the degree of accessibility rural dwellers experience. It was explained earlier that Structure Plan policies for facilities and services have supported the concentration of development into larger settlements. With respect to rural areas, until 1984 the County Council gave emphasis to the retention and development of outlets in Main Villages which were envisaged as service centres to the surrounding areas. Since 1984 the County Council has put forward policies which favour the retention of outlets in all rural settlements where they exist. The policies pursued by the County and District Councils are of importance not least since they spend large amounts of money on providing facilities and services, with education taking up roughly half of the County Council's budget alone.

Policies of other statutory providers such as the Area Health Authority, have also generally favoured rationalisation of outlets, and concentration into central locations. In a limited number of cases however services have to be provided to all households on an equal basis (postal deliveries are an example of such a service, with the Post Office being required to collect and deliver post to all householders). In addition, the necessity of retaining 'local' services has been recognised in a number of other cases, e.g. G.P.'s surgeries. The Rural Community Council has been active in encouraging support for, and the retention of rural outlets.

The general pattern to emerge in both sets of case study parishes is one of declining provision, and increasing concentration into larger rural settlements and urban locations. Generally therefore statutory providers have been successful in achieving their aims of rationalisation and centralisation. In doing so they have reduced the availability of outlets outside urban areas particularly in the smaller rural settlements. Whilst the policy of centralisation has offered benefits to those living in the settlements selected to receive the concentration of outlets, it has exacerbated the accessibility problems experienced by some sections of the rural community. Groups most affected, according to the survey work, included those living outside the larger settlements and those with low mobility, or particularly high demand for a facility, e.g. those requiring frequent use of a hospital. Facilities provided by private operators have also tended to disappear from the case study parishes. Thus all the parishes studied had lost at least one service/facility, and none had gained one in the years prior to the survey.

The County Council's policy of encouraging the retention of outlets in Main Villages appears to have had little effect on the parishes studied. Higher levels of provision did exist in the Main Villages, but then this had been one of the main criteria used in their selection. Work in Shropshire and elsewhere has suggested that level of provision is closely related to settlement size (Shropshire County Council 1981b, SCRCC's 1978). This seemed to be the factor determining higher provision in the

Main Villages, which were those with a greater population. Most operators did not identify Main Village designation as having influenced their operations significantly, if they were aware of it.

Furthermore, the Main Villages appear to have lost facility outlets at the same rate as other villages, although they had more to lose. According to the survey results also, one of the Main Villages studied (Woore) was not acting as a service centre to a larger surrounding area than any other village studied in the area, whilst another (Clun) acted as a service centre in only a limited capacity (for shops and doctor's surgery). For many villages in North Shropshire market towns were no further away (road distance) than were the Main Villages, and the survey indicates that people preferred to use outlets based in the towns due to their better range of facilities and quality and keener prices. On the basis of these findings the County Council's proposed change in policy favouring the retention of outlets in all villages, and the deletion of the concept of Main Villages as service centres seems justified.

Two of the other significant findings to come out of the study were the facts that certain sections of the population did not use their nearest available outlet, and that dissatisfaction with access to facilities was closely related to availability of a car or similar vehicle, to travel to outlets. Thus people's reported perceptions of their access to facilities were not just a reflection of the (road) distance between their home and the nearest available facility outlets. The ability of households to choose between outlets (i.e. quality of outlets) and to travel by a car or similar vehicle, were also extremely important. This calls into question the criteria used by the County Council to judge access to facilities. The County Council has considered a resident to have access if they lived in a village with an outlet, or if they could reach such a village using public transport. But this survey has indicated that village-based outlets do not always meet their expectations, and that access by a private vehicle is an important factor.

This attitude to village - based outlets was also indicated by people's

reaction to closure of outlets (which had occurred in all parishes studied). Those people who tended to rely on village - based outlets generally stated that they were concerned over closures. However, others who used village - based outlets less often tended either to be unaware of closures or to state that although they felt the community was very concerned, they themselves were less so. This is not to advocate closure of village-based outlets, many of which were frequently used and highly-valued by interviewed households. Rather it is to stress that for the majority of people living in rural areas, an acceptable level of accessibility is not equivalent to village-based outlets plus a weekly bus to a market town. Provision of these levels of availability and accessibility are not enough.

The basic conclusion of the research with respect to the influence of policies on resident's accessibility to facilities and services in the areas studied must therefore be that policies have failed to alleviate accessibility problems and that hypothesis one and two put forward in chapter 5 are correct. Indeed by supporting rationalisation of outlets, public organisations appear to have worsened the situation for those not living in the comparatively few settlements selected to retain/develop outlets. These accessibility problems with respect to such a basic requirement as facilities and services, are placing a substantial minority of the rural population at a disadvantage, both by 'objective' standards, and by their own standards. In particular, 'objective' standards emphasise the restricted availability of outlets in South Shropshire and outside larger settlements, and the restricted patterns of usage exhibited by the populations of these locations and households with a head of household in lower socio-economic groups, living in local authority accommodation, lacking a private vehicle, with a head of household not in active employment and composed of the retired. By contrast 'subjective' measures emphasised dissatisfaction with access to facilities being highest amongst those households with a head of household belonging to a lower socio-economic group, living in North Shropshire and those households who were dissatisfied with their transport situation. Differences between

the two sets of results appear to be the product largely of the difference between household ownership of a car and availability of a car for travelling to certain types of facility, and differing expectations on the part of residents.

CHAPTER 9
ACCESS TO OTHER BASIC
REQUIREMENTS AND MIGRATION

The basic hypothesis put forward in this thesis is that despite the efforts of a variety of public agencies, a significant proportion of the population living in rural areas lack adequate accessibility to the five basic requirements of facilities/services, employment, housing, social contact and travel, and thereby experience disadvantage. The previous chapter examined the research findings with regard to people's accessibility to facilities and services. It finished with the conclusion that post-war planning policies applied within the areas studied had failed to improve or even maintain access to facilities/services for a substantial proportion of the population.

This chapter considers the research findings with respect to people's accessibility in the case study areas to the other four basic requirements identified, beginning in this section with employment. In the light of these findings, the successes and failures of the public policies which have been applied with a view to improving or maintaining people's accessibility to each basic requirement are discussed. In addition, the role which perceived accessibility problems and disadvantage were found to play in influencing migration decisions is examined.

9.2 THE ECONOMY AND ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT

9.2.1 Employment Patterns and Problems

One of the most basic requirements which rural residents have is that of access to employment opportunities. It has been suggested however that rural residents do not always have adequate access to a range of opportunities which is sufficient to meet their abilities, expectations and, or aspirations. Hypothesis 7 was concerned with this issue (chapter 5), and stated:

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 residents, 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.

This hypothesis raised a number of research questions which the research was designed to respond to. These were as follows:

- a) What is the employment structure of the case study areas?
- b) What patterns of travelling to work do residents exhibit?
- c) How do residents travel to work?
- d) How satisfied are residents with their current work situation?

Linked to each of these questions, was one further question:

- e) How do 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?

This section considers the findings of the research with respect to these questions

and, in the light of these findings, examines the validity of the above hypothesis. The section ends with an examination of the influence of policies on these issues.

a) What were the employment structures of the interviewed households?

The SIC's recorded for 227 people aged 16 and over in employment are shown in Table 9.1. From them it is clear that employment in the parishes studied is dominated by the primary industries and the service sector (which provided 40% and 45% of jobs respectively). The former is particularly significant in providing male employment, whilst the latter accounted for the majority of female employment. These results agree with 1981 census figures for the parishes (given in chapter 7). They contrast however with 1981 census figures for the relevant Districts and County, which showed 51-58% of people working in the service industries, 10-20% in the primary industries and 19-25% in manufacturing. Survey figures reflect the importance of agricultural employment in the case study parishes.

Table 9.1 SIC of Persons Aged 16 and Over in Employment

SIC	% of persons						TOTAL
	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun	
Primary	24	50	17	68	47	25	40
Manufacturing	14	5	23	0	3	6	8
Construction	10	3	6	0	12	13	7
Services	52	43	54	14	38	56	45
TOTAL no.(100%)	42	40	35	44	36	32	227

Source : Household survey (Law)

The proportion of the people studied working in the primary and service industries varied between the case study parishes, with Woore showing the lowest proportion working in the primary industries (17%) and Bettws-y-Crwyn the highest (68%). In contrast to the other parishes 23% of people covered by the survey in Woore worked in manufacturing - reflecting commuting to the Potteries, whilst in Bettws-y-Crwyn only 14% worked in the service industries - reflecting the absence of static facility outlets, hotels etc. from the parish.

Overall 62% of the people aged 16 and over in the interviewed households were economically active. Rates varied between the parishes however, being highest in Adderley (70%) and lowest in Clunbury (54%), as shown in Table 9.2. The latter figure appears to be a reflection of the high proportion of people aged 60 and over in the households interviewed in Clunbury (over a quarter). The figures broadly correspond to those recorded for the parishes at the 1981 census, although the survey figures are slightly higher. According to both survey and census figures however, economic activity rates in the areas studied, and particularly in South Shropshire, were below national and county levels as recorded at the 1981 census.

Overall 14 or 5.5% of the economically active adults covered by the survey were unemployed (registered as seeking work), as shown in Table 9.2 (rates for men and women given in Appendix O). This figure is slightly lower than the average of 1981 census figures for the six parishes (7.0%) but well above national and county averages (8.5% and 9.1% at the 1981 census). Case study results show a considerable difference between the unemployment rates for the two sets of parishes however, with an average rate of 8.3% being recorded for the northern parishes and 2.5% for the southern. Given the relatively small numbers involved, it is important not to attach too much significance to this finding. However, the difference was also recorded at the 1981 census, and respondents comments suggested that unemployment rates in the southern parishes studied were being

Table 9.2 Economic Activity of all Persons Aged 16 and Over

Economic Status	% of persons						TOTAL
	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun	
Working full-time	47	44	44	49	40	40	44
Working part-time	16	14	9	17	13	16	14
Seeking work	7	3	6	3	0	2	3
Temporarily sick	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.2
Permanently sick	1	3	6	1	1	0	2
Retired	6	11	13	10	24	27	15
Student	4	7	4	4	10	8	6
Other inactive	19	18	19	16	10	8	15
Total no of people (100%)	70	71	70	71	68	63	413
Economic activity rate	70.0	60.6	58.6	69.0	54.4	57.1	61.7
Unemployment rate	10.2	4.7	9.8	4.1	0	2.8	5.5

Source: Household survey (Law).

artificially lowered as a result of three factors. Firstly, groups such as married women, living in outlying locations and the partially handicapped and disabled could be identified, whose members tended to accept that due to family commitments and, or by living where they did, they forfeited any right to employment. Their expectations and aspirations were so low that they not only accepted that they had no chance of obtaining employment, but also that they had no claim to unemployment benefit. Secondly, many people interviewed in South Shropshire attached a stigma to claiming unemployment benefits, and this may have been leading to a failure to register as unemployed and, or to report unemployment to the interviewer. Thirdly,

a 'climate of mobility' was found to exist in South Shropshire households, and particularly amongst school leavers, with out-migration occurring as a result of the lack of employment opportunities.

All the people registered as 'seeking work' who were covered by the survey were under 30 years of age and seeking 'manual' employment. Since overall only 28% of adults in the interviewed households fell into the semi and un-skilled manual worker category (Table O.2), this identifies young manual workers as being the prime socio-economic group to register as 'seeking work'. This finding was reinforced by results obtained when respondents were asked if any 'sorts' of people had 'particular difficulty' in finding jobs in the area. Overall respondents for 38% of households stated that some people had difficulty, and whilst a third of these suggested that it was a general problem, others identified particular groups. The main groups identified were young people (28%) and manual workers (10%). Other respondents mentioned that women, those without a car, non-manual workers, and non-agricultural workers also experienced particular problems (Table 0.6). It may be that these latter groups accept out-migration or economic inactivity, for the reasons discussed above.

b) What patterns of journeys to work did residents exhibit?

Overall locations of work were recorded for 245 people, and these are summarised by type of location in Table O.3. The largest proportion of these people worked in the parish in which they lived (48%), whilst 20% worked in a local market town and 19% a major town within the region. Only 5% travelled to another rural location whilst 1% worked outside the region. The proportions varied considerably between the parishes however. Bettws-y-Crwyn and Clunbury showed a high proportion of people in interviewed households working in the parish (75% and 58% respectively), reflecting the importance of parish-based agricultural jobs to their populations. By contrast Clun had a relatively high proportion working in a local market town (36%), probably due to the ease of driving along the Clun

valley to Craven Arms and Ludlow compared to other locations.

In North Shropshire households interviewed in Adderley and to an even greater extent Woore contained people who travelled to major towns (mainly the Potteries) for work - a situation typical of many parts of rural Shropshire adjoining the Potteries and West Midlands, according to Shropshire County Council (1980b). By contrast Ightfield's residents worked in a range of locations, with agricultural jobs in Ightfield and neighbouring parishes clearly being important, and jobs located in major towns relatively less so (reflecting the more remote location of the parish). The distances involved with regard to travelling to these various types of location were reflected in the length of time people spent in doing so (Table O.4). These were lowest in Bettws-y-Crwyn and highest in Woore where half the employed people covered by the survey spent at least 30 minutes travelling to work (compared to 6% in Bettws-y-Crwyn).

c) How do residents travel to work?

Many of the people studied travelled to work by car or motor cycle, unless they lived at their place of work (e.g. on a farm). As Table 9.3 shows, only 2-3% of working adults studied used public or works transport to travel to work (compared to 22% for England at the 1981 census), and only in Clun did this actually involve public transport. It is interesting that even in Woore, where regular bus services suitable for journeys to work in the Potteries were available, these services were used by none of the households studied for this purpose. Other modes of travel such as walking and bicycling were used by a small but significant number of people to travel to locations outside the parish in which they lived (7-9%). Variations in these overall patterns did exist between the parishes, however it was only in Ightfield and Clun that modes of travel other than the private car were used by a sizeable proportion of the workforce. This reflected the importance of parish - based jobs not located at the place of residence, in these two parishes (Table O.5).

Table 9.3 Mode of Travel to Work

Area	% of Working Adults Using Mode			
	Car or M'Bike	Public or Works Bus	Walk or Cycle	Work at Home
North Study Area N = 123 (100%)	67	2	9	22
South Study Area N = 121 (100%)	43	3	7	47

Source: Household survey (Law).

d) How satisfied were residents with their employment?

Overall 76% of the 326 adults for whom a response was obtained were reported to be 'very satisfied' and 14% 'satisfied' with their employment, at the time of interviewing (as shown in Table 9.4). In general levels of satisfaction were high. However 21 individuals (9.5%) were 'very dissatisfied', and of these the majority were adult children (18), male (19), under 30 years of age (20), and unemployed (14). Further details are given in Appendix O (Table O.7). Thus 'subjective' assessments highlighted the same groups as being disadvantaged with regard to their employment situation, as did 'objective' assessments (i.e. those registered as 'seeking work').

Table 9.4 Satisfaction with Employment

Levels of satisfaction	Number of people			% of people
	North Salop	South Salop	Total	
Very satisfied	120	123	243	76
Satisfied	27	20	47	15
Indifferent	14	2	16	6
Dissatisfied	10	5	15	5
Very dissatisfied	0	0	0	0
*No of people of working age	171	150	321	100

*Includes students; excludes those for whom no answer obtained, retired people and permanently sick.

Source : Household survey (Law).

To conclude, the case study findings confirm the hypothesis put forward at the beginning of this section. The economics of the parishes studied and the areas of which they formed a part were unbalanced. This caused a significant minority of residents covered by the survey problems in obtaining access either to the employment opportunities which they aspired to, or those more widely considered to be acceptable. Employment opportunities were found to be limited in the case study parishes, with employment in the manufacturing industries being particularly under-represented. As maintained in the hypothesis, people in the interviewed households were heavily dependent on agricultural and service industry jobs, and in addition on jobs available within the towns which could only be reached by car. In this respect the areas studied were typical of much of rural England (NCVO 1980c, Packman 1979). In total 17% of employed people studied were found to be

spending at least 30 minutes travelling to work, and many were finding the journeys expensive, time-consuming and difficult, especially in winter.

It was apparent that a minority of residents studied were accepting jobs which did not meet their aspirations, principally due to lack of opportunities or transport, as suggested in the hypothesis. In addition, many residents surveyed appeared to be:

- (i) accepting the necessity of out-migration of school leavers as 'normal' practice, notably in South Shropshire;
- (ii) accepting their inability to obtain any or 'suitable' employment, and were as a result accepting not working but generally without registering as unemployed;
- (iii) aware of their limited access to employment and either dissatisfied with their situation, or satisfied as a result of being resigned to it.

It should be stressed that by far the majority of people studied were satisfied with their employment. However it was clear that people's levels of satisfaction were linked to their expectations and aspirations, and that in formulating these people took into account the range of opportunities available to them in their area - which was often limited. Also influential was their perception of opportunities available elsewhere, which differed considerably. Reported levels of satisfaction with employment were not simply a reflection of the job in which the person currently worked. Thus, as suggested in the hypothesis, levels of satisfaction varied between individuals and sub-groups within the population, and between the populations of different areas.

9.2.2 Employment Problems and Policies in the Case Study Parishes

On the basis of the case study findings a number of points can be made about the policies introduced in the parishes studied, with the aim of improving

employment opportunities and access to employment. Agricultural policies had provided considerable support to farmers, but had apparently failed to recognise sufficiently the different levels of support needed by farmers of different types of holding. Farming households with small acreages covered by the survey were having to work long hours and budget very carefully, in order to keep in operation, despite the high levels of support available to them from MAFF. Considerable differences were found to exist between farmers, even within a single parish, in terms of the economic viability of their farms and degree of capital investment. These differences do not seem to have been taken into account properly in the formulation of policies, which tend to treat farmers as one group, and farming land and buildings as one category of land use.

Moving on to consider policies for manufacturing industry the efforts of the local authorities and Development Commission in North and South Shropshire, to support and increase the availability of employment in manufacturing industry, appear to have been well co-ordinated and to have met with some success. This success has been small-scale and localised however, largely due to the comparatively limited size of the budget given to these organisations for such work, and the restrictions which have been placed in the past on the development of manufacturing industries in the countryside. These restrictions have largely been the result of the traditional images of the countryside as being the preserve of agriculture, and of factories as being noisy, polluting, detrimental to the landscape and requiring continuous heavy road traffic. These images have as yet not been challenged sufficiently by those responsible for developing manufacturing in rural areas. Nor for that matter has the point been made that farms can present all of these environmental problems. Such changes in attitude appear necessary, in order for opinion to swing in favour of greater investment in the development of factories in rural areas. The scale of investment has not therefore been enough to achieve a significant improvement in the overall balance of the economy in the areas studied,

or to alleviate the resulting employment related problems faced by various sections of the population living in them.

A final point which should be made in relation to the policies of local authorities and the Development Commission, is that it is pointless to provide factories if the people they are intended to provide work for cannot reach them. Provision of Development Commission - assisted factories has not been accompanied by provision of some form of transport. One of the reasons for which South Shropshire District Council (1984b) state that they give support to small-scale factory development in the District, is to try to reduce the heavy dependence of the District for manufacturing jobs on just 3 or 4 larger firms. Yet this is inevitable given that only firms of a comparatively large size can afford to operate works transport, and available public transport does not provide journey-to-work services. The importance of such works transport was well illustrated by Chuckie Chickens of Craven Arms, which provided a works bus service along the Clun valley. Several members of interviewed households worked at the factory as a result of this transport being available. By contrast no bus service suitable for journeys to work in the Development Commission factories sited on the edge of Clun village or in nearby settlements was available - the numbers of workers involved being too small to justify the expenditure.

9.3 ACCESS TO HOUSING

9.3.1 Supply Demand and Quality

Several writers have suggested that limited accessibility to accommodation of an 'acceptable' type, quality, tenure etc. is a major source of disadvantage. As with other aspects it is important when examining issues related to housing, to stress the qualitative nature of the issues involved. People are not only disadvantaged if they lack a roof over their head, but also if they lack accommodation of an 'acceptable' size, tenure, condition etc., however 'acceptable' may be defined.

Issues related to access to housing and disadvantage associated with poor housing standards and lack of access to housing of a reasonable standard, were covered by the eighth hypothesis defined in chapter 5, which states:

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

A series of research questions follow on from this hypothesis, which the case study work was designed to respond to:

- a) What types of accommodation exist in the case study areas?
- b) How satisfied are residents with their accommodation?
- c) Do residents perceive any specific problems regarding access to housing?

Linked to each of these questions was one further question:

- 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?

This section considers the case study findings with respect to these issues, and in the light of these findings, examines the validity of the above hypothesis and the extent to which policies have been successful in improving people's access to housing.

a) What types of accommodation existed in the areas studied?

Observation and discussions with respondents and members of the various agencies contacted showed that the housing stock had grown in five of the case study parishes during the Structure Plan period (since 1976), and highlighted the failure of authorities to restrict estate development to Housing Main Villages. These developments were however partly due to planning permissions granted before the policy was introduced, notably in Adderley. Land ownership was also a significant factor. For example, Ightfield Parish was predominantly under the control of an estate which had chosen not to sell building plots - hence little development had occurred in it. The point again illustrates the relative lack of power invested in local planning authorities to control housing developments. These findings concur with the literature, which suggests that although County Council targets for building in Shropshire have largely been met, local authorities have not been able to resist pressure for development (chapter 6).

