

Migration of the Elderly: A Study

in Social Geography

by

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**CONTAINS
PULLOUTS**

For my parents

and for

Jan

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Preface

The elderly form an increasingly significant section of our society, and changes in the social and economic characteristics of ageing through this century have been mirrored in certain emergent spatial patterns. This study examines these changes in the geography of ageing in England and Wales and what has been perhaps the most significant feature of these changes, the distinctive migration of the elderly, particularly into coastal retirement areas.

This study is the consequence of a developing interest in the problems and characteristics of ageing in society, stimulated, not so much by the fact that the writer has, at various times, lived and holidayed in numerous coastal retirement areas, but, in particular, by an undergraduate study of an American retirement community in the state of Oregon during the summer of 1972. While, therefore, this study confines itself to the elderly in England and Wales, it is written in the certain knowledge that many of the issues raised in the discussion may be perceived in other countries of Western Europe and in North America.

After a discussion of the theoretical background to the study, Part II (Chapters 3 and 4) concern themselves with the changing spatial patterns of ageing in England and Wales through the greater part of this century and, in particular, the role of migration in contributing to these changing patterns in more recent years. Part III (Chapters 5 to 10) concentrates on examining certain behavioural aspects of migration, based upon survey work among samples of elderly people.

In preparing this study, therefore, grateful acknowledgement must be made to those elderly residents of Worthing and Leicester who so willingly underwent interrogation by co-operating in the survey work. Similarly, while the study remains the responsibility of the writer (including all maps and diagrams which were drawn by the writer) acknowledgement must also be made to my supervisor, Dr. Gareth Lewis, who was available to offer a ready ear and timely advice throughout the duration of the study. Lastly, my grateful thanks must go to Jan, whose support and encouragement were of immeasurable strength, particularly during the extended stages of writing up and production.

Westcliff-on-Sea

June 1978

PART I

'What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning.
The end is where we start from.'

T. S. Eliot
Little Gidding

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This study is about the migration of the elderly. During the twentieth century the proportion of elderly people within the population of England and Wales has risen to unprecedented levels and the rise in numbers has been accompanied by changing social expectations concerning the nature and practice of retirement. The years spent in retirement are no longer viewed simply as a postscript to the 'valuable' years of life, but increasingly as a normal stage of life characterised by the lack of any requirement to be engaged in economically productive work, and for many retirement may extend over twenty or more years. The changes in the social nature of ageing have had an impact on many aspects of life and this study focuses on the spatial consequences of these changes.

The changing expectations of elderly people during recent decades have given rise to a remarkable increase in migration among the elderly, the most distinctive part of this movement being associated with coastal retirement areas. A certain popular mythology has developed around this migration which sees the elderly person moving to realise what is an inherent utopian dream of a cottage by the seaside, but, in reality, general reasoning points towards the movement being associated with the factors of increased wealth and leisure providing new opportunities for the retirement years. The migration of the elderly is sometimes termed 'retirement migration', a phrase which has popularly come to be associated with movement into coastal retirement areas and, while this is a most significant emphasis, it is but one feature of the total migration pattern of the elderly in England and Wales. The term 'migration of the elderly', therefore, has been adopted within this study as a more accurate definition of the object of study. Where the term 'retirement migration' has occasionally been used it is in its more popular sense. The elderly, for the purposes of this study, are defined as all those people above the normal ages for retirement, that is, all males aged 65 and above and all females aged 60 and above.

Migration is one aspect of the total sphere of interest in the elderly and, while geographers in recent years have begun to examine the spatial characteristics of ageing, they have given little more than a cursory glance in the direction of the substantial amount of work already achieved in the field of social gerontology. One of the general conclusions within the literature of social gerontology is that, whatever the causes or reasons, there is a trend towards social segregation rather than social integration of the elderly in society. Theories of ageing have been developed to provide some rationalisation of the characteristics associated with increasing age, including the trends towards social disengagement rather than continued activity, but it remains uncertain whether these trends are the natural expression of the ageing personality or whether they are the response of the individual to the demands and expectations of society. These trends remain, however, and are viewed as an expression of adjustment to increasing age.

As this study will show, it is becoming apparent that one of the characteristics associated with a growing social polarisation between the younger elements of the population and the elderly is an increase in the spatial segregation of the elderly within the community, the city and the nation. The themes of segregation and integration of the elderly, therefore, exist in the thinking of both social gerontology and social geography. The framework for this study will build on these common themes since migration can be seen to bring about changes in the relationship between the spatial and social dimensions of segregation and integration. In this context, the concept of personal adjustment will be seen to be central to an understanding of the processes of ageing and, therefore, this study pursues the theme that migration is not only one of the primary agents in creating changes in the general spatial patterns of ageing, but also that it may be one of the agents, or mechanisms, by which personal adjustment is effected. This, in turn, requires consideration of the selective nature

of migration streams.