With regard to the scale of demand, it was apparent that all the parishes, and Adderley and Woore in North Shropshire in particular, had faced considerable demand in recent years for housing from people not previously resident in the area. Demand in North Shropshire was coming particularly from people employed in the Potteries. Also apparent was the high proportion of 1-2 person households in all the parishes - another factor causing increased demand. In addition, second home ownership was found to be an important factor in South Shropshire District. One of the households studied in South Shropshire was a second home, whilst four more had been until the household made the parish their only home. South Shropshire

District Council (1982a) have also highlighted the importance of second home ownership in the Clun area.

Despite the apparent demand for accommodation in South Shropshire however, a large proportion of buildings were observed to be vacant or for sale. South Shropshire District Council (1982a) confirms that the Clun area and Bettws-y-Crwyn in particular had a high vacancy rate in the early 1980's (8% and 25% respectively). Yet despite this, during informal interviews conducted with 'local representatives' mention was made of households living in non-permanent accommodation. This finding concurs with census figures which suggest that in 1981 0.8% of South Shropshire's population lived in such accommodation. This figure is double the average for England. It appears therefore that some reasons exist which reduce household's ability to take up vacant property in the area. This emphasises again the importance of the 'suitability' of the accommodation which is available, including type, tenure, quality and price.

Regarding tenure, figures for the interviewed households show a relatively high proportion of owner-occupied and privately - rented accommodation and a low proportion of local authority housing, by county and national standards. Differences were recorded between parishes however (Table 9.5). Whereas the three southern parishes had similar tenure structures, the northern parishes varied markedly. In particular, half the Ightfield households interviewed lived in privately rented housing and 30% in dwellings rented from the local authority. These findings concur with 1981 census figures (discussed in chapters 6 and 7), which also emphasised the low proportion of accommodation provided by the public sector in both Districts, and especially in South Shropshire.

Consideration of the types of building which had occurred in the case study parishes in the years prior to, and during the survey period, showed them to consist almost entirely of owner-occupied and sheltered public housing. The latter is to be welcomed as an important way of providing accommodation for vulnerable

population sub-groups. However, given the already low levels of local authority accommodation, sales of such public housing as does exist, and declining levels of privately - rented accommodation, this augers badly for the general availability of public housing and rented accommodation in the future, a point emphasised by district planning officers (during informal interviews).

Table 9.5 Percentage of Private Households by Tenure

Parish	Owner-occupied	Rented from Council or New Town	Other Rented	TOTAL
Adderley	70	20	10	100
Ightfield	21	38	41	100
Woore	80	20	0	100
Bettws	70	3	27	100
Clunbury	67	13	20	100
Clun	77	7	16	100
Total	64	17	18	99

Source: Household survey (Law).

Various underlying reasons for this pattern of change and development were obvious from the case study work. The county is dominated by the land-owning/farming lobby generally opposed to public spending. Central government policies in recent years have focussed on cut-backs in public expenditure. As a result, spending per head in Shropshire by local government was below the national average (as discussed in chapter 6). Policies such as the sale of council houses were taking effect also, whilst reductions in the agricultural labour

force were found to be causing tied cottages to be left empty (for example in Adderley) as the workforce declined.

Respondents in North Shropshire were not questioned about the amenities available in their dwelling, but results gained for South Shropshire suggested that conditions in that area were particularly poor. A significant proportion of interviewed households in Bettws-y-Crwyn lacked exclusive use of basic housing amenities, with 18% lacking an inside w.c., 4% an inside hot water tap and 11% a fixed bath/shower. Provision in Clun was also below standard, with 7% lacking an inside w.c., and 7% a fixed bath/shower, although none lacked a hot water tap. Conditions amongst interviewed households in Clunbury were comparatively good - only 3% lacked a fixed bath/shower and none the other amenities. These figures roughly correspond to 1981 census figures which show 4.8% of South Shropshire households as lacking a bath and inside w.c., compared to 2% in Shropshire, 2.6% in North Shropshire District and 1.3% nationally (discussed in chapter 6 and 7). Thus, according to both sets of figures, a significant proportion of South Shropshire households lacked the amenities which are considered to be standard fittings in houses of the 1980's by society in general, and can be considered relatively disadvantaged.

The cost of accommodation was not covered by the survey in any depth; however it was apparent from the comments of respondents and members of the various organisations contacted, that this was a problem for some households. In particular, a number of council house tenants were finding their houses costly to rent and run, largely as a result of rent rises and lack of smaller council accommodation suitable for households which did not qualify for sheltered housing. A number of households in privately-rented accommodation also felt that cost of owner-occupied housing was above that which they could afford. This applied particularly to many newly-built houses in Adderley and Woore which had been built with the 'potteries commuter' in mind. A number of households studied were

seemingly 'trapped' in their accommodation because they were not eligible for financial reasons for a mortgage, and, or could not afford the cost of removal.

b) How satisfied were residents with their housing?

Overall 72% of respondents stated that they and their household were 'very satisfied' with their accommodation and 22% 'satisfied', whilst only 6% reported that they were (very) 'dissatisfied', as shown in Table 9.6. All those who stated that they were (very) dissatisfied belonged to lower socio-economic groups. The level of satisfaction was higher in North Shropshire, with 81% of respondents stating that they and their households were 'very satisfied', compared to 63% in South Shropshire. In Clun only 53% of respondents stated that they were 'very satisfied'. The commonest problems mentioned by respondents in South Shropshire were poor structural conditions and inappropriate size of dwelling (4 respondents each). Other problems mentioned included desire to move into owner-occupied property, cost of running the dwelling, bad situation, lack of amenities and planning restrictions (listed building).

Table 9.6 Satisfaction with Accommodation

Level of satisfaction	North Salop	% of households South Salop	TOTAL
Very satisfied	81	63	72
Satisfied	14	30	22
Indifferent	1	0	1
Dissatisfied	2	6	4
Very dissatisfied	2	1	2
Total no. of hh. (100%)	88	89	177

It was interesting to note that it was not always those living in the worst conditions who stated that they were dissatisfied with their accommodation. Thus one single woman who lived in an isolated house without a driveway to the road, electricity, bathroom or any internal water supply stated that she was very satisfied with her accommodation. It was however usual for those who stated that they were dissatisfied to have some specific problem; for example one retired couple interviewed had to use the neighbours bath/shower (privately-rented flat), whilst a single parent with one child was struggling to afford to run a 'typical' three-bedroomed council house (being unable to get a smaller one).

This examination of people's attitudes towards their accommodation produced two main findings therefore. Firstly, the accommodation in which people were living did not always meet up to their expectations. Secondly, those living in poor accommodation were generally, but not always dissatisfied with their accommodation, although those who reported being dissatisfied usually had some justifiable complaint (by widely-held standards).

c) Did respondents perceive problems concerning access to housing?

When asked what 'sorts of people' had 'particular difficulty in finding accommodation' in their area, respondents for 52 households (33%) stated that certain people did have difficulty. As figures given in Appendix P show, the most commonly mentioned groups were young people (19 households), notably in South Shropshire, and people seeking council or rented accommodation (9 and 7 respectively). Answers were often closely related to the respondent's personal experience, or that of close friends or relatives. Young people and the less well off are groups often identified in the literature as having particular access problems, although researchers have also tended to emphasise also the problems faced by agricultural workers and to a lesser extent mobile home dwellers (Gasson 1975, Dunn et al. 1981, Rogers 1981).

The case study findings support much of the hypothesis put forward earlier. When taken together the rural areas studied had a comparatively low proportion of local authority accommodation, a situation to be found in most parts of rural England (Dunn et al., 1981). However, contrary to the hypothesis the proportion was not higher in the parishes which contained a Main Village. Housing standards were below average in households interviewed in South Shropshire. This finding contrasts with the suggestions of some researchers that standards are not generally below average in rural areas (Larkin 1978, Crelling 1982).

Clearly some residents were relatively disadvantaged because they could not obtain reasonable accommodation, either by their own and, or more widely - held standards. Access to accommodation was limited due to a combination of factors, including low levels of building, particularly of certain types of accommodation and in certain locations, changes occurring in type and tenure of the building stock, the poor quality of some of the existing stock, high prices above those which residents could afford, and restrictions in accessibility associated with certain types of housing e.g. council housing (via waiting lists), tied accommodation. Together these factors resulted in a mis-match between supply and demand, especially where demand from in-migrants was high (as suggested by Shucksmith, 1981). This mis-match was forcing 'indigenous' residents to accept accommodation which was below either their own or more widely held standards. Thus respondents for 28% of interviewed households stated that they and their household were only satisfied or (very) dissatisfied with their accommodation. Finally, as suggested in the hypothesis, housing profiles, housing standards and levels of satisfaction with accommodation, recorded by the survey, varied between individuals and subgroups within the population and with location, being higher in North Shropshire.

9.3.2 Access to Housing and the Influence of Policy

On the basis of the case study findings and the literature, it would appear that the housing policies pursued in Shropshire have reinforced existing trends in the housing market, whilst planning authorities have not always been able to resist pressure for development. In particular, Structure Plan policies for housing development in rural Shropshire have to date been undermined by a legacy of outstanding permissions granted and lapses in policy implementation. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the impact of policies in the late 1970's and early 1980's has been relatively limited. However, it would appear that rural settlement policies in Shropshire have acted to restrict some development that would otherwise have occurred in smaller villages, and thereby restricted supply.

It is however not only quantity of building which matters, and it is doubtful whether the type of accommodation which private developers would have built if given a free hand would have relieved the more severe problems being experienced. Much of the private development occurring in the northern parishes studied was specifically designed for sale to more affluent people. As a result groups such as first-time buyers could not afford to buy such property. Indeed young people were identified as one of the main groups having difficulty in finding accommodation. The survey highlighted the restricted supply of council housing in several parishes studied, a situation which may lead to rents being raised and standards lowered throughout the rented sector. Second home ownership did not appear to be a cause of shortage of accommodation in the parishes studied, although demand from people working in the potteries certainly was affecting supply in those parishes nearest to the Potteries in north-east Shropshire.

Overall the planning authorities appear to have been powerless to generate private development of the type, and in the locations needed to relieve the housing problems being experienced. Indeed, amongst the planning officers contacted, at least one was found to be highly cynical about the ability of his district

council to carry out its housing policy for rural areas. Given this situation, the comparative lack of local authority building and sale of council housing in rural Shropshire can only be adding to the problems and disadvantages being experienced. This conclusion agrees with that put forward in the literature by a number of writers, for example Kilroy (1980) and Phillips and Williams (1982). Housing associations with their innovative, flexible approach are generally just beginning to become involved in rural areas in any organised manner, and were not active in the parishes studied. Clearly however there is much scope for their involvement in providing housing on terms which less affluent groups could afford.

Another major cause of disadvantage for a significant proportion of rural residents is that of inadequate access to opportunities for social contact. As the ninth hypothesis (defined in chapter 5) states:

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.

A number of possible reasons may be seen to give rise to such a limitation, including the low density of population, lack of organised social events for people to attend, existence of social barriers/lack of community spirit, physical mobility problems and individual problems e.g. lack of confidence. This section goes on to review the extent to which such factors were contributing to disadvantage regarding access to social contact, in the case study parishes, and to highlight the influence of policies.

The above hypothesis raises a number of questions which the case study work was designed to respond to, as follows:

- 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 feel to lack adequate social contact with other people?
- c) If they do, why do they?

Linked to each of these questions was one further question:

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

Research findings with respect to these findings are discussed below.

- a) To what extent are residents involved in community life?

The principle social venues in the parishes studied were the pub and village hall. All the parishes studied had some form of village hall in them, although

in Adderley this was a licensed club, and in Bettws-y-Crwyn a small church hall. In addition, Ightfield, Woore, Clun and Clunbury Parishes contained at least one pub each. The number of activities held in the village halls varied, being least in Bettws-y-Crwyn (smallest population) and most in Woore (which had a larger population and very active village hall committee). One third of households interviewed in Bettws-y-Crwyn in fact visited halls in neighbouring parishes.

Table 9.7 shows the range of activities reported to be held in village halls. Social events partly designed to contribute to the upkeep of the hall were found to predominate, e.g. disco's, whist drives. In addition, a whole range of other activities took place in the village halls, including Parish Council and church meetings, social clubs for particular age groups e.g. brownies, youth clubs, over 60's clubs; sports clubs (Adderley, Calverhall and Clun halls had adjacent outdoor sports facilities); specialist groups such as a photographic society in Woore; evening classes, private functions; and annual events such as a horticultural show in Woore. Finally, Calverhall village hall was used as a part-time Post Office. These findings confirm those reached for the whole of Shropshire, by Shropshire Rural Community Council, following their village halls activities survey of 1980 (unpublished).

Thus organised activities were available in the parishes studied in their halls and clubs, and in Woore the range of activities available was considerable. To these should be added school events (five parishes had a primary school), outdoor sporting activities and occasional community events such as an annual fair in Clun. But were the majority of residents involved in these events?

In total respondents for 130 households (74%) reported that at least one member of their household used a local village hall, although only 26% were reported to do so at least monthly. Overall 53 households (31%) contained someone who organised a local activity, as shown in Table 9.8. The extent of involvement was therefore high, with opportunities for contact with other members of the community being regularly available for those who could travel to the village halls,

Table 9.7

Activities reported to be held in village hall

Activity	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun
Parish council meetings	*	*				
Church functions	*	*	*	*	*	
School functions			*			
Hall/club functions	*	*	*	*	*	*
Post Office		*				
Private functions	*	*				
Sports	*	*	*	*	*	*
Whist drives	*	*	*	*		*
British Legion						*
W.I.		*	*	*	*	*
Pre-school group			*	*		
School children's groups	*		*	*	*	*
Specialist activity clubs			*			
Evening classes	*		*			
Concerts, talks			*	*		*
Films			*			
Annual events			OAP's Horti party -cult. show		OAP's Fair party	

* = Activity is held in village hall.

pubs etc. These findings give support to the Rural Community Council's policies of supporting provision of village hall facilities.

Table 9.8 Involvement in Local Activities and Village Hall Attendance

Degree of Involvement	Number of households	% of households
Organise a local activity	53	31
Do not organise an activity	118	69
TOTAL	171	100
Attend event held in village hall:		
At least monthly	45	26
Occasionally	85	48
Never	46	26
TOTAL	176	100

The locations stated for friends and relatives are shown in Table 9.9. Where more than one location was stated, the most distant from home was recorded. Thus only a few households stated that their friends and relatives lived only in the parish, whilst the majority stated that they lived in the same District. The question proved rather too general however.

In order to examine the possibility that households which expressed a desire to move were shorter-term residents who had not joined in local affairs (village hall functions) or made social ties locally (friends and relatives in area), a number of cross-tabulations were performed between these aspects. These failed to produce any significant results however (chi-square 5% C.I.).

Table 9.9 Location of Friends and Relatives

Location	% of households	
	Location of friends	Location of relatives
Parish	14	2
Other rural parish (\pm parish)	40	36
Local market town (\pm other local)	15	15
Major town (\pm District)	9	14
Other location in region (\pm other region)	5	6
Other region/abroad (\pm same region)	16	27
TOTAL number of households	171	172

b) Did rural dwellers feel isolated, and if so why?

During the household interviews a substantial proportion of respondents spoke of social problems existing for themselves or members of their communities, particularly loneliness and social conflict. Key reasons identified for these problems were the low density of the population and social change resulting from the ageing of the population and in-migration. The issue of loneliness resulting from isolation is dealt with first, followed by social conflict.

(i) Isolation

The household interviews produced considerable evidence of feelings of isolation amongst residents. In some cases this was the result of net population decline leading to low population density. In others it was the result of failure to conform with the norms of a rural society which has a tendency towards conservatism. Physical isolation and lack of a vehicle generally exacerbated problems of isolation for all social groups. A spiral effect could be seen to occur, notably in two single pensioner households, whereby people who were

continuously on their own became pre-occupied with certain problems and lost confidence. This led to their shunning further social contact and being shunned due to their behaviour, so causing them to become even more isolated.

The household interviews identified a number of groups which were experiencing a high incidence of feelings of isolation. In particular, the elderly were found to be highly vulnerable to loneliness, due to a combination of inter-related factors. These factors included low mobility, ill health and poverty. In addition, old people had a tendency to live alone, often due to death of the husband/wife and out-migration of any adult children. Village-based social activities were very important to many pensioners interviewed, particularly if they had retired to the village. This issue is particularly important since the populations of the parishes studied have aged at a rate above that experienced nationally. It should be stressed however that community support for pensioners was high and many were active within the community, providing the main organising force for village-based activities in at least two of the parishes studied.

Another group found to experience isolation were teenagers, especially 13-16 year olds, many of whose friends lived some miles away (due to distances involved in travelling to secondary schools). Although virtually all the teenagers studied belonged to households with at least one vehicle, this left them dependent on their parents for lifts. In a few families this solution was not always forthcoming, due to lack of time or money, problems in the parent-child relationship etc. Even in households where lifts were forthcoming, their necessity placed a restriction on the teenager's freedom, which caused a relatively large proportion to experience feelings of isolation. Passing the driving test at 17 was a vital goal for such teenagers.

A third group which could be identified as having particular problems with regard to access to social contact, were adult women (not retired). Some 34 of the 156 such women surveyed were at home during at least part of the working day, without anyone in the household being present who could offer them a lift (a point

discussed in more detail later in this chapter). Many experienced feelings of isolation, largely due to their poor mobility.

Fourthly, although only three households studied contained seriously disabled or handicapped people, all three were facing problems related to isolation due to the lack of day-centres, special transport etc., which could offer both the able-bodied and disabled people chance to meet other families which contained a handicapped person. Despite community support the disabled people were often dependent largely on one or two able-bodied people, who could not therefore leave them to participate more fully in community activities.

Finally, an amorphous group could be identified of people who formed a 'social minority'. These people were often isolated socially because they did not conform to the majority of people in terms of attitudes, style of life, education, class etc. Examples included members of families who were stigmatised due to reliance on welfare benefits or failure to conform to the 'local' society's views regarding morals. In addition, some in-migrants were ostracized for being too 'urbanised' in their outlook.

(ii) Conflict

Thus a number of socially isolated individuals or groups existed in the case study parishes. In addition to causing social isolation, the creation of such groups was found in some cases to have been perceived as a 'threat' by the host community. Such an effect was particularly seen in relation to in-migrants in North Shropshire, an area which had become popular with people working in the Potteries and other locations reached using the M.6 motorway. By contrast South Shropshire had attracted fairly affluent people in the form of second home owners, and both areas had attracted people seeking a retirement home. The conflicts which resulted from these patterns of in-migration, are discussed below.

Two of the parishes studied in North Shropshire had been the subject of comparatively large-scale estate development in the late 1970's and early 1980's

designed for the commuter and more affluent market (Adderley and Woore). Both had attracted a relatively large number of in-migrants who contrasted sharply in terms of age (many were in their 30's), income, attitudes, expectations, life style etc. with long-term residents. Because the area was within easy driving reach of urban areas, many lived a 'semi-suburban' style of life, frequently visiting towns for a range of activities. Most were highly mobile.

Because the in-migrants in North Shropshire were relatively numerous, had different, recognisable characteristics, and lived on separate estates, their impact had been considerable on the communities concerned. Conflict could be seen to have resulted, with the two groups living fairly separate existences and clashing over issues which typified 'urban' or 'rural' stances. For example in Adderley the provision of a playing field was the 'fighting point'. 'Locals' said children had always played in the fields and it was not necessary to give them agriculturally productive land. 'Incomers' however spoke of busy roads, not knowing which fields to go in, and of angry farmers turning children off their land. Considerable social barriers existed therefore, as the host community had united against the incomers (as found by Newby, 1977). These barriers were similar to those identified by Pahl in Hertfordshire caused by the influx of commuters (Pahl, 1966).

South Shropshire, being relatively distant from urban areas, had attracted few 'commuters', but more second home owners. According to the findings of the survey, these second home households could be divided into two groups: those who wanted to 'get away from it all', and those who had positively chosen 'rural community life'. The first group tended to live largely outside the community in isolated houses which they had often substantially renovated - a benefit to the community also identified by Jacobs (1972) and White (1978). The second group were generally most anxious to integrate into the 'rural' community, and generally lived in villages and patronised local activities.

Both groups had benefits and disbenefits for the community. The first

offered the benefit that they spent money on improving housing which few locals would purchase, the latter that they had a positive attitude to community life. Whilst resentment could have arisen towards the first group for being isolationist, the second could have been criticised for 'taking things over'. In general however these groups were well tolerated by long-term residents in South Shropshire, perhaps because their numbers were relatively small. Most were however mobile and partly urban-orientated.

Despite the problems in North Shropshire, all the parishes studied appeared, both according to residents and outsiders (members of the Rural Community Council and the researcher) to have a strong community spirit, even if some of their members felt alienated. Community spirit was however stronger in the case of the Clun area, where difficulties caused by the remoteness of the area, terrain, climate, lack of facilities etc., caused a sense of shared adversity (again this conclusion mirrors that put forward by Pahl, on the basis of his work in Hertfordshire - Pahl, 1975). This over-rode many internal differences and united the communities studied. Since incomers shared many of the difficulties, wealthy or not, well-spoken or not etc., and required personal commitment to the area to stay, they were largely accepted. Where the difficulties to be faced were less, i.e. in North Shropshire, this unifying force was lost and inter-household differences became more significant. Yet some community spirit remained.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the research findings with regard to the effects of migration into rural areas on the social integration of the communities concerned, is therefore that the communities studied possess a strong community spirit which is able to withstand many of social pressures caused by in-migration. However it would appear that the integration of newcomers is made more difficult where in-migration takes place into new, relatively highly - priced houses, located on physically distinct and comparatively large-scale estates. Such estates often attract people who contrast sharply in terms of prosperity, life-style and

outlook with the indigenous community. This being the case, it seems that local planning authorities should be more careful to phase housing development and achieve a balance with regard to the types, cost etc. of housing development permitted at any one time, in order to avoid some of the social problems of isolation and conflict discussed in this section.

The research findings therefore give support to hypothesis 9 put forward earlier. As a result of the relatively low density of the rural population, transport problems and population changes, a minority rural dwellers did feel isolated and lack adequate access to social contact. The scale and location of new housing developments have also created certain social problems.

As is shown in chapter 4, public transport in many rural areas is now largely restricted to inter-urban routes, with only partial and voluntary services generally available on other routes. Increasing car ownership has led to reduced support for bus services, whilst at the same time reduced frequency of services has left rural residents increasingly dependent on private transport. However, a substantial minority do not have use of a car all the time, and may as a result have severely restricted mobility. This was the basic hypothesis put forward in chapter 5, which also suggested that mobility and attitudes to mobility were likely to vary between individuals and subgroups within the population, and within the between areas.

Following on from this hypothesis (hypothesis 10), two research questions were defined in chapter 5, which the case study work should answer, as follows:

- a) What levels of public, private and voluntarily - provided transport services do residents have access to and use?
- b) How satisfied are residents with their transport situation?

Linked to each of these questions was one further question:

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

An examination of available evidence with respect to these issues, prior to the case study work, gave support to the hypothesis. According to local authority and census information, public transport in the districts and particularly the parishes studied was severely limited, and car ownership levels were above average. Even so a sizeable minority of households apparently lacked a vehicle (chapter 6). This section discusses the evidence produced by the case study work, in response to the above research questions. Availability of and access to private transport is discussed

first, followed by the availability and use made of public bus services (no train services served the parishes studied). Finally levels of satisfaction with transport are examined. Issues related to transport policies are discussed where relevant.

9.5.1 Availability and Use of Private Transport?

Rates of vehicle ownership were found to be extremely high in the case study parishes (Table 9.10). In total 81% of the households surveyed owned at least one vehicle, with 44% owning two or more. However 34 households (19%) did not own a vehicle, and these contained 67 people (13% of the population covered by the survey).

Characteristics of households with no vehicle

In order to examine the factors associated with low vehicle ownership, the number of vehicles owned by each household was cross-tabulated with the other 9 'key household variables' (defined in chapter 8), plus satisfaction with transport and access to facilities. Six of these 'household variables' were found to be significantly related to vehicle ownership using chi-square tests at the 5% confidence interval. Thus those households which did not own a vehicle showed a tendency above that expected to have/be composed of : retired person(s); with a head of household 60 years and over, not in active employment, and belonging to a semi - or un-skilled manual worker group; contain 1 or 2 persons; and be less satisfied with their transport situation. These figures lend weight to suggestions made in the literature that those households which do not own a car are often composed of pensioners or the low paid (Graham Moss Associates 1981, Moseley et al. 1977).

The literature also suggests however that ownership of a vehicle by a household does not mean that everyone in the household has unlimited use of the vehicle, and this suggestion was borne out by the case study findings. With regard to the people in the interviewed households aged 10 and over, it was clear (as shown in Table 9.11) that a substantial proportion (40% or 182 people) did not have the use

Table 9.10 Levels of vehicle ownership

Number of vehicles	Number of households					Number of persons
	Adderley	Ightfield	Woore	Bettws	Clunbury	Clun Total
0	3	6	6	2	7	34
1	11	14	10	11	11	67
2+	16	10	14	17	12	79
Total no. of house-holds	30	30	30	30	30	180
% house-holds with vehicle	90%	80%	80%	93%	77%	81%
Vehicles/household person	1.6 0.48	1.2 0.41	1.4 0.43	1.7 0.54	1.3 0.51	1.4 0.46

Table 9.11

Day-time Users of Vehicles

Group	Day-time users of private vehicles			Number of group using other forms of transport	Other modes used
	Day-time user	Number of persons	% of persons		
10-9 year old	Person concerned	4	5.2%	0	Bus 13
	Someone else in hh.	68	88.3%	21	Bike 1
	No vehicle in hh.	5	6.5%	2	M'Bk 3
	Total	77	100.0%	23	Two+ 6
Male 20+ yr old not retired	Person concerned	139	85.3%	1	Bus 12
	Someone else in hh.	11	6.7%	2	Taxi 1
	No vehicle in hh.	13	8.0%	12	Two+ 2
	Total	163	100.0%	15	
Female 20+ yr. old, not retired	Person concerned	104	66.7%	7	Bus 33
	Someone else in hh.	36	23.1%	21	Taxi 2
	No vehicle in hh.	16	10.3%	15	M'Bk 1
	Total	156	100.0%	43	
Retired person	Person concerned	30	47.6%	2	Bus 19
	Someone else in hh.	6	9.5%	0	Two+ 1
	No vehicle in hh.	27	42.9%	18	
	Total	63	100.0%	20	
Total	Person concerned	277	60.3%	10	Bus 77
	Someone else in hh.	121	26.4%	44	Bike 1
	No vehicle in hh.	61	13.3%	47	Taxi 3
	Total	459	100.0%	101	M'Bk 4 Two+ 16

M'Bk = Motor cycle

Two+ = Use two or more alternative modes of transport.

of a vehicle during normal working hours.

Characteristics of those individuals with and without day-time use of a vehicle

The characteristics of those people covered by the survey who did not have day-time use of a vehicle, is shown in Table 9.12. As this shows distinct differences were found to exist between different sections of the population in terms of day-time access to a vehicle. Adult, non-retired males had the most access to vehicles in the day-time, with only 15% not having the use of a vehicle and many of these being out at work all day or too ill to drive. By comparison 33% of adult, non-retired females did not have the use of a vehicle, and only a few of these (4%) were in full-time employment or education, i.e. roughly 30% were at home at least part of the day without use of a vehicle.

It is often maintained in the literature that housewives whose husbands take the car to work are a key group to experience low mobility (Moseley, 1979). The survey results show this to be an over-simplification however. As shown in Table 9.12, 52 adult non-retired women were without the use of a car during the working day. Of these only 8 were housewives at home during the day, whilst their husbands took the only car to work. Relatively more common were farmers wives who could get a lift during slack farming times (11), women with a part-time job generally in their own village (10), and women in vehicle-less households (15). The difference has certain implications for the scheduling of bus services. Housewives whose husbands take the car to work would be most likely to use bus services during normal working hours. Farmers wives would be most likely to use them during the periods of intense farming activity e.g. the summer. Women in part-time jobs would be unable to use them whilst working but might make use of them to travel to work. By contrast women in households without a vehicle would have fewer limitations with regard to usage. The point highlights the importance of examining through research the exact requirements of bus users, and pinpointing precisely the groups the service is designed to help before deciding on bus

Table 9.12 Characteristics of Those With and Without a Vehicle

Use of vehicles	Age and other characteristics					
	10-9 in edn.	16-9 not in edn.	20+ man not retir -ed	20+ woman not retir -ed	Retir -ed	Total
Person has use of a vehicle	4	0	139	104	30	277
Person does not have use	64	9	24	52	33	182
Out at FT work	-	7	10	6	0	23
Out at FT Edn.	64	-	0	1	0	65
In but lift available from member of hh.	-	1	1	11	4	17
PT work	-	0	0	6		
Sick	-	0	1	0		
Unemployed	-	1	0	0		
Housewife	-	0	0	5		
In but members of hh. with vehicle absent	-	0	4	19	2	25
PT work	-	0	0	10		
Sick	-	0	1	0		
Unemployed	-	0	3	1		
Housewife	-	0	0	8		
In but no vehicle owned by hh.	-	1	9	15	27	52
PT work		0	1	4		
Sick		0	4	1		
Unemployed		1	4	0		
Housewife		0	0	10		

schedules. Groups such as 'housewives' may be too broad for this purpose.

The transport position of retired people studied was even worse than that of adult women. Overall 52% lacked day-time use of a vehicle, and 42% lived in a household which lacked a vehicle altogether. Yet this group of people have special requirements where transport is concerned. They often need to use perhaps distant medical facilities, but find public transport difficult to use (long journey times, distant bus stops, high steps up etc.). They may not be able to afford bulk purchases, freezers etc. which can reduce the frequency with which they have to use facilities. The situation of this group is particularly serious therefore - a point generally emphasised by local representatives and also in the literature (chapter 4).

Finally, teenagers are another group often identified as having severe mobility problems (Moseley, 1979). Survey figures show that this claim also needs some qualification however, since only 6% of teenagers studied lived in a vehicle-less household, and many received lifts regularly from their family. Nevertheless, from the comments of respondents, this was placing a hearty burden on parents, in terms of time and money.

Reactions to the rising cost of motoring

The costs of private motoring are high and rising. Informal and formal interviews emphasised the high cost of running a vehicle in rural areas, due to long distances, poorer road conditions and higher petrol prices. Respondents for households which owned a vehicle were asked about the effects of rises in petrol prices on their use of their vehicle. Overall 28% of households were reported to have changed their usage, whilst 14% more stated that they would have reduced usage except that they already had done so as much as possible, as a result of costs. Of those which had altered use, three quarters had reduced frequency of use, whilst a quarter had taken other action, including selling a vehicle (3 households) and making more use of the telephone, village based facilities, lifts, combined trips and a substitute mode of travel more often (1 household each).

The reaction of households to petrol price rises was cross-tabulated with the 10 'key household characteristics' (defined in chapter 8) and levels of satisfaction with access to facilities and transport. Chi-square tests showed that only the variables related to people's levels of satisfaction were significantly related to reaction to price rises (5% C.I.), with households which had reacted tending to be only satisfied or (very) dissatisfied. Thus no significant difference was found between population sub-groups, in terms of their (non) reaction to the high and rising costs of car ownership.

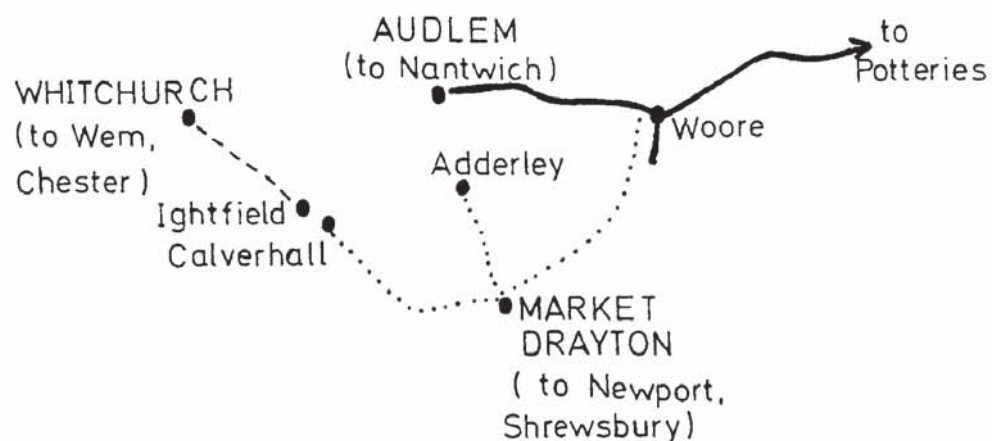
9.5.2 Availability and Use of Public Transport Services?

Details of the bus services available in the case study parishes are given in chapter 7. These are illustrated in Figure 9.1. As in the rest of rural Shropshire, public transport to and from the parishes studied was largely limited to bus services running regularly on inter-urban routes plus skeleton services elsewhere. Overall only 92 (17%) of the 536 people covered by the survey used local bus services. Furthermore of the 90 for which information regarding frequency of use was obtained, only 2 did so more than weekly, 38 weekly and 13 monthly (53 in all). These 92 lived in 63 households. As shown in Table 9.13 usage varied somewhat between parishes, with regular use (at least monthly), being highest in Ightfield (17 people), followed by Woore (11), Clunbury (10) and Clun (9). The two parishes with the least public transport tended therefore to have least regular users of public transport also (Adderley 2, Bettws-y-Crwyn 4), and it may be surmised that low availability of services was being reflected in low usage on a regular basis therefore.

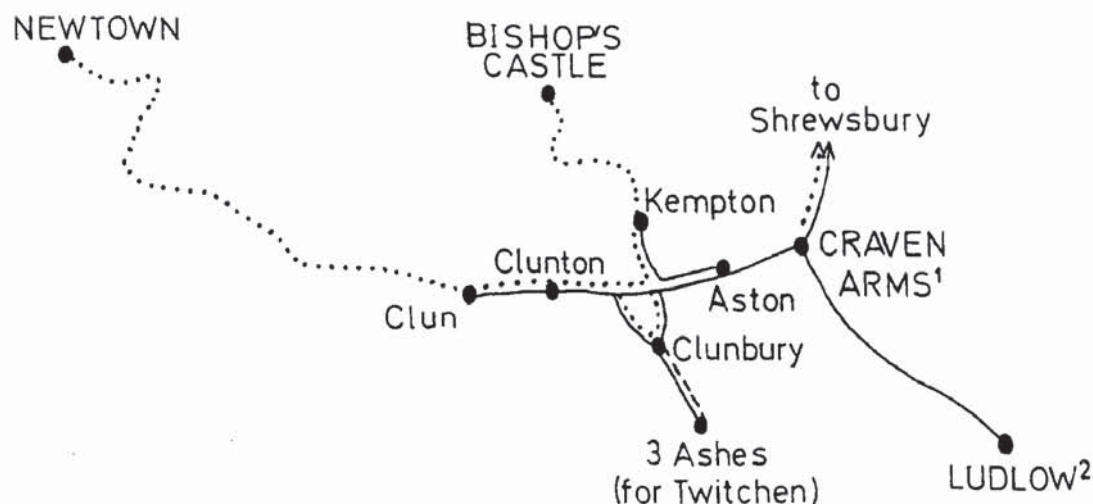
The main characteristics of those people who used local buses are shown in Table 9.14 (excluding children under the age of 10 whom it was considered were not able to use transport on their own). As can be seen from this table the largest proportion of users were adult females (not retired) who lived in a household which had a vehicle. Children in households with vehicles and retired

Figure 9.1 Public bus services to the Case Study Parishes

North Shropshire



South Shropshire



Number of return trips:

- 3+/day, 5+ days/week
- 1-2/day, 5+ days/week
- 1-2/day, 3-4/week
- 1-2/day, 1-2/week

1. Services to Shrewsbury including 2/week direct from Clun
2. Includes 5/week direct Clun-Ludlow. Ludlow offers services to Birmingham, Bridgnorth, Hereford etc.

Table 9.13 Number of People using Local Bus Services

Parish	Number of Users	More than weekly	Frequency of Use		Occasionally	No Ans.
			Weekly	Monthly		
Adderley	9	0	2	0	7	0
Ightfield	22	0	12	5	4	1
Woore	17	0	8	3	6	0
Bettws	10	0	3	1	6	0
Clunbury	12	1	9	0	1	1
Clun	22	1	4	4	12	1
Total No. Persons	92	2	38	13	36	3
Total No. Households	63	2	29	7	25	0

Source : Household survey (Law).

Table 9.14 Characteristics of Bus Users and Non-Users

Social Group	Vehicle ownership in household	Number of		% of Group who are Users	% of Total Users
		Bus Users	Non-Users		
Child aged 10-19	Vehicle in hh.	19	52	27	20
	No vehicle	0	5	0	0
Adult male 20+	Vehicle in hh.	2	125	2	2
Not retired	No vehicle	11	13	85	12
Adult Female 20+	Vehicle in hh.	27	113	19	29
Not retired	No vehicle	13	3	81	14
Retired person	Vehicle in hh.	2	34	6	2
	No vehicle	18	8	69	20

Source : Household survey (Law).

people in households without a vehicle also made up large proportions (around 20% each) of users. Few children lived in households which did not own a vehicle, but amongst adults and retired people usage was far higher amongst households which lacked a private vehicle. In general adult (non-retired) males did not use local bus services.

Use of public bus services was not restricted to those households without a vehicle, and 36 (57%) of those 63 households which used local public transport possessed a vehicle, whilst 7 (21%) households which did not possess a vehicle did not use local bus services either. However, those households which did not have a vehicle and which used local bus services tended to do so regularly, whilst those which did possess a vehicle tended to use local bus services only infrequently.

The majority of people using public bus services at least monthly (38 households), generally fell into one of three categories:

- a) Households with no vehicles from which all the adults used buses (16 households out of 19 with no vehicle).
- b) One vehicle households from which the spouse but not any children used buses, and the head of the household only had the day-time use of the vehicle (14 households out of 17 with one vehicle).
- c) Households with 2 plus vehicles, where the vehicles were used in the day-time by the head of the household and the spouse or adult children, and buses were used by any other children, and the spouse in the second case (5 households out of 5).

As can be seen from Table 9.15 the main reasons given for using local buses were either to visit commercial facilities or commercial and medical facilities in conjunction. Thus it appears that a visit to a medical facility using a local bus service is generally combined with a visit to one or more commercial facilities, but not vice versa. Virtually no use was made of local bus services to visit educational or social facilities, or to travel to work. Only Woore had a service which provided a 'journey

to work' service, and none had regular evening services suitable for 'social' trips at these times. In addition the public services available would be little use to a working person, as few ran outside normal working hours. Thus as Hagerstrand (1973) suggested, it appears to be as important to consider when the buses run as how often. Clearly access to public transport for some people was restricted due to their commitments to work during the working day, and to all people during evenings and weekends.

Table 9.15 Reasons for Using Local Bus Services

Purpose of Trip	Number of people
Work	2
Commercial facilities	20
Medical facilities	2
Educational facilities	2
Social facilities/visit	6
Commercial and medical	38
Commercial, medical and social	9
No reason given	13
TOTAL	92

Source : Household survey (Law).

Respondents for households which did not use local bus services at all were asked for the reasons why their household did not use them. Overall 121 households replied to the question, and by far the most common reason which they gave, was that the household possessed adequate private transport (80%). Other reasons mentioned included distance to the bus stop (6%), lifts received (5%),

difficulty in using the vehicle (5%), poor timing (3%) and infrequency (1%), whilst the remainder could not identify any particular reason (1%). Thus although bus services were not available at many times of the day and week, respondents seemed resigned to the fact, and few specifically mentioned timing as a reason for non-use. Clearly however the infrequency of services was related to the very high levels of vehicle ownership.

Respondents were also asked to estimate the distance from their home to the nearest bus stop, in walking time, and their replies showed that a substantial minority had to walk for a considerable time, in order to catch a bus (particularly in South Shropshire). Whilst 54% of households had a bus stop within 6 minutes walking distance, 34% had to walk for 15 minutes or more and 16% for over 30 minutes. In fact, respondents for 7% of households (12% in South Shropshire) stated that the walk was considered impracticable. Thus for a substantial proportion of people, bus services in the parishes studied were of little practical value.

Un-conventional services

All six parishes studied had a voluntary car scheme operating within them for medical trips, although according to the survey only a minority of households (19%) knew about the services. In all 17 of the interviewed households had used the scheme, usually for trips to hospital as an out-patient or visitor. These households generally did not own a vehicle, and belonged to the semi or un-skilled manual socio-economic groups. Thus the voluntary car scheme was providing a useful supplement to conventional services, for some of the most disadvantaged people living in rural areas, with respect to access to transport. However such services provide only a partial service, with usage being restricted to certain types of trip. In addition, according to the household interviews usage carried with it embarrassment for the people requesting a lift. The 'charity' aspect of these schemes has indeed been criticised in the literature (for example by Pulling and Speakman, 1974), as described in chapter 4. According to the case study findings,

the scheme should not be considered by public transport planners as an alternative to public bus services (as suggested for example by South Shropshire District Council, 1984); it is only suitable for filling in gaps in these services.

9.5.3 Satisfaction with Transport?

Although the issue of rural transport has been widely covered in the literature, few studies have adequately considered residents attitudes to their transport situation. During the household survey both respondents and the remainder of their households reported levels of satisfaction with their transport situation were recorded, as shown in Table N.2. The majority of households and respondents were (reported to be) either very satisfied or satisfied with their transport situation. Combining the two sets of responses (i.e. for the respondents and the 'rest of household') to give levels of satisfaction within each household as a whole, 34 (19%) households were found to contain at least 1 dissatisfied member, as shown in Table 9.16.

Table 9.16 Combined Level of Satisfaction with Transport Situation

Level of Satisfaction	% of households		
	North Salop	South Salop	Total
All very satisfied	51	28	39
All satisfied/some satisfied, others dissatisfied	27	57	42
At least 1 person dissatisfied	22	16	19
Total no. of hh. (100%)	89	90	179

Cross-tabulations using chi-square tests between combined levels of satisfaction and the 10 'key household characteristics' (defined in section 8.4) plus

levels of satisfaction with access to facilities, showed a significant association between high levels of satisfaction with transport and:

- i) high levels of satisfaction with access to facilities (1% C.I.);
- ii) shorter time resident in the parish (5% C.I.);
- iii) head of household in professional/employer/manager SEG (1% C.I.);
- iv) residence in North Shropshire (1% C.I.);
- v) ownership of 2+ vehicles (1% C.I.), and vice versa;

Chi-square tests between levels of satisfaction with transport and the respondent's age, sex, marital status and position in the household, produced only one significant association (5% C.I.): single people showed a tendency higher than expected to state that the rest of the household was dissatisfied. It would appear that respondent characteristics did not unduly influence reported levels of satisfaction therefore.