This study is on two levels: after a discussion of the theoretical background to the study, Part II examines the changing spatial patterns of ageing and the migration of the elderly in England and Wales at a broad demographic level. Drawing heavily on census data sources, it discusses the migration of the elderly within the context of national migration trends, identifying areas of high density of the elderly in 1971, before examining the changes within those areas between 1921 and 1971 in the context of the changing proportions of elderly people in the national population.

Part III of the study is based around a sample survey of elderly people. After a discussion of the study areas and the study populations, it examines the motivations for, and the extent of, migration, before relating the issue to patterns of family contact and social activity. The study concludes by exploring the relationship between mobility and adjustment and suggests a technique for their integration.

This study is essentially geographical in orientation, but has broadened the field of enquiry in an attempt to explore certain contextual and integrating themes which are relevant to an understanding of both the patterns and processes of migration of the elderly. It almost goes without saying that, in a study of this breadth, it is impossible to have dealt adequately with every issue raised to the surface for discussion, and the sins of omission begin to identify the areas in which further study is required. The following chapter will explore the theoretical background to the study within the literature of both geography and social gerontology. In view of the extensive nature of both fields, the review and the discussion will be selective in aiming to draw out those concepts which constitute the detailed framework for the study.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

I. Geographical

a. Definition and Introduction

The literature on migration is both extensive and detailed. The genesis for much of the geographic study of migration lies in Ravenstein's descriptive 'laws' formulated nearly a century ago¹ and, since then, continued efforts have sought to establish firm theoretical grounds on which to base migration studies. "Without adequate theories it is not clear what guidelines would be involved to determine the types of migration and social and economic data to be collected or how such information would contribute to the cumulative understanding of migration processes."² These efforts have been complemented by various calls for a diversion of interest from theoretical work. "Should the emphasis in migration be placed on the design of studies to collect data not available from census and other administrative sources."³ Migration studies, therefore, have reflected a number of different aims and have taken place at many different scales of analysis.

Despite the wide range of literature there is a good deal of confusion surrounding the terminology of migration and some operational definitions are called for, particularly in distinguishing between the concept of migration and that of residential mobility. Migration⁴ is defined as a change of residence involving the transfer from one specific location to another (be it town, street or house) and principally refers

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1. E. Ravenstein: 'The Laws of Migration', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol.48, June 1885, pp 167-235. Also Vol.52, June 1889, pp 241-305.
 2. C. Goldscheider: 'An Outline of the Migration System', International Population Conference, London, 1969. Proceedings, Vol.4, p.2746.
 3. W. Haenszel: 'Concept, Measurement and Data in Migration Studies', Demography, Vol.4, Part 1, 1967 p.261.
 4. Migration: 'to move from one place to another', Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1951.

to the act of moving. In contrast, residential mobility⁵ is more of a status, of an individual or a community, in which there exists a propensity to migrate. As this chapter will show, the determinants of mobility are found within a wide range of inter-related social and demographic variables. If migration is an act, then mobility is a set of preconditions under which there is a probability of migration.

Migration has been variously interpreted. First, in structural terms, "a migration system in the most general sense is composed of two or more areas of origin and destination which interact in terms of significant migratory interchange to form migration patterns".⁶ Second, in behavioural terms, "a migration is viewed as a form of individual or group adaptation to perceived changes in environment, a recognition of marginality with respect to a stationary position, and a flow reflecting an appraisal by a potential migrant of his present site as opposed to a number of other potential sites".⁷ Third, in ecological terms, "migration is ... the movement of people, involving residential changes that remove them from the immediate interactional systems of which they have been a part and to which they are accustomed, and places them in new interactional systems with which they are not accustomed".⁸ Three central elements of migration, therefore, may be identified and will guide the discussion in this study: first, migration involves movement from a place of origin to a place of destination; second, the movement is the consequence of some specific motivation; and third, the movement results in changes in the

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5. Mobility: 'movable, not fixed, free to move' (a) Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1951.
 6. G. A. Hillery, J. S. Brown and G. F. De Jong: 'Migration Systems of the Southern Appalachians - Some Demographic Observations', Rural Sociology, Vol.30, Part 1, 1965, p.36.
 7. J. Wolpert: 'Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate', Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, Vol.15, 1966, p.161.
 8. J. S. Brown, H. K. Schwarzweller and J. J. Mangalam: 'Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem Family: An American Variation on a Theme by Le Play', Rural Sociology, Vol.28, Part 1, 1963, p.106.

migrant's structural and social environment.