Thus as would be expected, people in households with fewer vehicles were less satisfied with their transport situation. It is interesting to note that longer-term residents were less satisfied with their transport situation; this appears to be associated with declining levels of public transport. Shorter-term residents generally expected only limited public transport and presumably only moved to the parish if they were prepared to and could live without high levels of public transport. The point is illuminating as it indicates the constraints being put on in-migration into rural areas; i.e. restricting in-migration to those with private vehicles and able and prepared to live with limited public transport. Policies to withdraw the subsidisation of public transport services and rationalise the service network may have far reaching implications for in-migration.

To conclude, research findings support the hypothesis defined at the beginning of the section. Public transport in the areas studied was largely restricted to bus services on inter-urban routes, with a bare minimum of services available in some locations studied, and usage particularly in these locations being low and

irregular (a 'chicken and egg' effect). Even so 40% of those aged 10 and over did not have day-time use of a vehicle. Voluntary schemes provided for some medical trips, but not for other types. For a minority of people therefore the, albeit infrequent, public bus services were a lifeline, justifying their continued support by the County Council.

ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL AND SPATIAL VARIATIONS IN ACCESSIBILITY AND DISADVANTAGE

It is clear from the evidence presented so far that the households studied varied in their accessibility to basic requirements, and that certain households were disadvantaged compared to others. In order to examine these differences three statistical techniques were used, as described earlier : cross-tabulations (with chi-square tests), factor analysis and discriminant analysis. The results obtained using chi-square tests have been discussed in some detail previously, but these are drawn together here (with figures given in Appendix R).

Table R.1 summarises the results of chi-square tests of the relationship between 'objective' indicators of facility usage and household characteristics/location, which were discussed in chapter 8. This shows that for at least 10 of the 15 facilities considered frequency of use was associated with stage in the family cycle, age of the head of household and number of vehicles owned. Similarly, miles travelled to outlets was associated with location in Shropshire; time taken travelling to outlets was associated with location in/not in a village; and use/non-use of the nearest outlet to location in/not in a Main Village parish. Mode of travel was associated with number of vehicles owned, whether or not the head of household was economically active, and the socio-economic group of the head of household. Finally, for at least 10 out of the 13 facilities included in the analysis, size of settlement used was associated with the household's location in Shropshire and location in/not in a Main Village parish.

Table R.2 summarises the results of the chi-square tests in cross-tabulations between five attitudinal questions related to facility usage and the same household characteristic/location variables. Again these were discussed in more detail in chapter 8. Together they show an overall lack of association between attitudinal responses and household characteristic/location variables. No association was found between households for which the respondent stated that they had 'a

problem in reaching facilities' and any of the variables related to household characteristics and location. Similarly no association was found between households from which the respondent stated that they would 'miss a facility if closed' and any of the household characteristic/location variables. However, an association was found between three other attitudinal variables and the household characteristic/location variables. Family stage, age of the head of household, length of residence in the parish and location in/not in a Main Village parish were associated with whether the respondent thought the household would use facilities 'more often, if they could be reached more easily'. Years resident, number of vehicles owned, economic activity of the head of household and location in/not in a Main Village parish were associated with whether or not the respondent could identify a facility which he/she 'would like to see opened in the parish'. Finally, household satisfaction with access to facilities was associated with the socio-economic group of the head of household and location in the parish.

Table R.3 summarises results of cross-tabulations between 'objective' and 'subjective' measures of access to transport, work and housing and household characteristic/location variables. These were discussed in detail in earlier sections. In particular, the results show a strong association between socio-economic group of the head of household and all the other variables considered, i.e. variables related to public and private vehicle usage, economic activity of the head of household, housing tenure and satisfaction with transport, work and housing. Number of vehicles owned was strongly associated with objective and subjective measurements of access to transport and work. Location was less strongly associated with measures of accessibility, although housing tenure and satisfaction with access to work were closely associated with location in Shropshire.

These tables provide a wealth of detailed information, and Table R.4 attempts to draw this together by listing the population groups which, according to the cross-tabulations and chi-square tests, showed the most consistent associations

with variables indicative of a high incidence of accessibility problems to particular requirements and incidence of disadvantage. The results indicate that population sub-groups most likely to experience disadvantage were those:

- i) with a head of household aged 60 and over;
- ii) without a private vehicle;
- iii) with a head of household in a low socio-economic group;
- iv) which live outside a village;
- v) which live in remoter areas (here South Shropshire).

Whilst making few demands on the type of data, the volume of information obtained using chi-square tests makes it difficult to gain an overall picture of underlying patterns in the data. Factor analysis of 26 variables selected on the basis that they are the most useful indicators of advantage/disadvantage was therefore undertaken. These variables are listed in Table 9.17. The analysis identified 9 factors which together accounted for 72.8% of the variance in the data. These factors are illustrated in Table 9.18, which also shows the variables which were found to be highly weighted on each factor. Examination of these weightings or loadings established that a cut-off point existed at 0.28 to 0.43, with most variables having a loading of less than 0.28, or more than 0.43. In the following discussion therefore, a variable is considered to be highly loaded on a factor if it had a loading of ± 0.43 .

The first component can be considered representative of 'wealth'. It gives a high negative loading to manual worker head of household and local authority accommodation, and a high positive loading to vehicle ownership, use of car to major shopping (durable items) and dental facilities, and head of household in work. The second factor is representative of younger families with children, and gives a high positive loading to vehicle ownership, head of household in work, size of household and presence of children in household, and a high negative loading to age of head of household. Together these two factors explain 33.9% of the variance

Table 9.17 Variables used in Factor Analysis of Rural
(Dis-) advantage

a) Indicators of (dis-) advantage

1. Head of household in active employment
2. Head of household professional worker, employer, manager
3. Head of household manual worker
4. Privately-rented accommodation
5. Local Authority accommodation
6. Number of vehicles owned
7. Frequency of use major item shopping
8. Home to outlet road distance: major item shopping
9. Home to outlet road distance: dentist
10. Use of household car to major shopping facilities
11. Use of household car to dentist
12. Satisfaction with employment (head of household)
13. Satisfaction with accommodation (respondent)
14. Satisfaction with transport (household)
15. Satisfaction with access to facilities (household)
16. Experience problems in reaching facilities
17. Would use a facility more often, if could be reached more easily
18. Less satisfied with life in area
19. Years resident in Parish
20. Consideration of moving
21. Proximity to village centre
22. Proximity to designated Main Village
23. Proximity to major urban area

b) Household characteristics

24. Presence of children in household
25. Age of head of household
26. Size of household

Table 9.18 Variables with high loadings on the 9 factors

Factor	Representative of	% variance explained	Variables with a loading of ± 0.43 and over	
			Variable	Loading
1	'Wealth'	20.7	Manual worker	-0.62391
			Local Authority housing	-0.63199
			Use car to major shopping	0.93258
			Use car to dentist	0.93258
			Vehicle ownership	0.61776
			Head of hh. in work	0.52498
2	'Younger family with children'	13.2	Vehicle ownership	0.45175
			Children in hh.	0.78308
			Head of hh. in work	0.54492
			Age of head of hh.	-0.75540
			Size of hh.	0.77783
3	'Problems in reaching facilities'	9.1	Less satisfaction facility access	0.88106
			Less satisfaction with transport	0.54153
			Problems in reaching facilities	0.65614
4	'Access to urban areas'	6.6	Distance to major shopping	-0.46959
			Proximity to major urban area	0.93907
5	'Village and owner-occupied public housing'	5.3	Privately-rented accommodation	-0.61041
			Proximity to village	0.44956
			Proximity to Main Village	0.43329
6	'Length of residence'	4.9	Years resident in Parish	0.96556
7	'Less satisfaction with life and migration'	4.6	Less satisfaction with work	0.62504
			Less satisfaction with housing	0.50512
8	'Less satisfaction with life and migration'	4.4	Consideration of moving	0.51931
			Less satisfaction with life	0.48297
9	'Distance to dentist, high S.E.G.'	4.0	Distance to dentist	0.52258
			Head of hh. professional worker etc.	0.51960

in the data.

The third factor is a summary of variables related to expression of problems related to reaching facilities. It gives a high positive loading therefore to dissatisfaction with access to facilities and transport, and to expression of problems related to access to facilities. It explains a further 9.1% of the variance in the data. The fourth factor is representative of access to urban areas, and gives a high positive loading to accessibility to a major urban area and high negative loading for distance travelled to major shopping facilities. The fifth factor is representative of local authority and owner-occupied accommodation and village location, and gives a high positive loading to proximity to village and Main Village, and negative loading to privately-rented accommodation. The first five factors therefore explain 54.9% of the variance in the data, whilst the remaining four explain a further 17.9%. The sixth to ninth factors are representative of length of residence, lower levels of satisfaction with housing and work, less satisfaction with life/potential migration, and distance to dentist/high socio-economic group.

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the chi-square and factor analyses. In particular, it can be concluded that personal and spatial variations in accessibility and disadvantage existed in the households studied and that there is a strong relationship between low accessibility, disadvantage and low socio-economic group, the head of household being unemployed, sick or economically inactive, local authority housing, lack of a household car, and reliance on modes of travel other than the household car to travel to facilities.

REACTION TO INACCESSIBILITY AND PERCEIVED DISADVANTAGE: MIGRATION?

In earlier chapters the suggestion was put forward that migration represents one possible response by a household to its perceived accessibility problems and disadvantage. South Shropshire District Council clearly agree with this. Thus the District Council suggest that because of the pattern of facility provision in the District, some residents experience difficulties in obtaining access to facilities, and as a result possibly migrate:

'while the low level of services has been accepted as part of living in a rural area, it nevertheless causes difficulties and hardship and acts as a disincentive to the younger members of the community to stay in the area'.

(South Shropshire District Council, 1984b, p78)

This theme was picked up in the thirteenth hypothesis defined in chapter 5, which stated:

Hypothesis 13 : Rural communities are dynamic with constant population movements occurring both locally and over longer distances. However, some rural residents may be unable to move. Motives for movement generally emphasise housing and employment, but these should be seen in some cases as a reaction to perceived accessibility problems and disadvantage. Migration decisions and motives for migration vary between and within the populations of different areas and between individuals and sub-groups within the population.

This hypothesis raised a number of research questions concerning migration. The first two of these were concerned with the past migration patterns exhibited by the interviewed households and any independent adult children were. Because the information gathered in response to this question was considered important background information, it was discussed earlier, in chapter 7. The overall pattern obtained was of a continual flux of people occurring both in and out of the parishes studied, but with an underlying core of people who were long-term residents in the

area. The other questions raised are as follows:

- a) What are the intended migration patterns, if any, of rural residents?
- b) Do rural residents face any obstacles which may reduce their ability to move when they wish to do so?
- c) What are the motivations behind past and possible future household movements?

Linked to each of these questions was one further question:

- d) How do patterns of movement, motivations and attitudes to rural life vary between individuals and sub-groups, and within and between the populations of different areas?

Thus, in response, aspects of intended/considered out-migration, motives behind past and potential migrations, and attitudes to life generally, were covered by the questionnaire survey.

- a) What were the intended migration patterns of residents?

Overall 51 households (28%) were reported to have considered moving (northern area 28, southern 23). Of these 51 which had considered moving, only 7 (all northern) felt sure that they would do so in the following year and 13 thought they might (8 northern, 5 southern), whilst 31 stated that they were unable to do so (13 northern, 18 southern). Most households which had considered moving expressed a desire to leave the parish (Table 9.19).

Cross-tabulation using chi-square tests were used to establish which factors were associated with the households having considered moving. These showed that households which had considered it, showed a significant tendency above that expected (5% C.I.) to have the following characteristics: female respondent; respondent under 40 years of age; less satisfaction with access to facilities; dissatisfaction with transport; larger household; adults with children; head of household under 60 years of age. Other 'key household', and respondent variables (defined in chapter 8) failed to produce significant results. These results

Table 9.19 Desired Locations for Households Considering Leaving Home

Desired Location	% of households		Total
	North Salop	South Salop	
Same parish	14	13	14
Other rural location in District	19	40	28
Local market town	19	13	17
Other location in region	19	13	17
Other part of Britain	14	13	14
Other	14	7	11
Total no. of households (100%)	21	15	36

therefore support the findings of earlier studies which have suggested that out-migration was higher amongst women and young people (chapter 3), but emphasise also the importance of access to transport and facilities.

b) Did obstacles to migration exist?

Generally respondents for households which were undecided about moving stated that they knew of no particular reason which was blocking their move. However, many of the respondents who stated that the household had considered moving but felt unable to do so were able to give a specific reason for this decision. Thus the survey found evidence that 'obstacles' to migration existed (as proposed by Lee, 1969). As Appendix Q.1 shows, the most common reasons given were financial reasons (8 households) and employment (7 households). Other factors mentioned were the desire not to uproot the children, and the problems of obtaining alternative accommodation, particularly regarding council housing.

c) What were the motives behind migrations?

The household survey also obtained information regarding motives for

migration of the household to the parish and area, for adult children on choosing their current location and for households considering leaving the parish. The reasons given are shown in Table 9.20 for all the parishes combined. Thus the main reason for moving to the parish was housing (59%) followed by work (33%), and to the area work (57%) followed by housing (21%). In-migration to the area had generally been the result of decisions based on the perceived attractions of life in the area (i.e. a rural area), combined in some cases with the head of household's job being re-located. With regard to the choice of parish households generally emphasised availability of housing to match their requirements in the parish.

Work was also the main reason given for adult children's choice of location (50%), followed by marriage (27%). In general, in this context reasons given related to work appeared to reflect both a perception of lack of opportunities in the parish/area and better opportunities elsewhere, i.e. a balance of 'push' and 'pull' factors (as defined by Scott, 1944). The most common reasons given for wanting to move by potential migrants were access problems (31%) particularly in South Shropshire, and work (27%) especially in North Shropshire. In this case work-related reasons also reflected the main wage-earners job being re-located through promotion, transfer by the firm etc. General access and housing problems however emphasised a mixture of perceived problems and disadvantage in the current location and perception of better opportunities in another location. Thus the survey results give support to the finding of earlier studies discussed in chapter 4, for example those of Dunn et al. (1981) and Barnes and Morney (1982), which emphasised the importance not only of work, but also of other factors such as housing and accessibility, in controlling migration into and out of rural areas.

With regard to differences between parishes, the reasons given by respondents from the various parishes are listed in Table Q.2 and Q.3. The figures show that the reasons given varied between parishes. Regarding reasons for moving to the parish 'work' was mentioned particularly by households from

Table 9.20 Reasons given for (potential) migration decisions

Reasons given	Migration decision % of households		
	Household to Parish	Household to Area	Potential movement
None given	3	7	4
Marriage		27	
Family, friends, personal reasons	3	8	8
Work	33	50	27
Housing	59	6	15
Retirement	4		8
Way of life		2	
Desire to stay in home area		8	
Access Problems			31
Climate			6
Number of households (100%)	108 *	67 **	48

* Excludes 72 households which never lived outside Parish.

** Excludes 113 households which never lived outside Area.

Bettws-y-Crwyn and 'housing' by households from Adderley and Ightfield. Turning to motives for older children's locations 'work' was mentioned by Adderley and Clunbury households particularly. Finally regarding potential movements 'work' was especially mentioned by Clunbury households but interestingly, not at all by households from Clun. Regardless of the differences between parishes however, it does appear that accessibility problems were an important issue in controlling potential movements of households from their parish, and that this is related specifically to out-migration, i.e. it is not a common motive behind migrations undertaken by this sample of households.

Regarding their own level of satisfaction with life in their area, respondents for 71% of households stated that they were very satisfied, 26% satisfied and 3% (very) dissatisfied. Their replies with reference to the rest of their household showed a similar distribution, with 68% of (rest of) households (which contained another person) being reported to be very satisfied, 27% satisfied and 4% as containing at least one (very) dissatisfied member. The combined household (respondent and rest of household) levels of satisfaction are shown in Table 9.21. The majority of respondents (69% households) therefore stated that both they and their household was 'very satisfied', whilst a further 25% stated that everyone was 'satisfied'.

Respondents were also asked the question: 'What do you particularly like and dislike about living here?' The replies given are summarised in Table 9.22. In total respondents for 157 households mentioned 236 aspects of life which they particularly liked, which included aspects of the physical environment e.g. scenery; human environment e.g. rural community life; feelings of emotional attachment to the location; ease of access to facilities, jobs and other locations; their house/garden; work; and the quality of local education. Respondents for 75 households mentioned 86 aspects of life which they particularly disliked, including aspects of the physical environment; human environment; quality of facilities; access/

Table 9.21 Combined Level of Satisfaction with Life in the Area

Level of satisfaction	% of households		Total
	North Salop	South Salop	
All very satisfied	74	63	69
All satisfied	19	31	25
Some very satisfied, others satisfied	2	1	2
All (very) dissatisfied	1	3	2
Children only (very) dissatisfied	2	1	2
Spouse only (very) dissatisfied	1	0	1
Total no. of households (100%)	89	90	179

provision of facilities; general access problems; access/provision of jobs and housing.

It is interesting to compare stated dislikes with the area to reasons for possible out-migration. The former emphasised aspects of the physical and human environment and accessibility problems, the latter work, housing and accessibility problems which are highlighted by both results. Why? Responses to the question concerning 'dislikes' tended to evoke a spontaneous response. Respondents often referred to a specific problem which irritated them perhaps in the recent past; a grievance, but not something which would make them migrate e.g. low-flying aircraft, mud on the roads. Responses to the question concerning potential out-migration were often related to issues which had previously been discussed with friends or relatives. In addition they tended to be either more 'serious', broader problems, which were affecting the family's financial position or health, or not to be problems, being related to members of the family's progression from one stage in life to another e.g. marriage, retirement, being transferred by an employer.

Table 9.22 Aspects which respondents liked/disliked about their life

Aspect	Number of households					
	Aspects respondents like			Aspects respondents disliked		
	North	South	Total	North	South	Total
	Salop	Salop	Salop	Salop	Salop	Salop
Physical environment	62	46	108	8	12	20
Human environment	40	42	82	7	9	16
Employment	0	1	1	4	2	6
Housing	3	0	3	0	1	1
General accessibility	13	1	14	8	11	19
Access/provision of facilities				8	10	18
Quality of facility	0	1	1	2	4	6
Emotional attachment to locality						
Number of households*	83	74	157	33	42	75

* Some respondents stated more than 1 aspect.

Thus physical accessibility was a key issue in controlling migration decisions and people's attitudes with regard to the quality of life in their present location. It was not always seen to cause problems however by the people concerned, with 13 households in North Shropshire and 1 in South Shropshire stating that they liked the easy accessibility afforded by their present location. However respondents from 24 households mentioned the poor quality of local facilities and problems related to poor access to facilities, and 19 general access problems, as aspects of life that they 'disliked'.

Finally, respondents were asked the following questions:

'What do you personally think are:

- (a) The major problems facing this area for people generally?
- (b) The major problems facing this area which affect you personally?

As shown in Table Q.4, the majority of respondents felt that the area did not face any particular problems. However 33% of households did mention a problem faced by people generally, and 25% by the household. The most commonly mentioned were employment and accessibility, the latter being mentioned by 8 South Shropshire and 3 North Shropshire households. Again the overall picture is therefore one of a number of households perceiving serious problems in relation to accessibility - particularly in South Shropshire.

To conclude, the research findings give support to the hypothesis put forward earlier in this section. The rural communities studied were indeed dynamic, with constant population movements both locally and over longer distances. However 29 of the 180 households wished, but were unable to move, and could be considered 'trapped' in their present location. Motives for movement emphasised housing, employment and accessibility problems. Migration decisions and motives for migration were found to vary between and within the populations studied in the different areas.

According to the case study findings outlined in this chapter, a substantial minority of residents covered by the survey lack adequate access to opportunities for employment, housing, social contact and travel, and are as a result relatively disadvantaged. In general, policies introduced with the objective of improving or maintaining the availability of, and people's accessibility to opportunities associated with these basic requirements, have not been successful in achieving these objectives.

Employment opportunities were found to be limited in the areas studied, especially in manufacturing. Overall 40-45% of employed people covered by the survey worked in the service industries, and a similar proportion in the primary industries (principally agriculture). Only 8% worked in manufacturing, a very low proportion by county and national standards. The case study work highlighted the problems faced by young manual workers, married women, those living in out-lying locations and the partially handicapped and disabled in finding work. Expectations were low however, and only 5% of the people covered by the survey who were of working age were reported to be dissatisfied with their employment situation. Agricultural policies appeared to have given valuable support to the farmers studied, although it was apparent that farmers of smaller hill farms were still experiencing financial difficulties. Several lived in sub-standard dwellings. Development Commission policies were found to have been successful in providing employment in the manufacturing industries in the Districts studied, and to have been well co-ordinated with local authority policies. However, the scale of employment provided was found to have been insufficient to achieve any significant improvement in the balance of employment between the various sectors.

Housing opportunities were also found to be restricted in the areas studied. Overall only 17% of the households studied lived in local authority accommodation, compared to 32% in Shropshire as a whole, marking a serious lack

of this type of accommodation in several of the parishes studied (notably Bettws-y-Crwyn and Clun). The survey work produced evidence of poor housing conditions and problems being experienced by residents in obtaining accommodation. In one parish (Bettws-y-Crwyn) 18% of households studied lacked an inside W.C. and 11% a fixed bath/shower.

According to respondents and the members of Shropshire Rural Community Council and local authorities contacted, three groups of people had particular problems in obtaining accommodation - young people, those seeking rented accommodation, and those wishing to find accommodation in South Shropshire. Again expectations were relatively low amongst those in sub-standard accommodation (as judged by objective standards), and only 6% of households were dissatisfied with their accommodation. The case study work suggests that housing policies and the type of development occurring in the areas studied were not reducing the housing problems and disadvantage being experienced by residents. Indeed policies appeared to have exacerbated these problems. Recent cut-backs in public expenditure have severely reduced the scale of local authority spending on housing development. Furthermore, restrictive housing policies appear to have constrained housing development, especially outside Main Villages.

The household survey highlighted two key issues with regard to people's access to social contact. Firstly, the elderly, teenagers, adult women, seriously disabled and handicapped people and their families and any group which formed a 'social minority', showed a high tendency to experience feelings of isolation. These were found to be the result of such factors as low, declining population densities, population and social changes, mobility problems and the overall tendency of residents to be conservative in their attitudes. Secondly, selective migration had resulted in social change in the parishes studied. In two parishes where in-migrants had arrived in relatively large numbers in the years prior to the survey, and where in-migrants were socially distinct, and lived in separate,

recently-developed estates, social conflict was found to exist between in-migrants and long-term residents. In the case of one recently-arrived household interviewed, this conflict was sufficiently severe for the household to be leaving the parish.

Car ownership was extremely high amongst the households studied, with 81% owning at least one vehicle. Use of such bus services as did exist was limited. Only 17% of the people covered by the survey used local bus services, and only 9% did so at least monthly. However, most of the regular users were found to be heavily dependent on services. A spiral of decline was discernible, whereby reductions to services had caused remaining services to be less convenient (infrequent, with fewer stopping points and more circuitous routes), more expensive to use (as fares rise), and therefore less used by residents, leading to further reductions. The only form of unconventional transport to be found in the case study parishes was the voluntary car scheme. This was providing a useful back-up to conventional services. However it only provided for medical trips in general, and the majority of users interviewed spoke of embarrassment both in requesting and paying for the scheme. The scheme was not found to be an adequate substitute for conventional services. Although planners in Shropshire have sought to retain a minimum of service to villages, the case study work suggests that rationalisations have already caused severe mobility problems for many of those without a car. The financial support of government for at least skeleton bus services would appear, on the basis of the case study work, to be vital for 5-10% of residents.

Constant population movements were found to be occurring both in and out of the parishes studied, with movements being local as well as long-distance. However, roughly one in six of the households studied had considered moving but found themselves unable to do so, often for financial or work-related reasons. The survey work highlighted three principle motives behind migration decisions - work, housing and physical accessibility problems.

CHAPTER 10
SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

The main purpose of the chapter is to provide a summary of the main findings of the case study work. First however, a brief outline of the purpose and design of the research is provide, in order to establish a firm link in the chapter between the aims and objectives of the research, the methods used to achieve these aims and objectives, and the findings of the case study work.

10.1.1 Aims and Objectives

The basic objective of the research described in this thesis was to assess the effects of post-war rural planning and other relevant rural policies on rural residents accessibility to their basic requirements. Lack of a 'reasonable' level of accessibility was hypothesised to constitute a prime cause of disadvantage. The aims of the research were therefore defined as follows:

- i) To critically examine the main post-war rural planning and other government policies, which are or were intended to improve or maintain rural residents accessibility to their basic requirements, and/or alleviate aspects of disadvantage.
- ii) 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.
- iii) To identify the possible causes of these accessibility problems.
- iv) To consider and compare various methods of assessing the incidence of disadvantage in rural areas.
- v) To identify those 'disadvantaged' population sub-groups which have particular accessibility problems, and to assess the incidence of multiple disadvantage.

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

vii) In the light of these 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.

10.1.2 Evidence from the Literature

The literature review highlighted five main criticisms of these policies as a means of alleviating accessibility problems and disadvantage. In particular it stressed the general failure of existing research to properly assess the effects of policies on accessibility and disadvantage; the lack of co-ordination between policies; the cumbersome nature of Structure Plans; the limited powers of planning authorities to achieve their aims; and the inadequacy of the planning system as a means of achieving 'social' objectives due to its original conception as a means of controlling land-use and development (chapter 2).

The review of the literature pertaining to disadvantage and related concepts highlighted the issues of relative disadvantage and multiple disadvantage as being of prime importance. The two principle methods which have been used for assessing disadvantage were examined, namely measures involving 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators. On the basis of this review of the literature on disadvantage and related concepts it was concluded that sufficient differences do exist between rural and urban areas in the nature and causes of disadvantage as to make disadvantage in rural areas a distinct issue, particularly due to the importance of accessibility in determining disadvantage in rural areas (chapter 3).

Existing knowledge was also examined with respect to the 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. Five basic requirements were considered: facilities, employment, housing, social contact and travel. Existing knowledge with regard to the effects which accessibility problems and disadvantage have on migration was also examined (chapter 4).

The review of the literature identified four main gaps in existing knowledge :

i) The lack of any comprehensive assessment of the extent to which conventional rural planning and other 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 within and between different sub-groups in the rural population.

iii) The lack of studies designed to compare and contrast the results obtained from using 'objective' and 'subjective' social indicator analysis 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 original research which was undertaken was designed to respond to these gaps in the existing literature.

10.1.3 Hypotheses Tested by the Case Study Work

Based on the research aims, thirteen detailed hypotheses were identified which the case studies were designed to test and, leading on from these, a series of research questions which these were designed to answer. Amongst the hypotheses three were central to the research and underlay the issues covered by the other hypotheses. These were concerned with the way in which accessibility contributes

to disadvantage, people's perception of their accessibility problems and disadvantage, and the influence of planning policies on the incidence of disadvantage. It was hypothesised that a substantial proportion of the rural population experiences problems in obtaining access to their basic requirements, and thereby experiences disadvantage. The nature and extent of these problems and the severity of this disadvantage were hypothesised to vary both between individuals and sub-groups within the population, and between the populations of contrasting areas.

Turning to perceptions, it was maintained that whilst many rural dwellers believe that rural life offers certain advantages, a sizeable minority of the population are dissatisfied with their circumstances and perceive that they experience accessibility problems and disadvantage. However it was suggested that whilst people's expressed perceptions (as measured using 'subjective' assessments) of their own circumstances, do partly reflect their actual circumstances (as measured using 'objective' assessments), the degree of correlation is considerably reduced by such factors as their aspirations and expectations.

The third hypothesis put forward which is central to the research was concerned with the influence of policies on the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage. In this hypothesis it was maintained that current policies aimed at alleviating aspects of accessibility problems and disadvantage have failed to meet their objectives.

The other hypotheses were concerned with people's accessibility and disadvantage with respect to five basic requirements : facilities, employment, housing, social contact and travel, and the influence of such accessibility problems and disadvantage on migration decisions. These hypotheses can be summarised as follows :

(i) Facilities and Services

Static facility outlets are sparsely distributed in rural areas, and

generally increasingly concentrated into larger and, or selected settlements. As a result rural residents must travel some distance to use many facilities, and as a result of the low levels of public transport are heavily reliant on private transport to do so. This situation causes severe difficulties for some residents, especially those without a car and those living in more isolated locations. A limited number of services are provided by mobile outlets, however these provide only a partial service, and provision varies considerably with location. As a result only a minority of residents use mobile services. Good communication networks and information sources play an important role in helping rural residents overcome problems related to access to facilities.

(ii) Employment

The employment structure of rural areas is dominated by primary and service sector employment. However, whilst much of this employment is available within the immediate area, certain residents, 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 with work vary between individuals and sub-groups within the population and between and within areas.

(iii) Housing

Rural areas have a comparatively low proportion of local authority accommodation, particularly outside key settlements, and a high proportion of households living in sub-standard accommodation. Certain sections of the population find problems in obtaining accommodation of the type and quality they desire. Housing profiles and levels of satisfaction with accommodation vary between individuals and sub-groups within the population and between and within areas.

(iv) Social Contact

As a result of the relatively low density of the rural population, transport problems and population changes, a significant proportion of rural dwellers experience feelings of isolation and lack adequate social contact with other people.

(v) Travel

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. Most rural dwellers rely on private transport, but those without full-time use of a car experience severely restricted mobility. Mobility and attitudes to mobility vary between individuals and sub-groups within the population, and between and within areas.

(vi) Motives for Migration

Rural communities are dynamic with constant population movements occurring both locally and over longer distances. However, certain rural residents may be unable to move their place of residence. Motives for migration generally emphasise housing and employment-related reasons, but these should be seen in some cases, as a reaction to accessibility problems and disadvantage. Migration decisions and motives for migration vary between and within the populations of different areas, and between individuals and subgroups within the population.

10.1.4 Research Methodology

Testing the above hypotheses required first-hand information concerning the nature and extent of accessibility problems and disadvantage. In order to provide a robust test of the hypotheses, two contrasting case study areas were selected within Shropshire. These were selected so as to provide areas which contrasted in terms of their levels of disadvantage (as assessed by means to available data), proximity of urban areas, and to some extent policies pursued, but which were

similar in other respects, e.g. regional policy. This allowed the effects of the above differences to be isolated.

Shropshire provided an ideal county for study since it includes extensive rural areas, some of which lie in close proximity to major conurbations whilst others are relatively remote. Available 'objective' data suggested that these areas varied in the degree of accessibility and disadvantage experienced by their population. The local authorities had pursued a clear rural settlement policy for some time and the county was in receipt of public aid from the Development Commission. Part of the county is an AONB, in which particularly restrictive policies have been pursued, with regard to development.

An examination of available 'objective' data and policy initiatives led to the selection of two Districts within Shropshire as a focus for research. North Shropshire District was found to exhibit the typical characteristics of a lowland rural area lying in close proximity to several major urban areas. According to available data it exhibited an incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage slightly above national and county standards. South Shropshire District exhibits the contrasting characteristics typical of a remote upland area. According to 'objective' data it exhibited well above average incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage, by both national and county standards.

Having eliminated parishes within these Districts which had a population of less than 150 in 1971, and those which contained a market town or exhibited unusual population characteristics (e.g. presence of armed forces), three parishes were selected for study in each of these two Districts, plus an additional parish in North Shropshire to act as a pilot-study. Selection took place in consultation with local Rural Community Council officers and District Council officers. Both groups of three parishes were selected so as to include one parish containing a designated Main Village, a second which a range of 'objective' indicators suggested was likely to exhibit a high incidence of accessibility problems

and disadvantage, and a third which the same indicators suggested was likely to exhibit a less extreme situation.

The information needed to test the research hypotheses and answer the research questions, was collected primarily by means of a household survey. This was based on the use of a structured, interview-administered questionnaire. Households were selected at random, from version of the electoral register. The aim when conducting the interviews was to talk to the head of household or their spouse.

The questionnaire was tested using a pilot study in a North Shropshire parish during May 1981, after which various minor adjustments were made to the questionnaire. The main part of the survey was carried out between July 1981 and November 1981, and June 1982 to October 1982. During the same period a series of informal interviews were carried out with representatives of local authorities, facility providers, community leaders and Rural Community Council representatives for the areas studied. These covered accessibility problems and disadvantage and the influence of policies on these issues.

Both 'objective' and 'subjective' measures were incorporated into the questionnaire. Past 'objective' assessments of disadvantage have generally relied on certain variables which are commonly held to be indicative of disadvantage, with respect to employment, housing and travel. Thus disadvantage is usually considered to be indicated by high levels of unemployment, households without a car, households in accommodation which lacks basic amenities such as an inside W.C., etc. A selection of such 'objective indicators' were therefore used in the household survey.

The formulation of objective measures with regard to access to social contact and facilities proved more difficult however. In the former case this was due to lack of previous research and in the latter due to the sparse distribution, and possible low range and quality of services, high prices etc., to be found in rural facility outlets. At least for some facilities therefore, it could be assumed that most

rural dwellers would use outlets located in towns, if they had the choice. Thus a high level of accessibility to facilities in rural areas is not necessarily reflected in the use of an outlet near home, whether measured in terms of miles, travel times, ability to walk to the outlets, or use of the nearest outlet. It may in fact, be reflected in the exercising of choice over location used, and the use of a more distant outlet in an urban area, probably reached by means of a privately-owned car. As a result of this difficulty a number of 'objective' parameters related to facility usage were used in the household survey, as were a number of 'objective' measures related to social contact.

People's attitudes were assessed using a series of questions designed to measure both the respondent's and the rest of the household's levels of satisfaction with a range of aspects. These aspects included their accessibility and general situation with regard to facilities, employment, housing and transport, and rural life overall. Each initial question was followed up by questions which asked the respondent to elaborate on his/her answer. Additional questions were also included to tap specific issues of interest, e.g. whether the respondent felt that any particular group of people had difficulty in obtaining accommodation in their area.

10.2 THE CASE STUDY FINDINGS

10.2.1 Access to Facilities

The case study work indicates that a substantial minority of interviewed households were experiencing problems in obtaining access to facilities, as assessed by means of both 'objective' and 'subjective' measures. Availability of outlets in the parishes studied was found to be low and declining, in both Main Villages and other settlements studied. Such outlets as did exist in the case study parishes were considered by many households to be expensive to use and limited in the range (and in some cases the quality) of the goods or services offered. Partly because of these drawbacks, anything upto 86% of households chose not to use their nearest facility outlet, with the proportion varying between facilities. Overall only 35% of households studied were 'very satisfied' with the quality of facilities which they used, whilst 18% were 'dissatisfied'. Thus the survey emphasised the importance to households of being able to exercise choice over the location used for particular services.

Partly because of the paucity of rural facility outlets and public transport and the importance to households of having a range of outlets to choose from for most types of facility, interviewed households were heavily reliant on private transport for travelling to outlets. Overall the private car or motor cycle made up 69% of the total modes of transport used to travel to facilities by the interviewed households. Yet 19% of households studied did not own a car. In total respondents for 37% of households were able to identify at least one facility which they would use more often if they could reach it more easily.

Reactions to difficulties experienced by the interviewed households in obtaining facilities varied. A few households had found ways of getting to the outlets more easily, e.g. by purchasing a car or taking lifts, whilst 1 in 5 households used mobile facilities such as grocers vans and the mobile library. In addition 4 of the 180 households studied were found to depend almost entirely on others for

errands. Finally, most residents had found ways of reducing the frequency with which they needed to visit outlets, e.g. by buying a freezer, using a telephone, shopping in bulk, or combining trips. These findings concur with those of other researchers, such as Moseley (1979) who found that households with low accessibility react in a similar manner.

On the basis of 'objective' assessments, the following sub-groups were found to have restricted patterns of facility usage:

- i) those who did not have the use of a private vehicle to travel to facilities;
- ii) pensioners;
- iii) other households in which the head of household was not actively employed;
- iv) households belonging to manual worker socio-economic groups;
- v) those living in South Shropshire, outside villages, and, or in parishes which did not contain a Main Village.

Levels of satisfaction with access to facilities ('subjective' measures) were significantly lower amongst :

- i) those who did not have the use of a private vehicle to travel to facilities;
- ii) households belonging to manual worker socio-economic groups;
- iii) those living in North Shropshire.

The latter finding is significant since facility outlets located in urban areas were much nearer. The research indicates that the association between lower levels of satisfaction and North Shropshire residence was the result of higher expectations amongst North Shropshire households. 'Subjective' and 'objective' measures produced contrasting results therefore with regard to the influence of location.

Discriminant analysis was not able to predict levels of satisfaction accurately from variables related to basic household or respondent characteristics.

However, it was able to predict levels of satisfaction with reasonable accuracy, from variables related to usage. In particular discriminant analysis using two variables : mode of travel to major shopping and dental facilities, was able to predict levels of satisfaction with access to facilities with 76% accuracy.

The research indicates that recent policies favoured by facility providers in the areas studied, have been successful in achieving the centralisation and rationalisation of outlets, and have thus exacerbated the problems experienced by residents in obtaining access to facilities. Up to two-thirds of the households studied were concerned over losses of outlets, with the proportion varying according to the type of outlet involved. The case study work gives support to the proposed removal by Shropshire County Council of the concept of Main Villages as service centres from its policies. One of the Main Villages studied was not fulfilling this role, whilst the other was fulfilling it for certain types of facility only.

10.2.2 Access to Employment

As discussed in chapter 9, employment opportunities were found to be limited in the areas studied, and concentrated into the primary and service industries. Overall 40% of the employed people covered by the survey worked in the primary industries and 45% in the service industries. Opportunities in manufacturing were especially limited, and only 8% of the working population surveyed worked in this sector - a very small proportion by county and national standards. The survey highlighted the problems faced by young manual workers, married women, those living in out-lying locations and the partially handicapped and disabled in finding work. However, only 5% of the people of working age covered by the survey were reported to be dissatisfied with their employment situation.

The case study findings indicate that agricultural policies were giving valuable support to the farmers covered by the survey, although several of the farmers of small, hill farms spoke of working long hours for little return and lived in

sub-standard housing.

Development Commission policies were found to be creating manufacturing employment in the Districts studied, and evidence was found of co-operation between Commission and local authority officers in achieving this result. However, the number of jobs being provided was relatively small, and was not sufficient to redress the imbalance in the employment structure.

10.2.3 Access to Housing

The housing tenure structure of the parishes studied was also found to differ considerably from national and country structures. Only 17% of the households studied lived in local authority accommodation, compared to 32% in Shropshire. Indeed one parish studied, Bettws-y-Crwyn, contained virtually no council housing. The survey produced evidence of poor housing conditions, with 18% of households studied in Bettws-y-Crwyn lacking an inside W.C. and 11% a fixed bath/shower. Three groups were identified as having particular problems in obtaining access to accommodation in the areas studied - young people, those seeking rented accommodation, and those seeking accommodation in South Shropshire. Expectations were low amongst those living in sub-standard accommodation (as judged using 'objective' measures) and as a result overall only 6% of household expressed dissatisfaction with their accommodation.

The case study findings indicate that housing policies were exacerbating the problems faced by at least the above-mentioned sections of the communities studied, in obtaining access to accommodation. Discussion with local government officers suggested that cut-backs in public expenditure had reduced the money available for building council housing in the areas studied. In addition the case study work indicates that restrictive housing policies had constrained housing development, especially outside Main Villages and in South Shropshire. The case study work indicates that AONB designation had a limited impact on the scale of

development in South Shropshire, since it was one of the factors taken into account by planners when establishing suitable scales of development. However housing development had occurred in the years prior to the survey in two of the three parishes studied in the AONB. Furthermore, case study findings indicate that the type of private development currently being built (four-bedroomed detached houses in North Shropshire) is not the type which will alleviate the problems experienced by residents in obtaining access to accommodation (rented property and property that young people can afford). Planning officers lack the power to general the type of development need to alleviate these problems.

10.2.4 Access to Social Contact

All of the parishes studied were found to contain a village hall or club house. However the range of activities held in these varied. The research findings indicate that the low population density of the areas studied, population and social changes occurring, mobility problems and the tendency of residents to be rather conservative in their attitudes were causing certain individuals to lack adequate access to social contact (by their own and more widely-held standards). In particular, the elderly, teenagers, adult women, and families containing a seriously disabled/handicapped person showed a high incidence of feelings of isolation. The case study work also highlighted the adverse effects on social interaction which had resulted from the in-migration of relatively large numbers of people who tended to be socially distinct and to live on separate, recently-developed estates. Social conflict was found to exist in two parishes studied between in-migrants and long-term residents, particularly in Adderley where a relatively large estate of 3-4 bedroom houses had been built in the centre of the village.

10.2.5 Access to Travel

In total 81% of the households studied owned at least one vehicle - an

extremely high proportion by country and national standards. None of the parishes studied had a train service. Bus services to and from the case study parishes were very limited, with two parishes studied having only a weekly service. A spiral of decline was found to have occurred as the result of rising costs and declining usage. Only 17% of the people covered by the survey ever used local bus services, and of these only 10% did so at least monthly. However, nearly all the regular users studied were found to be heavily dependent upon the service.

All the parishes studied had a voluntary car scheme, which was used by roughly 10% of the households studied. According to the comments of respondents the scheme provided a useful supplement to conventional services, but had two main draw-backs. Firstly the scheme only provided for medical trips generally, and secondly the majority of users interviewed spoke of feeling embarrassed when requesting and paying for the service. These factors clearly constrain the role which voluntary car schemes can play in alleviating transport problems.

10.2.6 The Influence of Accessibility and Disadvantage on Migration

A high volume of population movements were found to have been occurring both into and out of the case study parishes. Overall 26% of households studied had lived in the parish 5 years or less, whilst 62% of households had an adult child or children who had moved away from the parish. In total 51 (28%) of the household studied had considered moving, but whilst 13 of these 51 households thought they might, far more (31) had decided that they were unable to do so, generally for financial reasons. Most wished to leave the parish, although only a quarter wished to leave the region.

The motives given for migration to the parish focussed on the availability of housing followed by work, and to the area work followed by housing. Work was also given as the reason for adult children's choice of location, followed by marriage. However, amongst reasons given for considering

out-migration of the household itself, the one mentioned most frequently was access problems (mentioned by 31% of potential out-migrants), followed by work related reasons (mentioned by 27% of potential out-migrants). These findings largely confirm results obtained from studies in other areas (chapter 4), but give more emphasis to the significance of physical accessibility. Earlier studies tended to give weight to housing and work-related reasons only. Particularly in South Shropshire the survey found evidence of Rossi's (1955) climate of mobility, with adults and teenagers accepting the necessity of migration by children on leaving school, for employment reasons.

It proved difficult to differentiate between motives for possible out-migration which reflected the perception of limited opportunities in the households present area, from motives linked to the perception of good opportunities in another area. In other words whether households were being 'pushed' out by limited opportunities in their present area, or 'pulled' by good opportunities in another area. 'Limited' and 'good' in this context are values which involve a comparison between two or more situations - awareness of alternatives is thus an integral part of making such a judgement.

The case study work did not however show that past or intended out-migration was significantly higher amongst the more disadvantaged households studied. Migration of adult children from the areas studied was occurring across all social groups. However, lack of financial resources was clearly blocking a number of 'disadvantaged' household from moving. Thus several respondents stated that their household would move but for the costs of removal. In addition, those experiencing problems and disadvantage also, in some cases, had lower expectations (the 'it's always been this way' attitude). Finally, it may be that the households most severely affected by the decline in opportunities available in the rural areas studied have already left.

10.2.7 Personal and Spatial Variations

One of the main findings of the case study work is that the residents covered by the survey varied significantly in terms of their accessibility to basic requirements. The results indicate a systematic association between the tendency to experience an above average incidence of accessibility problems, i.e. disadvantage, and membership of ten sub-groups within the population defined according to their basic characteristics and remoteness from settlements (especially urban settlements). Furthermore, the research findings point to the tendency for a small proportion of the rural population to experience a combination of problems and disadvantages, so severe that their ability to overcome each individual difficulty is impaired, i.e. that a minority of the population experiences 'multiple disadvantage' (discussed later).

Those social groups which experience a high incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage include:

- a) Those without access to a vehicle.
- b) Retired people.
- c) Those belonging to a low socio-economic group.
- d) Households in which the head of household is not in work.
- e) School leavers/young people.
- f) Married women.
- g) The handicapped and disabled.
- h) Those living in a remote, upland location.
- i) Those living outside a village.
- j) Those not living in a parish containing a Main Village.

Each of these will be briefly considered below.

a) Those without access to a vehicle

The case study findings suggest that levels of public transport were so low in the areas studied as to render a private vehicle almost essential for a household to enjoy a 'reasonable' degree of physical accessibility, as judged by

widely-held standards. For those without private transport, accessibility to facilities, employment, social contact and travel from the parishes studied was severely restricted unless a lift was received.

b) Retired people.

This group of people were found to have particular problems in the case study parishes, as a result of their experiencing a combination of inter-related factors including low mobility, ill health, poverty, and loneliness caused by their tendency to live alone and by the death of their husband/wife and long-standing friends. Facilities based in villages were relatively important to this group, yet these are tending to be withdrawn.

c) Low socio-economic group.

The case study work clearly demonstrated the relatively high incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage being experienced by people studied in this group. According to the analyses conducted, low socio-economic group was associated with low vehicle ownership, poor accessibility to facilities/services (no vehicle, low income), restricted access to employment (lack of skills and transport), and restricted access to housing of a 'reasonable' quality etc. (due to low income).

d) Head of household not in work.

This group included many belonging to the groups mentioned already. In particular, lack of a regular incoming wage was found to be associated with low vehicle ownership amongst the households studied.

e) School leavers/young people

Contrary to popular opinion this group did not emerge as having severe mobility problems, owing to the fact that most lived in households which possessed at least one car, and with parents who were prepared to 'chauffeur' them until they

were old enough to pass the driving test. Providing lifts were available this group appeared to have access to facilities and friends, although it might well be that interviewing the young people themselves instead of their parents would produce a different picture. The case study findings indicate that access to housing for young people was a problem, due to the relatively high prices compared to wages for this group, and the ineligibility of many young people for council accommodation. The most severe problem faced by this group was that of access to employment. Thus the case study work produced evidence, particularly in South Shropshire, that many accepted the necessity of out-migration unless they wished to work in agriculture. Registered unemployment was concentrated amongst this group.

f) Married women

Amongst the interviewed households those married women who did not have day-time use of a vehicle were found to be particularly isolated. In addition, although quite a number did have part-time jobs, there appeared to be a shortage of such work, other than of an unskilled manual type. These findings concur with those of Moseley (1979) who also stressed the low mobility experienced by this group.

g) Handicapped/disabled

Although only a few households containing a disabled or handicapped person were covered by the survey, most were found to experience extreme problems. These affected not only the disabled person, whose mobility was often minimal, but also the able-bodied persons upon whom the disabled person tended to be reliant almost continuously. Although relatives and neighbours did offer considerable help, comments of respondents suggested that this could not generally make up for the lack of day-centres, special transport etc., which is available in urban areas, nor free able-bodied members of the household sufficiently for them to

regularly leave home. Where only one able-bodied adult was present the problems presented were particularly severe. Sheltered housing was providing some assistance, however where this involved the household moving to live in a new village this resulted in a lessening of the support available from friends and relatives.

h) Remote, upland location

South Shropshire, due to its abrupt relief, low population density and remoteness from the opportunities available in urban areas, was associated with particular accessibility problems and a higher incidence of certain types of disadvantage. In particular the distance to be travelled to certain facilities was comparatively high, notably to hospitals, whilst respondents stated that winter driving conditions created severe physical accessibility problems during this season. Many interviewed households were concerned about the time needed to get to hospital in an emergency.

i) Location outside village

Since few bus services served the outlying locations studied, location outside a village was associated with physical accessibility problems for those without a vehicle, leading to problems in obtaining access to facilities, social contact and work.

j) Location outside a Main Village parish

The Main Villages studied, being larger in population size, had comparatively more facilities based in them and were better served with public transport. Access to facilities was therefore better for those living in a Main Village parish.

10.2.8 Multiple Disadvantage

According to the case study findings a number of types of household can be recognised from those interviewed which were experiencing above average incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage. Many of these experienced not just one type of problem or disadvantage, but a combination, i.e. they experienced 'multiple disadvantage'. The indicators of (dis)advantage listed in Table 9.17, (discussed in chapter 9) provided a useful way of identifying such households, and factor analysis provided an invaluable method for establishing the existence and nature of underlying patterns in this type of data. In particular analysis of the case study data showed the strong relationship which existed between low socio-economic group, the head of household being unemployed (sick) economically inactive, local authority housing, lack of a household car, and reliance on a mode of travel other than a household car to travel to facilities.

It is difficult to put an exact figure on the proportion of households experiencing multiple disadvantage since no household is likely to experience every kind of disadvantage and any cut-off point must necessarily be arbitrary. However, if one takes indicators of the type listed in Table 9.17 for the five aspects considered: facilities, employment, housing, social contact and transport, and establishes the proportion of household experiencing a combination of accessibility problems or disadvantage in several of these categories according to local and national standards, then it appears that roughly 10% of the households studied were experiencing 'multiple disadvantage'. This finding concurs with that of Berthoud (1983) who suggested that 8.8% of the nations population were disadvantaged. A description of four such household is given below, in order to illustrate the ways in which accessibility problems and disadvantage were found to combine within a single household.

Household 1. Manual worker with teenage children

This household was typical of six of the interviewed households in which the head of household was employed as an agricultural worker, and had several children in their late teens and early 20's. In this case the family lived in a house which was rented from the head of household's employer. The house was in a poor state of repair, in an isolated location and well away from a bus route. The parish only received one bus service a week anyway. The spouse of the head of household worked part-time in the local market town, but this required her to take the only car the household owned to work. This left three adult children aged 18 - 21 at home without transport. All three were 'seeking work', but felt that their lack of success in finding a job was due to their lack of transport. Their mother's job did not entail her travelling to work regularly at a time suitable for them to get a lift with her. The household could not afford a second vehicle, so the adult children relied on hitch-hiking. Access to facilities for them was limited and all outlets used regularly by the household were located in the nearby market town. They had no telephone. All three adult children were reported to be highly dissatisfied with their access to facilities and their transport situation and to be actively considering moving away in order to increase their access to employment and other opportunities.

Household 2. Manual worker with ill-health

This household illustrates the problems which two interviewed households were facing, as the result of the head of household falling ill and lacking any financial investments to fall back on. Both of the households involved agricultural workers, who are prone to occupational injury. The household considered here consisted of a couple, their daughter and grand-child. They lived in a small house in an isolated location; the house being rented from the farmer the head of household had worked for. The head of household, who was the only wage earner, had however been off work for some time prior to interviewing, due to

illness. Lack of skills, job opportunities and transport blocked him from taking up an alternative type of work which his illness might have permitted. The family could not afford a vehicle and being well off a bus route in a parish with only a weekly bus service, were forced to use a taxi regularly (weekly) in order to visit the nearest settlement (a market town) for facilities. They never visited a major town for facilities and were all dissatisfied with their transport situation. Their lack of a telephone exacerbated their difficulties. However they were all reported to be very satisfied with their life in general and their location in the countryside was felt to outweigh their difficulties by the respondent(head of household).

Household 3. Single elderly person with poor health.

This household is representative of three single, elderly person households studied in which the person concerned was virtually housebound through ill health. The woman concerned was in her 70's and a widow. She was housebound and dependent on her daughter and neighbours for errands and housework. Although she lived in a village it had only a weekly bus service, and she found this too tiring to use. The same applied to the local shop which she also felt was too expensive for her to use. She was dissatisfied with her access to facilities and transport, but satisfied with her council bungalow and life in general. To her the friendliness of the community and quiet of rural life outweighed her difficulties.

Household 4. Hill farm with only 2 adults.

This household could be considered typical of four 'multiply disadvantaged' households studied in which a childless couple in their 50's or 60's were running a hill farm on their own. The farm was very isolated and travelling from the farm was reported to be difficult in winter. The couple owned one vehicle, but only the head of household could drive. The farm was over three miles from a

bus route which was only served once a week. The couple both worked long hours on the farm and rarely got a chance to leave it. Trips to facilities consisted of a once monthly shopping trip to a local market town only. Both were dissatisfied with their access to facilities. Their dwelling was in need of repair and lacked an inside WC and fixed bath/shower. They had considered moving and retiring to a location nearer facilities, but had not done so, despite being in their 60's, due to financial and other difficulties posed by selling up the farm (e.g. housing). A positive attraction of their location was its peacefulness however, and both stated that they were satisfied with their life in general.

These household illustrate the ways in which accessibility problems and other forms of disadvantage were found to combine within a single household and compound the problems experienced.

10.2.9 Objective and Subjective Measures of Disadvantage

Both the 'objective' and 'subjective' measures used in the questionnaire survey produced valuable results and complemented each other well. Using cross-tabulations and factor analysis it was possible to identify those objective measures of accessibility and disadvantage, which produced results which were associated with particular levels of satisfaction for individual aspects. In addition, using discriminant analysis it was possible to predict people's levels of satisfaction with particular aspects of their lives, based on their 'objectively - assessed' conditions.

Cross-tabulations between level of satisfaction with access to facilities and frequency of use, location used, distance travelled in time and miles, and use of the nearest outlet failed to produce any consistent significant association for different facilities, as shown in Table 10.1. However, dissatisfaction with access to facilities was found to be positively associated with use of a mode of travel other than a household car for trips to facilities. Cross-tabulations between level of satisfaction

with access to facilities and mode of travel used to visit facilities produced significant chi-square values (5% significance level) for 10 facilities. This suggests that use of a car to travel to facilities could be used as a surrogate for levels of satisfaction with access to facilities. Vehicle ownership was also related to level of satisfaction with transport, which proved to be significantly higher amongst the households which owned more vehicles and which never used local bus services.

Satisfaction with employment amongst heads of household was, not surprisingly, significantly higher amongst those belonging to higher socio-economic groups and those in work. In fact there was a strong tendency for those not in work (but below retirement age) to be very dissatisfied with their situation. Finally satisfaction with housing proved to be significantly higher amongst those in owner-occupied accommodation, and lower amongst households in rented accommodation, particularly privately-rented housing.

Thus results obtained using 'objective' and 'subjective' measures of disadvantage with respect to a single component were, according to the chi-square tests, often significantly associated. However, other influences could be identified which were affecting reported levels of satisfaction. According to the results of the factor analyses conducted, variables relating to satisfaction with access to facilities and transport were not highly loaded on the same factors as their equivalent 'objective' measures, and the same applied to satisfaction with work and housing which were found to be associated with each other. Level of satisfaction with life generally was highly loaded on yet another factor, along with attitudes to potential migration. No clear association was obtained therefore using factor analysis between 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators with respect to a single aspect, or between different 'subjective' indicators.

The variables which were found to provide the most useful indicators of accessibility problems and disadvantage amongst the households studied, during the cross-tabulations, factor analyses and discriminant analyses, are listed in Table 10.2.

Table 10.1

Significant Chi-Square Values Obtained in Cross-Tabulations
Between Objective and Subjective Measures

Satisfaction with:	Objective Measures:		Significance x 5% C.I. xx 1% C.I.
Access to facilities (15 facilities considered)	Frequency of use	Restaurant Sport	xx x
	Size of settlement (13 facilities)	Main weekly shopping Major shopping Dentist	xx x xx
	Miles Travelled	Main weekly shopping	xx
	Travel Time	Post Office Chemist Vet	x x x
	By-passing outlets	Major shopping	xx
	Mode of travel	Post Office Main weekly shopping Odd item shop Major shopping Bank Doctor Dentist Optician Chemist Hospital Out Patient	xx x xx x x xx xx x xx xx x
Transport	No. of vehicles owned Use of local bus		xx xx
Employment	Socio-economic group head of household Employment status of head of household		x xx
Housing	Tenure		xx

For example, according to Table 10.2 accessibility problems and disadvantage at the household level were found to be associated with, and indicated by a relatively low frequency of major item shopping by the household. Similarly all the analyses conducted showed that poor accessibility and disadvantage were associated with the use of a mode of travel other than a car to travel to major item shopping and dental facilities. In fact Table 10.2 lists 23 'objective' and 'subjective' measures referring to a range of aspects of residents lives.

Table 10.2 Variables Positively Associated with Inaccessibility and Disadvantage in Households.

1	Lower frequency of major item shopping
2	Greater distance (miles) to major item shopping facilities used
3	Lesser distance (miles) to dentist used
4	Non-use of car to travel to major item shopping
5	Non-use of car to travel to dentist
6	Head of household not in active employment
7	Registration as 'seeking work' by any person in the household
8	Head of household in lower socio-economic group
9	Rented accommodation
10	Accommodation lacks one or more of three basic amenities
11	Fewer vehicles owned per adult
12	Household less satisfied with their access to facilities
13	Head of household less satisfied with his/her employment
14	Household less satisfied with their accommodation
15	Household less satisfied with their transport situation
16	Perception of problems experienced by household in reaching facilities
17	Would use a facility more often if could be reached more easily
18	Household less satisfied with life in their area
19	Household has considered moving
20	Do not live in a village
21	Do not live in a Main Village
22	Do not live in close proximity to a major urban area
23	Head of household of retirement age

10.2.10 The Robustness of the Research Findings

Before drawing together the conclusions which can be reached on the basis of the case study work, it is worthwhile reviewing the robustness of the case study findings, in order to underline the validity of the conclusions drawn. As described earlier, North Shropshire was selected for study because it could be regarded as reasonably typical of a lowland rural area lying in close proximity to major urban areas, and because according to available evidence, it exhibited an incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage slightly above national and county standards. South Shropshire District was selected as being reasonably typical of a more remote, upland area, in which the incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage was likely to be well above national and county standards. Case study parishes were then selected using similar criteria, i.e. available evidence concerning the likely incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage.

The method used for selecting the interviewed households should ensure that they represented a reasonable cross-section of the population. However, three points need to be borne in mind when interpreting the results. Firstly, the resources available set a limit of 180 households to be interviewed. It was believed that this was of sufficient size as to allow conclusions drawn to be reasonably robust. However, in certain instances difficulties were caused in analysis by the sample size, and the consequently low cell count in some of the cross-tabulations. Where this was the case it has been indicated in the text. Secondly, as discussed in chapter 5, the research methodology was designed so that the head of household or his/her spouse was interviewed where possible. Younger age groups are therefore under-represented amongst respondents.

Finally, the necessity of undertaking many of the interviews during the working day meant that more women were interviewed than men. Whilst this will have influenced the balance of views reported, it also offered certain advantages.

Married women have been identified in the literature as a group likely to experience a high incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage, and often had a clearer picture of the views of children in their household. These points had to be borne in mind when interpreting attitudinal data. The basic conclusion however is that the findings can be regarded as reasonably robust and that the results of the case studies are likely to be true of similar areas.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 CONCLUSIONS ON THE NATURE, EXTENT AND CAUSES OF ACCESSIBILITY PROBLEMS AND DISADVANTAGE

11.1.1 Limited Accessibility : An Aspect of Disadvantage

This thesis has presented considerable evidence concerning the limited accessibility of residents in the areas studied. The crucial question however, is whether this limited accessibility constitutes a form of disadvantage. The research clearly demonstrates that it does. Facilities, employment, housing, social contact and travel were found to be basic requirements of the residents of each parish studied. Employment was not strictly essential to all residents, given the existence of state benefits and the tendency for certain groups not to seek employment (e.g. those aged 65 and over). However, employment and the income it provided were essential to the viability of the communities studied as a whole. Facilities, housing and at least a minimum of social contact and travel were all essential to the vast majority of households studied. No-one lived without these 'basic requirements' through choice, although a few lived without travelling, due to ill health. With some minor qualifications therefore, facilities, employment, social contact and travel can be envisaged to be basic requirements which rural residents should have access to.

One point which emerged out of the case study work quite strongly was the importance not only of access to these requirements, but also of access to a range of opportunities associated with each requirement. It is not sufficient for services, jobs, accommodation, social contacts and means of travel to be simply available; they should be available in a variety of forms so residents can exercise choice.

This identifies the need for a more sophisticated definition involving a range of opportunities associated with a 'basic requirement', instead of just 'accessibility'. At least some form of facility outlets, employment, housing, social contact and means of travel were available in the areas studied. However, the range of opportunities available was limited, so falling short of inhabitants expectations, aspirations, of more widely-held standards. For example, most villages studied contained a shop, but many households chose not to use these shops because they were expensive etc. Agricultural jobs were available, but not everyone could

physically do such work, or would wish to.

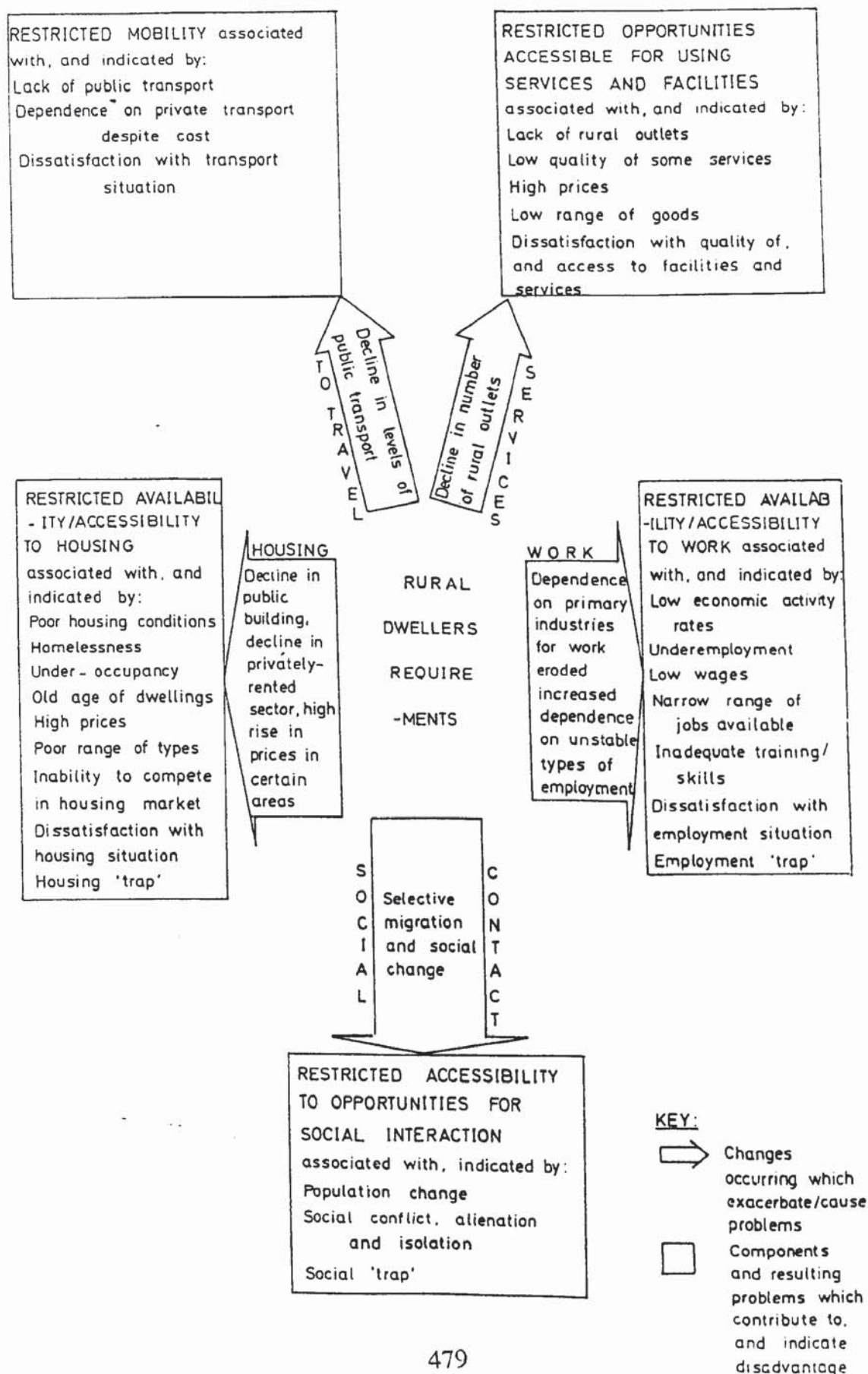
The results of the analyses conducted show that considerable differences existed between the households studied, with respect to their access to a range of opportunities. Those who had less access were relatively disadvantaged compared to those who did not. According to both 'objective' measures and the perceptions of respondents, a person who had to spend a longer time travelling in order to fulfill a hospital appointment was disadvantaged compared to one who did not. A person who had a car and could afford to use it regularly was advantaged compared to one who did not. Thus lack of adequate access to a range of opportunities associated with what are basic requirements to rural residents, does appear to constitute a major factor contributing to the experience of disadvantage. The policy implications of this are discussed later.

11.1.2 The Nature of Accessibility Problems and Disadvantage

According to the research, disadvantage in rural areas can result from limited access to a range of opportunities, with respect to basic requirements such as facilities and employment. This disadvantage can take a number of forms which are summarised diagrammatically in Figure 11.1. Firstly, it is associated with lack of 'adequate' accessibility to a range of facilities and services, partly resulting from the decline in the availability of rural outlets which has occurred. Opportunities for using services and facilities in many rural areas are now severely restricted, and outlets sparsely distributed, often providing only a limited range of goods/services, sometimes of low quality, and often at high prices. The case study findings indicate that a substantial proportion of households were dissatisfied with their accessibility to services and facilities.

Disadvantage in rural areas is also associated with restricted employment opportunities, caused partly by the erosion of the traditional source of rural employment opportunities: the primary industries, as a result of increased

Figure 11.1 Relationship between People's Requirements, Indicators of Disadvantage and Contributory Trends in Rural Areas



productivity, and the lack of manufacturing-related employment. In this situation accessibility problems and disadvantage are indicated by, and associated with low wages, under-employment and a narrow range of jobs available, low economic activity rates, inadequate training/skills and dissatisfaction with the employment situation.

According to the research findings, disadvantage in rural areas is also associated with limited accessibility to accommodation, again as indicated by Figure 11.1. This limited accessibility to accommodation is indicated by, and manifested in a lack of availability of a range of types of accommodation, high prices in some areas, old age of housing, poor conditions, homelessness and under-occupancy (through a mis-match between supply and demand), inability to compete in the housing market and dissatisfaction with housing. This situation appears to be exacerbated by low rates of local authority building, and sales of council houses, and by the decline in the availability of privately-rented accommodation.

A fourth dimension to disadvantage in rural areas, according to the research, is that related to social interaction, often associated with the dispersed nature of the population, and the selective migration patterns which have been occurring for some time in many rural areas (Figure 11.1). The survey results suggest that these changes have resulted in social conflict and the isolation and alienation of certain individuals in the communities studied.

Finally, the fifth dimension of disadvantage in rural areas, according to the research, is that related to restricted physical accessibility. This is associated with the declining, low levels of public transport provision and, as a result of the distances to be travelled, people's dependency of private transport (Figure 11.1). The case study findings showed that this places certain rural dwellers, notably those without use of a car, at a disadvantage. Not surprisingly, the case study work showed that a significant minority of the households studied contained people who were dissatisfied with their transport situation.

11.1.3 Underlying Causes of Disadvantage

In the literature, the various aspects of disadvantage discussed above are generally considered to be the result of one or more out of three factors: the structure of the society, individual inadequacy and the environment in which a person lives. The research findings support the argument put forward in chapter 3, that all three factors are involved in the creation and perpetuation of disadvantage.

At the most fundamental level, the research findings indicate that certain accessibility problems and disadvantages experienced by rural residents are the result of the structure of society, both with regard to the country as a whole and rural society. In particular, low rural wages appeared to be a reflection of the domination of rural society by the landowning and farming lobby, and the failure of rural workers to take action to improve their situation (as suggested by Newby, 1977).

During the case study work a number of households were identified which were 'trapped' into disadvantage. A form of 'poverty trap' could be identified, whereby people who did not have the financial resources needed to move house or buy a car, could not regularly visit the local employment office or take up employment in a more distant location, etc. These people were forced to work/continue to work in the same (local) low paid job, or to be unemployed, and to use the comparatively expensive rural shops, pay taxi fares to go anywhere, etc. This 'trap' was often experienced by recent school leavers from the lower socio-economic groups.

In addition, a type of 'housing' trap appeared to exist, whereby people in local authority accommodation were unable to move to another area because they could not find another household prepared to exchange accommodation with them, and whereby those in rural rented accommodation did not have access to the owner-occupied market, particularly in urban areas, where housing tends to be more expensive (for financial reasons). Finally, a form of 'social trap' was apparent, whereby people who were isolated lacked/lost confidence to initiate social contact.

Furthermore, the lack of social welfare services was found to have left people supporting dependent relatives in the community, and therefore unable to go away from home or migrate. These are illustrated in Figure 11.1.

The case study findings also showed that the incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage varied considerably between individuals living in the same locality and within and between social groups. Inevitably people differ in their ability to 'cope' and reduce their levels of accessibility problems and disadvantage. It was apparent during the household interviews that some people had the feeling of being 'powerless' - of being unable to alter their situation. This could at least partly be attributed to the people's feelings of isolation, lack of confidence and lack of familiarity with possible alternatives. The policy implications of this are discussed later.

The third underlying cause suggested, with respect to disadvantage, is that of environment. It was apparent during the case study work, that households living in areas and locations which were relatively remote from urban areas and to a lesser extent villages, faced particular problems related to physical accessibility as a result of the distances to be travelled, and in South Shropshire the terrain. With regard to differences between urban and rural community life, the case study work supports the claim that rural communities do not fit into the 'traditional' image of rural life, sometimes popularised by the media. Rural communities are a part of mainstream English life, and therefore share many of the same values as urban communities. However, at the same time they contain within them a substantial core of residents who have lived for long periods in the same area, and who identify their style of life and attitudes as being different, at least to some extent, from those dominant in urban areas.

Certain commonly-held attitudes were apparent in the communities studied, which were contributing to the perpetuation of disadvantage. These included the attitude that the domination of rural society by the landowning/farming

lobby could not be challenged, the stigma given to welfare benefits, and the presumption that little could be done to influence decisions being made by public agencies, with regard to the community. The first step in achieving the alleviation of rural accessibility problems and disadvantage, may well therefore be the undertaking of measures designed to increase the self-confidence and ability of rural communities to take positive action to improve their situation. The policy implications of this are discussed later.

11.1.4 Personal and Spatial Variations and Multiple Disadvantage

The research findings indicate that the following groups experience a high incidence of accessibility problems and disadvantage in rural areas:

- a) Those without a vehicle.
- b) Retired people
- c) Those belonging to a low socio-economic group.
- d) Those households in which the head of household is not in work.
- e) School leavers and other young people.
- f) Married women.
- g) Handicapped or disabled people and their families.
- h) Those living in upland areas remote from towns and cities.
- i) Those not living in a village.
- j) Those not living in a Main Village.

Table 11.1 brings together the conclusions reached, on the basis of the research, with respect to the particular types of problems and disadvantage faced by each of these groups. For example, it stresses the problems faced by those without a vehicle in obtaining access to facilities, employment, social contact and travel, and by those in a low socio-economic group to facilities, employment, housing and travel. Reference to Figure 11.1 allows identification of the more precise problems involved.

Table 11.1

Social Groups Experiencing Particular Access
Problems and Disadvantage

Social Group	Problems Associated With				
	Facilities	Jobs	Housing	Social Contact	Travel
Those with no vehicle	*	*		*	*
Retired	*			*	*
Low socio-economic group	*	*	*		*
Head of hh. not in work	*				*
School leavers/young people		*	*		* dependent on lifts
Married women		*		*	*
Handicapped/disabled	*	*		*	*
South Salop residents	*				*
Those not living in a village	*	*		*	*
Those not living in Main Vill. Parish	*				*
Other		Those with special skills	Those in rented housing	Any cultural minority	Small hh.

During the discussion of the case study findings undertaken in the previous chapter, four of the interviewed households were singled out because they illustrated the ways in which multiple disadvantage existed in particular households. Two of these involved manual workers living in privately-rented accommodation. In one case the adult children living at home were unemployed, and in the second the head of household was not working due to ill health. The third household discussed involved a single elderly person with poor health, whilst the fourth involved a childless couple running a small hill farm. Problems experienced by these four households included inadequate access to facilities, employment, housing, social contact and travel, as assessed by both 'subjective' and 'objective' measures. In each case, the combination of problems was such as to reduce the household's ability to cope with each single problem.

11.1.5 Objective and Subjective Measures

The basic conclusion to be drawn from the household survey is that results obtained from 'objective' and 'subjective' measures of the same aspect of disadvantage are significantly related. However, results indicate that factors other than the household's 'objectively-defined' situation were influencing people's expressed levels of satisfaction. Two possible types of influence were identified in chapter 3 which might influence the level of expressed satisfaction - methodological factors and factors related to the individual concerned's mental processing and expression of his/her situation. It is worthwhile re-examining these factors, in the light of the research findings.

The research indicates that a number of steps are involved in the process by which a 'subjective' evaluation is formed and recorded, which will affect the degree of association between a person's actual living conditions and his/her expressed attitudes with respect to these conditions. As suggested in chapter 3, the process begins with the individual perceiving his actual living conditions, making an

evaluation of them and expressing them to a researcher who then records them (according to the methodology used in this thesis). The research indicates that factors influencing this process include the individual's aspirations and expectations; knowledge of other people's experiences, aspirations and expectations; knowledge of present and likely future events in society; perception of more widely-held standards in society; personal history; general character; emotional state at the time of thought processing; and intellectual ability.

For example, people with apparently similar living conditions showed markedly different assessments at times, largely because of their different expectations. With respect to overall satisfaction with life, a relatively high proportion of respondents stated that they were (very) satisfied overall with life in their present location, yet some of these were able to recognise problems which they faced. These people however largely 'expected' to have these problems, e.g. lack of access to facilities, owing to their rural location. For these people, the advantages of country life were seen to be considerable and they were acclimatised to its difficulties.

Another interesting example of the effect which differing expectations can have was provided by a few of the respondents who had just moved into North Shropshire from an urban location, and who were grossly dissatisfied with the lack of facilities. Their rejection of the situation they found themselves in contrasted with the more moderate attitudes of longer-term dwellers who were used to the situation and reasonably satisfied with it. The expectations of rural life held by these in-migrants were not being fulfilled, because they had been formed on inadequate knowledge. It was interesting too that in general North Shropshire residents had higher expectations which largely appeared to reflect the better living conditions of North Shropshire. South Shropshire residents generally did not complain about things they had never had, and were not likely to have.

The issue of comparison with others was found to be highly

significant. Most people studied appeared to be, consciously or sub-consciously, actively assessing and re-assessing their situation. From the analysis of the results of the survey of residents it was apparent that in forming their attitudes, expectations and aspirations, many were comparing themselves to either:

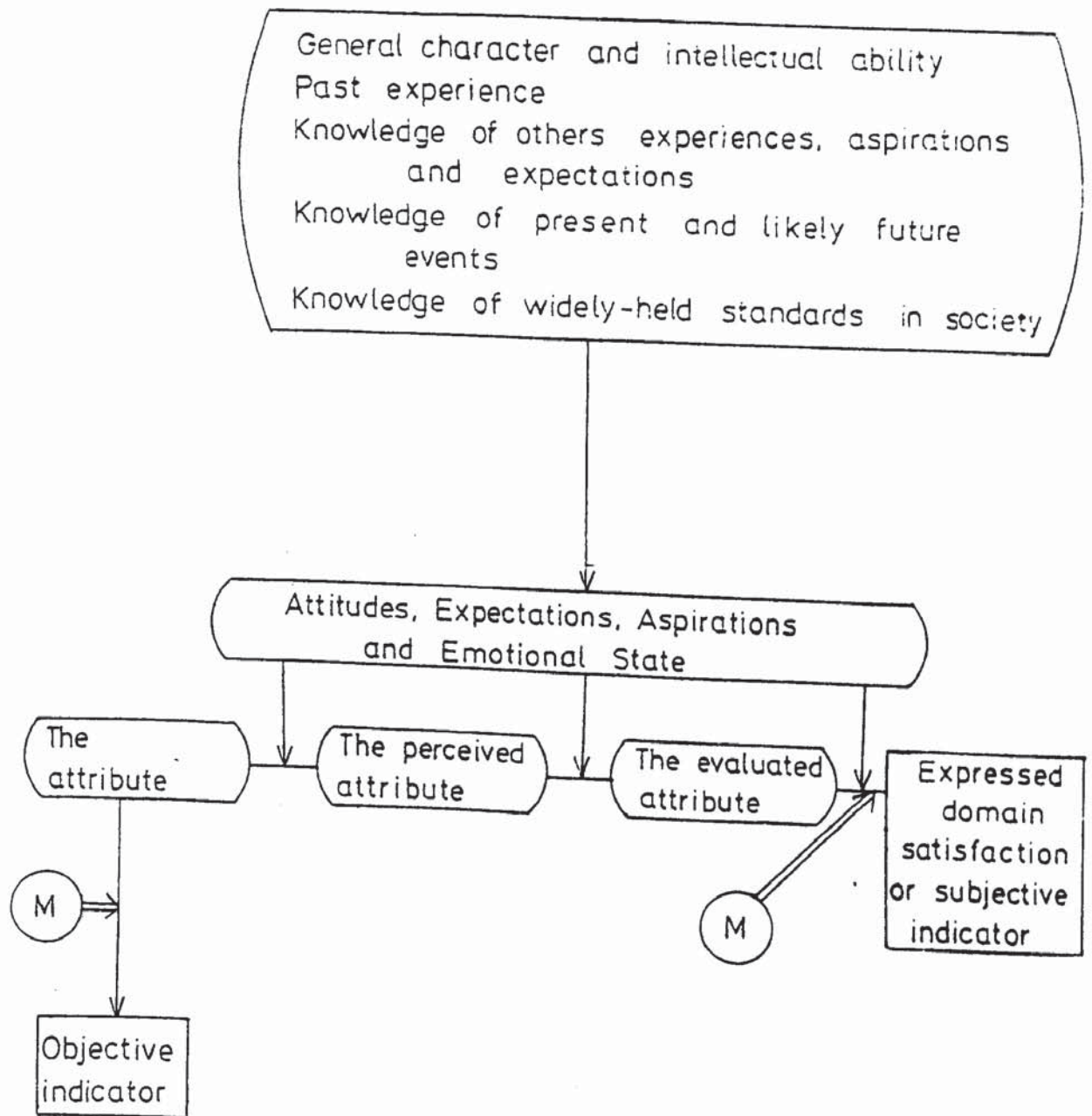
- a) Their neighbours, friends or relatives perceived living conditions.
- b) Standards of living perceived to be experienced by people in the area who they considered 'similar' to themselves.
- c) More widely-held standards.
- d) Standards perceived to exist in other locations.

The model shown in Figure 11.2 incorporates these conclusions and represents a refinement of similar, earlier models (Campbell et al. 1976, Andrews 1981). According to this model therefore, a range of factors influence a person's attitudes, expectations and aspirations, which in turn influence each stage in the translation of the 'objectively-defined' attribute (i.e. people's 'actual' living conditions as assessed by means of 'objective' indicators), into their expressed attitudes to their own situation (as assessed by means of 'subjective' indicators).

The model also identifies the two points at which methodological factors, with respect to social indicator analysis, can influence the perception-evaluation-expression process. The research suggests however that the effects of these factors can be minimised by the use of a methodology along the lines put forward in this thesis. In particular, use of primary data, careful design of the methodology so as to reduce measurement error, use of the household as the basic unit of study to avoid aggregation problems, selection of indicators directly relevant to the aspect being studied and precise and simple wording of questions used in the questionnaire survey, ensured that the methodology did not have undue influence on the degree of association obtained between 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators.

Scope appears to exist for the greater use of the types of analysis described in this thesis, i.e. using both 'objective' and 'subjective' measures, in the

Figure 11.2 Proposed model of the relationship between objectively assessed attributes and objective and subjective indicators



Law (1986)

(M) = Methodological influences

assessment of disadvantage in rural areas. The degree to which such assessments have been used as an input into policy-making has, as yet, been too limited. Such indicators could play a valuable role in policy-making, by helping in the identification and definition of problems, the assessment of the incidence and severity of problems, and in the evaluation and monitoring of the impacts of policies on problems. Since an improvement in people's conditions, as 'objectively' assessed, may not bring with it an equal improvement in people's levels of satisfaction, it seems imperative that such assessments should include 'subjective' as well as 'objective' measures.

According to the research however, one point should be remembered when using attitudinal data in the policy-making process. The case study findings suggest that problems in areas such as South Shropshire will tend to be under-estimated by using measures of this kind, as it will tend to be the residents of areas such as North Shropshire (who have relatively higher expectations and better knowledge of urban life) who will express more vociferously views about poor conditions in their area.

Whilst the use of 'subjective' indicators necessarily involves the collection of first-hand data, which may be costly, the assessments achieved would be based on the individual rather than on the area and its population, and would be more sensitive indicators of multiple disadvantage. Although the costs of data collection would clearly be greater, the survey findings indicate that the extra costs could be outweighed by the benefits which could be achieved, as a result of policies being more carefully targeted. Furthermore, following an initial survey incorporating 'subjective' measures, discriminant analysis could be used to identify surrogate 'objective' measures which could be used in subsequent assessments, in the way outlined in this thesis.

11.2 CONCLUSIONS - THE INFLUENCE OF POLICY

11.2.1 Local Authority Control of Land-Use and Development

The case study findings indicate that the planning system has failed to ensure a reasonable level of accessibility and standard of living for all rural residents. Four principle reasons are highlighted by the research for this failure:

- a) The system was originally intended as a means of controlling land-use and development, not as a means of alleviating accessibility problems and disadvantage. However, the 1970's saw increasing weight being given in DoE guidelines to the importance of achieving such 'social' objectives. Clearly the welfare of the residents of an area must be of major importance to the policy-makers and planners who have responsibility for that area, and whose policies are concerned with many aspects which directly or indirectly influence the nature and extent of the problems and disadvantage which exist.
- b) Many policies cannot be implemented effectively due to the limited power of planning authorities to control decisions made by private developers, and other government agencies. Both the existing literature and the case study work highlight the inability of planning authorities to resist strong pressure for development and the lack of means by which planning authorities can generate development of the type, and in the locations, where it would be of particular benefit to the community but not economically viable. For example, in North Shropshire much new development in the 1970's was aimed at the commuter market. In both areas studied pressure for development had caused allocations for new rural housing laid down by the Structure Plan, to be amended upwards within a few years of its publication. In addition, the case study findings show that local authorities had not been able to halt the loss of services and facilities from the rural areas studied, or to encourage new outlets to be established.
- c) The system is inflexible and insensitive. The case study work produced evidence

of the cumbersome nature of the Structure Plan system. The Shropshire Structure Plan for example, was produced in draft form in 1977, but was not approved until 1980, by which time certain policies needed to be updated. Shortly after this the 1981 census offered more recent data, on which to base policies. At the time of writing Local Plans for the Districts studied have not been given statutory approval, yet already the Structure Plan First Alteration has been published, which affects the policies on which these Plans should be based.

d) Policies are implemented without adequate monitoring, and without their effects being fully understood. As yet, techniques for monitoring policies are only in an early stage of development.

11.2.2 Key Settlement Policies

Many of the criticisms made above with respect to the planning system, can also be made of key settlement policies and their implementation. In addition, the following criticisms can be made of key settlement policies, according to the case study findings:

a) Key settlement policies have failed to give adequate regard to the theoretical framework. Local authorities have implemented key settlement policies without adequate regard to the validity of the underlying assumptions on which they were based, or their appropriateness in different contexts. Local authorities have justified key settlement policies on a number of grounds - that they provide an effective way of protecting those settlements which are less suited for development; that they offer economic efficiency in terms of development and operating costs, and therefore encourage the retention of services and attraction of development; that they achieve the maximum level of accessibility for the highest number of people; and, or that they help to reduce out-migration. Yet few have offered any evidence to support these claims.

Shropshire County Council have been typical in this respect. The

County Council stated in its approved Structure Plan, that their policy of concentrating any rural development other small-scale housing development into selected settlements offered:

"the most effective way of encouraging the provision of those services and facilities, which are required to provide continued support for all rural communities and to prevent further population loss from the rural areas."

(Shropshire County Council, 1980b)

The County Council suggested that this policy in general provided a 'more efficient use of scarce resources'. But the County Council failed to make any reference to existing theories pertaining to key settlements, in their Structure Plan. In fact, the policy used by the Structure Plan has been rather contradictory, with the Council stressing its support for a limited amount of dispersal in the form of small-scale development, but selecting only a few villages in each District, and not even every Main Village, as suitable for housing development (Shropshire County Council, 1980b).

b) Key settlement policies have failed to meet their stated aim. This criticism, which follows on from the previous one, is supported by the findings of the survey in Shropshire. In the approved Structure Plan, Shropshire County Council (1980b) justified the designation of Main Villages, on the grounds that they would act as service centres in which local employment opportunities and housing development could also generally be concentrated. This policy, it was suggested, would encourage the provision of services and facilities and help prevent further population loss. However, Shropshire County Council (1984) have more recently proposed the removal of the concept of Main Villages as service centres from statutory policy, on the grounds that service decline was occurring from all villages. It was suggested therefore that policies should support the retention of any services and facilities which still existed, regardless of location. It would seem that the County Council believe the system of Main Villages as a means of retaining service provision is failing.

The findings of the case study work suggest that this change of policy is justified, since the Main Villages studied were not serving the needs of people living in their 'catchment' area. In addition, designation was not found to have affected the decisions of potential migrants or facility providers, or users. Another major failing of the policy was related to the fact that only one of the four parishes studied which did not contain a Main Village, had daily access by public transport to a Main Village. Such transport links must be an inherent part of any key settlement policy, if they are to work. Finally, and perhaps most fundamentally, losses of facilities and services had been occurring from all the parishes studied in the years prior to study. The County Council's conclusion that the system of Main Villages has failed to retain services would therefore seem to be correct. With regard to housing also, figures quoted in chapter 6 suggest that policies have failed to contain the 'larger-scale' housing development located in rural Shropshire in recent years, to the settlements designated as 'Housing Main Villages'.

c) Planners have failed to pay adequate regard to the implications of selection.

Following on from the previous point, case study findings indicate that too little research has been done on the implications of key settlement policies on selected settlements - both in terms of the issue of accessibility and wider issues such as the social and environmental well-being of the community. Structure Plans tend not to consider these implications either. The case study work produced evidence of certain advantages and disadvantages resulting from recent housing development, which in the cases of Adderley and Woore had involved the building of estates. In general development had brought a greater level of support for local facilities, services and activities. However, although many incomers supported local social activities and facilities, many possessed cars and showed a tendency to retain links with urban areas, e.g. by using urban outlets. In addition, the visual impact of estate development on two of the villages studied was striking, and both communities showed signs of friction due to the sudden influx of a large number of more

middle-class, urban-orientated people, who were physically and socially distinct.

According to the case study findings, the general principle that more houses and people will mean more support for community activities, etc. needs qualification therefore. The type of development involved is crucial. Most of the development occurring in the case study areas involved either infilling, or the building of small estates of two-bedroomed bungalows (aimed at pensioners) or four-bedroomed houses (for the commuter market and, or more affluent). Whilst pensioners were found to place few demands on commercial facilities located in villages, which they tended to find prohibitively expensive, survey findings suggest that the latter are likely to visit urban areas regularly and use facilities there (which meet their expectations). On the other hand, the non-selection of a settlement and subsequent lack of investment in it, may have a deleterious effect on that settlement, due to the scale of development occurring in nearby key settlements. Such non-selected settlements may develop a stigma, although in the case study areas they did not appear to have done so. However, it seems likely that facility providers, when faced with decisions regarding provision or rationalisation, will be more likely to retain or open outlets in larger, selected settlements.

11.2.3 Policies for the Provision of Basic Requirements

a) Facilities and Services

The research reported in this thesis has highlighted the severe effects which recent policies favouring the rationalisation and centralisation of facilities and services, have had on rural areas. The case study findings indicate that the effects of these policies have been particularly severe, owing to the traditionally low levels of public spending on rural services and facilities and the low profitability/high running costs of most types of rural facilities. The survey identified a number of effects which the low and declining levels of facility provision were having on the households studied. These included restricted patterns of use of facilities, use of

facility outlets of a quality, range, and, or price not considered acceptable and feelings of dissatisfaction.

The case study findings indicate the existence of serious weaknesses in the type of key settlement policy pursued by Shropshire County Council in the 1970's and early 1980's, which envisages a small number of Main Villages acting as services centres to their surrounding areas. One of the two Main Villages studied was completely failing to fulfill this role, due to competition from equidistant market towns. Private service providers seemed largely oblivious to the policy with, according to these providers, levels of provision generally being attributable to settlement size not policy.

Furthermore, the survey findings show that households like to exercise choice over location used, and that use of a private vehicle to travel to facilities was a key factor controlling satisfaction with access to facilities. Access to facility outlets based in villages was not therefore sufficient to meet the aspirations of the majority of rural residents studied. This clearly challenges the criteria used by Shropshire County Council in their study of rural access to facilities, in which residents were considered to have access if they lived in a settlement with an outlet, or could reach a settlement with an outlet using public transport.

Finally, the concept of centralised rural outlets accessible to a maximum number of people was being undermined in the areas studied, by the lack of public transport available to the Main Villages from other surrounding villages. These findings question the whole basis for the County Council's policies for facility and transport provision, and support the County Council's proposal to remove the concept of Main Villages as service centres, from the first alteration of the Structure Plan. The policy was clearly inappropriate in areas such as North Shropshire, where Main Villages were no nearer from many of the rural locations they were intended to serve than were market towns. Even where towns were slightly further away, once residents had to use their car to travel to an outlet, they generally found it little extra

trouble to travel to towns. The implications of these conclusions for transport policies are discussed later.

One possible solution put forward has been the mobilisation of facilities and services. However, according to the survey, these are as vulnerable and sensitive to economic forces as static outlets are. In addition they pose a number of operational problems including security, lack of space, lack of privacy, coldness in winter, etc. Whilst scope remains for greater experimentation in their use, e.g. with regard to the combined use of one vehicle by several types of service, mobiles seem unlikely to be able to offer the standards of provision, for most types of facility, which users would be likely to consider adequate.

b) Employment

The research indicates the failure of government policies for agricultural support to achieve a reasonable standard of living for farmers of small, hill farms. The case study work in South Shropshire highlighted the accessibility problems and disadvantages being experienced by this group. These included poor physical accessibility (due to remoteness, poor quality of roads, etc.), poor housing standards, a long working day, poor working conditions and the lack of qualifications allowing them to obtain alternative employment. Whilst the continued support of the EEC and MAFF is essential to their continuation in farming, the research suggests that the present systems for support need to be adjusted, so as to ensure that farmers of small, hill farms can obtain a reasonable standard of living.

The research suggests that initiatives undertaken by the Development Commission to provide employment, particularly in manufacturing industries, have been successful, both directly and as a result of the 'knock-on' effect. This concurs with the findings of other studies, such as that undertaken by the University of Aston (1983). However, according to the case study work, the scale of factory building has been insufficient to achieve a significant improvement in the balance of the economy in the areas studied. In addition, whilst the case study work found

evidence of close co-operation between the Commission and local authorities, it emphasised the lack of public transport providing journey-to-work services which could be used by workers to reach the Commission factories. Thus larger companies which could afford to operate works transport were retaining their importance to the rural workforce. The Commission's work should therefore be considered a step in the right direction only .

According to the case study findings, other government agencies, such as the Forestry Commission, have provided only a relatively small amount of employment in rural areas. The Department of Trade and Industry was not found to be active in the case study areas, and indeed the Department's policies appeared to increase the likelihood of restricted job opportunities and associated disadvantage in the case study areas, because they offered financial incentives to firms to move to other, adjacent areas.

c) Housing

The research highlighted the difficulties faced by planners who, equipped with inadequate tools, must ensure an adequate supply of housing is available whilst protecting settlements from detrimental development. In the areas studied recent housing policies had largely been successful in restraining housing development, particularly outside key settlements. These policies, coupled with cut-backs in government expenditure in recent years, had acted to reduce the supply of housing, especially in smaller settlements. The case study work produced evidence of people having difficulty in obtaining accommodation of an 'acceptable' type, quality , etc. (be this measured by their own or more widely-held standards).

In particular the research suggested that:

a) not enough dwellings were being built to match demand in North Shropshire, where parishes were attracting many in-migrants, or where particularly restrictive policies were being applied, e.g. in the AONB;

- b) the range of tenures, types, etc. available was not matching demand, especially in the rented sector;
- c) up to 18% of dwellings in some parishes studied lacked basic amenities or were in a poor state of repair;
- d) such homes as were being built were too expensive for most residents to buy, or had restrictions placed on who could live in them, e.g. sheltered housing.

On the basis of this evidence one can conclude that local authority policies had exacerbated the difficulties experienced by residents in obtaining accommodation. However, this conclusion needs some qualification. Whilst less restrictive policies might have resulted in more housing development, discussions with district planning officers suggested that builders would generally have sought to build estates of houses, due to the economies of scale involved. But the case study work produced evidence of the adverse social effects which estate development can have on the rural communities involved. The research indicates that the benefits offered to the community, in terms of the greater supply of housing, could be outweighed by the damage done to the community socially, where a large proportion of purchasers are in-migrants.

Planners have the unenviable task therefore of having to allow sufficient development so that the local housing market is not squeezed unduly, but of having to refuse development of a scale and type which would do little to alleviate the problems of the indigenous population and would be likely to lead to social tension. In achieving these aims, planners for the areas studied were hindered by their lack of positive powers. Planners have little power to generate development of the type, tenure and in the locations needed to relieve the indigenous populations housing problems. Private developers can not be expected to forego the profits to be made out of building estates designed for the more affluent, to build single units of accommodation suitable for the less affluent or those with special 'needs'.

Normally, groups with special 'needs' are provided for by the housing

associations and local authorities. However, housing associations have yet to become widely involved in rural areas, whilst local authority spending on rural housing is notoriously low and inadequate. For example, only 17% of the households interviewed as part of the household survey lived in local authority accommodation, compared to 29% for England (1981 census), and the proportion was as low as 3% in one parish studied, amongst the interviewed households. Recent building of local authority housing in the areas studied has concentrated on the provision of sheltered housing. Yet many households which would not qualify for this type of accommodation appeared to experience difficulties in finding accommodation, and council housing or rented accommodation generally was particularly mentioned as being in short supply. Other difficulties mentioned by respondents in relation to local authority accommodation, such as long waiting lists, inappropriate locations or size of housing offered, etc. are all indicative of insufficient expenditure. Given this situation, the sale of council houses in rural areas and cut-backs in public expenditure are to be deplored.

d) Community Development

The only public organisation to become widely involved in rural community development in the parishes studied was the Development Commission, via the Rural Community Council. Shropshire Rural Community Council was found to be involved in a wide range of initiatives, including providing support for various facilities which can generate opportunities for social contact, notably village halls. During the case study work however, a number of social groups could be identified which had particular problems in obtaining access to contact with other like-minded people. Scope remains for facilitating the integration of such groups into the community and encouraging the types of activities which could meet their 'needs'. Such initiatives would have to be backed up by some form of transport provision however, given the scattered locations and low mobility of such groups as teenagers, pensioners, the disabled and housewives, who would particularly benefit

from them.

e) Transport

The research highlighted the paucity of rural public transport in the areas studied. Transport planners, such as those contacted in Shropshire, have generally attempted to ensure the retention of at least a minimum of weekly services between rural parishes and market towns, but even these have in some instances been lost. The case study parishes proved typical in this respect, with Woore only having a regular daily service due to its situation at the cross-roads of two strategically important 'A' roads. Elsewhere services were at a minimum, and the elaborate criteria laid down by the County Council for determining levels of service, lost their meaning when such areas were considered.

Due to the lack of rural public transport, private vehicle ownership tends to be high in rural areas, yet as the case study work showed, a relatively large proportion of people do not have full-time use of a vehicle. One in five of the households interviewed in the case study parishes contained at least one member who was dissatisfied with their transport situation.

Given the reductions which have occurred in the 1980's to local authority control over bus services and cut-backs in government spending, which have reduced the ability of local authorities to support uneconomic bus services, service withdrawals seem inevitable. Reductions must diminish usage however. Indeed many of the households studied in Shropshire criticised existing bus services on the grounds that they were too infrequent, that bus stops were too distant, that fares were comparatively high etc. Already it is clear that few households are prepared to move to a rural location if they do not run at least one car, and most recent in-migrant households studied had one per adult. If this situation is allowed to go on unchecked, it seems likely that rural areas will increasingly become the preserve of the more affluent. Since rural incomes, except for those of landowners and farmers, are generally comparatively low, the more affluent in this context

inevitably means these groups plus people who commute to urban areas for work.

The alternative seems to lie in the maintenance of support for uneconomic bus services and the introduction of innovative schemes to fill gaps in between, but not to replace the more conventional services. Whilst schemes such as voluntary car schemes can and are making an important contribution towards providing transport to medical services for car-less households, the case study findings indicate that they are not a suitable replacement for more conventional services.

11.2.4 Co-ordination and Integration

The research findings illustrate the existence of accessibility problems and disadvantage in rural areas, and the failure of post-war planning and other government policies, to significantly alleviate these problems and disadvantage. One reason for this failure appears to be the lack of co-ordination and integration between agencies. Thus agencies which have been involved have generally been given a remit to tackle individual problems, and have tended to pursue their policies in isolation. In fact, according to the literature and discussions with members of the various organisations contacted, it appeared that agencies have been expected to provide an independent voice, with regard to the interests which they promote, as suggested by Potter (1980).

As was discussed in chapter 2, evidence suggests that this attitude may be changing however, following the publication of the findings of a number of studies, notably by various inter-organisational groups. Calls for integration and co-ordination between policies have been increasing in the literature (McNab, 1984), and this has strengthened the argument for the formation of a rural development agency (Nicholls, 1976), and, or an integrated rural development strategy to link agencies and policies (McNab, 1984).

One initiative taken in the last two years has been that launched by the

Development Commission. The Commission received a new remit and status in 1983, and in the following year launched a new system for providing aid to rural communities. This system hinges on the selection of priority areas (Rural Development Areas), and the production for these areas of Rural Development Programmes. These Programmes are drawn up by working parties composed of several local government departments and other agencies.

The Rural Development Programmes are wide-ranging in terms of the aspects covered, and cover initiatives not only with respect to the provision of employment, but also housing, social facilities, and so on. The emphasis is therefore on a more comprehensive approach to dealing with the problems of Rural Development Areas (Development Commission, 1984b). Support for this approach has come from a series of experiments sponsored by the EEC, including those in the Peak District (Peak Park Joint Planning Board, 1984). Whilst it remains to be seen how successful the Commission is in achieving this comprehensive approach, the Programmes are certainly a step in the right direction towards achieving greater co-ordination between agencies.

11.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the research ten recommendations are put forward with regard to policies concerning rural areas, which it is felt could help to alleviate accessibility problems and disadvantage, by attacking some of the underlying problems. These are as follows:

- a) **The work of the Development Commission should be supported by other agencies.** The research indicates that Development Commission policies were being successful in achieving several of their intended objectives, which are of benefit to rural communities. Support for small factories in the areas studied was leading to provision of jobs in manufacturing industry. However, the conclusion was reached that the benefits obtained had, at the time of study, only been small-scale and local. Rural Community Council initiatives in community development, provision of un-conventional transport schemes and support for facility outlets located in rural areas were also found to be successful in the areas studied. Furthermore, the research highlighted the need for greater co-ordination between agencies. The Development Commission should therefore be particularly encouraged in its implementation of 'rural development programmes', and in bringing together the various organisations concerned with rural affairs, so that co-ordination between policies is increased.
- b) **The selection of Rural Development Areas should be based on a more rigorous form of analysis, given the importance of the work of the Development Commission.** A suitable form of analysis, based on the use of 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators, has been presented in this thesis.
- c) **Assessments of disadvantage in rural areas incorporating 'objective' and 'subjective' measures should be as essential input into**

the policy-making processes. Disadvantage in rural areas merits considerably more examination by policy-makers than has occurred to date. The number of people living in rural areas is relatively small, but not so small that the people should be overlooked (roughly five million people lived in settlements of less than 2000 inhabitants in 1981, according to the study of 'population change in rural areas' conducted by PSMRU, Aston University, to be published shortly). However, the case study work suggests that certain sections are severely disadvantaged, and that their problems are being exacerbated by several government policies. The research emphasised the value of using both types of indicator to policy-makers. The mechanisms available for obtaining these in a reasonably cost-effective manner already exist, e.g. they could be incorporated into census returns.

d) The levels of financial support available to local authorities should be increased, in order to enable them to maintain their support to rural communities. Given the political will to act, backed up by adequate financial resources, local authorities could increase provision of local authority housing; more could be done to support uneconomic bus services and facility outlets, and to even increase provision; and the relevant public agencies could increase their initiatives in the sphere of promotion of employment opportunities. At present however, the dominant political ideology is one of reduced levels of public expenditure and, given the traditionally low level of public expenditure in rural areas, such initiatives seem unlikely to be taken during the next few years. The research findings indicate that this policy is likely to exacerbate the extent of disadvantage in rural areas.

e) The system for the production of Structure and Local Plans should be speeded up. The research highlighted the confusion caused in Shropshire by the slow speed at which Local Plans were produced. Faster production would overcome this confusion and make plans more able to respond to changes, such as

increased unemployment.

- f) **The monitoring of the effects of policies, especially settlement policies, should be improved.** The research highlighted the failure of authorities to monitor the effects of their policies in the past; causing them to be unaware of the full implications of their policies for certain population groups.
- g) **Settlement policies need to be more carefully tailored to the social conditions of individual areas.** Standard formulae such as key settlement policies should be avoided. Local authorities should be aware of the variations in conditions which exist within their areas and be more prepared to adapt policies to fit local areas.
- h) **Consideration should be given to enabling grant-aid to farmers to be used for ancillary developments** which will increase the viability of marginal agricultural holdings. This could be of considerable benefit to farmers of small, hill farms, who were found to experience various accessibility problems and disadvantages in the areas studied.
- i) **Private and public policy-makers should be encouraged and enabled to experiment with alternative methods of providing facilities, housing, transport and jobs.** Few such experiments have been conducted in rural areas, with the exception of RUTEX, in any systematic manner.
- j) **Community development work should be undertaken to encourage rural dwellers to play a more positive role in decision-making, and to improve their ability to formulate and implement self-help and co-operative initiatives.** Lack of ability and confidence to draw attention to problems were identified by the research

as prime reasons for the neglect of rural accessibility and disadvantage, by researchers, policy-makers and politicians.

On the basis of the research findings it is felt that implementation of these recommendations by planners and policy-makers, would improve the effectiveness of policies. This improvement would be achieved by making policies more flexible, innovative and sensitive and responsive to people's requirements and underlying trends. Policies would be better geared towards dealing with 'social' issues, and in particular more able to bring about real improvements, or at least maintain people's degree of accessibility and avoid any exacerbation of the extent of disadvantage in rural areas. Although some of the recommendations made would represent extra financial costs to the organisation concerned, it is felt that considerable benefits could be achieved in terms of the degree of success achieved, not least through policy initiatives being more accurately targeted.

The research described in this thesis was designed to meet a number of specific aims and objectives. It has offered a critical examination of the main post-war rural planning and other government policies intended to improve or maintain rural residents accessibility to their basic requirements, and/or alleviate aspects of disadvantage. It has identified the problems which rural residents face in obtaining a 'reasonable' degree of accessibility to their basic requirements, and assessed the extent to which they may be considered disadvantaged with respect to this accessibility. The possible causes of their problems have been examined. The research has highlighted the failure of most post-war rural planning and other government policies which are, or have been intended to improve or maintain rural resident's accessibility to basic requirements and/or alleviate disadvantage, to do so.

During the course of the research the methods available for assessing the incidence of disadvantage in rural areas have been reviewed, and results obtained using 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators compared and contrasted. The research concluded that results obtained from 'objective' and 'subjective' measures of the same aspect produced results that were significantly related. However, the results indicated that factors other than the household's 'objectively-defined' situation were influencing people's expressed levels of satisfaction, and reducing the degree of association obtained, as shown in Figure 11.2. The conclusions reached concerning the links between people's basic requirements, indicators of disadvantage and contributory trends in rural areas, were summarised in Figure 11.1.

During the course of the research ten population sub-groups were identified which suffered from a high incidence of problems in obtaining access to a range of opportunities and as a result were relatively disadvantaged (Table 11.1.). The extent to which households experienced 'multiple disadvantage' was assessed. The situation of four of the households studied which experienced multiple disadvantage was highlighted earlier in this chapter. On the basis of the research, ten

suggestions have been made, regarding the ways in which policies could be modified or supplemented, in order to improve the degree to which they achieve these aims.

Considerable scope remains for further research of the type described in this thesis, along the lines suggested below:

a) Other rural areas

Before significant policy decisions are taken on the basis of the case study work, it would be important to replicate the survey in other areas and counties, in order to establish how results vary with location. The two areas studied were selected because evidence suggested that they were likely to exhibit accessibility problems and disadvantage typical of a remote, upland area and a lowland area lying in close proximity to major urban areas. Replication of the survey in other rural areas and other counties would test the robustness of the findings.

b) Urban areas

It has been maintained in this thesis, on the basis of the case study work, that disadvantage in urban and rural areas are two distinct issues, i.e. that the nature, extent and causes of disadvantage in the two types of area partly differ. Further research into disadvantage in urban areas using 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators would test this conclusion.

c) Use of 'subjective' indicators by policy-makers

The research has highlighted the contribution which 'subjective' indicators could make in policy-making, and the suggestion has been put forward that attitudinal questions could be incorporated into census returns. Research could be undertaken into the feasibility of this suggestion.

d) Use of discriminant analysis

Following on from the previous point, the research has shown that discriminant analysis can be used to successfully predict people's levels of satisfaction with particular aspects of their lives. Where 'subjective' data is difficult to obtain, on a regular basis, policy-makers could use an initial survey incorporating 'subjective' measures and then use discriminant analysis to identify 'objective' indicators which could subsequently be used as surrogates for 'subjective' measures.

At the time of writing the issues of rural accessibility and disadvantage have fallen from the limelight. One reason for this has been the lack of a firm theoretical base to, and the fragmentary nature of previous research. Other reasons have included the controversial nature of the subject, the inadequacy of existing policies, the existence of concepts of rural areas which focus on the rural 'idyll', traditional rural values which tend to be rather conservative, and the attention attracted by inner-urban issues. The research described in this thesis aims to redress this situation and to draw attention to the issues involved, in order to encourage further interest and research into rural accessibility and disadvantage.

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