The selective discussion that follows, taking note of these preliminary definitions, aims to review the literature of migration as it is relevant to this study, to establish in detail the context of the study and to clarify the concepts and basic terminology that will be adopted. In addition, the discussion focuses on the literature of social gerontology which provides the complementary theoretical basis with regard to this study's interest in the family and social life of the elderly and the extent to which migration is an agent of personal adjustment for those individuals who move.

b. Migration

Ravenstein is the natural ancestor for geographical thinking on migration and many of his 'laws' hold true today, at least in their general application. Emerging from his work was the idea of interaction in space, or over distance, as being central to the concept of migration. Thinking on the concept of distance in migration has been guided more recently by the work of Zipf⁹ and the concurrent work of Stouffer.¹¹ Zipf's $P_1 P_2 / D$ gravity hypothesis postulated that "the inter-community movement between any two communities P_1 and P_2 that are separated by an easiest transport distance D will be directly proportionate to the product $P_1 \times P_2$ and inversely proportionate to the distance D ".¹² This basic hypothesis has been retested and modified numerous times, notably

9. E. Ravenstein: op cit.

10. G. K. Zipf: 'The $P_1 P_2 / D$ Hypothesis - On the Intercity Movement of Persons', American Sociological Review, Vol. 11, December 1946, pp. 677-686.

11. S. A. Stouffer: 'Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance', American Sociological Review, Vol. 5, December 1940, pp. 845-867. Also 'Intervening Opportunities and Competing Migrants', Journal of Regional Science, Vol. 2, 1946, pp. 1 - 26.

12. G. K. Zipf: op cit., p. 685.

by Anderson¹³ who recognised the failure of the formulation to take into account economic, social and administrative factors, whilst stressing the importance of distance. These conclusions were supported by Stewart¹⁴ who, in addition, questioned the possibility that migration is a function of city ranking rather than a function of absolute population as Zipf had done.

Perhaps the most serious limitation of the distance factor has been discussed by ter Heide who indicated that linear distance not only affects the intensity of the information factor as it affects the potential migrant, but also distance itself is rarely perceived in pure linear terms.¹⁵ More often technical distance (as in the level of technical communication present between two places) and social distance (as in the cultural and linguistic similarities or differences between areas) are of greater significance. This thinking was also reflected by Olsson¹⁶ who recognised several types of distance: real, functional, economic and emotional (as perceived by the individual). Burford was also of the view that psychological distance is unable to be measured precisely and proposed a 'remoteness index' to overcome the inadequacy of linear distance as a measurement,¹⁷ while Huff and Jenks built in the "friction of distance" as a third dimension in the gravity model.¹⁸

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13. T. R. Anderson: 'Intermetropolitan migration - a comparison of the hypothesis of Zipf and Stouffer', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, June 1955, pp. 287 - 291.
 14. C. T. Stewart: 'Migration as a Function of Population and Distance', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, June 1960, pp. 347 - 356.
 15. H. ter Heide: 'Migration Models and their Significance for Population Forecasts', *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 41, 1963, pp. 56-76.
 16. G. Olsson: 'Distance and Human Interaction', *Geografiska Annaler*, Vol. 47B, 1965, pp. 3 - 43.
 17. R. L. Burford: 'An Index of Distance as related to Internal Migration', *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 29, Part 2, 1962, pp. 78 - 81.
 18. D. L. Huff and G. F. Jenks: 'A Graphic Interpretation of the Friction of Distance in Gravity Models', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 58, 1968, pp. 814 - 824.

While for Zipf the migration stream was a function of linear distance and the size of communities, Stouffer postulated that the migration stream varies proportionately with the number of opportunities in the place of destination and in other, intervening, competing centres. The number of migrants, therefore, were said to be a direct function of the number of opportunities in the place of destination and an inverse function of the number of opportunities intervening between the place of origin and place of destination. The theory was later developed to take account of other migrants competing for opportunities in the place of destination.¹⁹ Operationally, migration opportunities were defined as in-migrants,²⁰ and although the theory postulated no necessary relationship of migration to distance, intervening opportunities were necessarily measured in terms of distance.²¹

While the theory has been supported by several studies, especially in connection with inter-urban migration,²² there are several criticisms and qualifications that are best observed. Bogue has commented that migration allows a siphoning of excess population into areas of greater opportunity, thereby becoming not only a mechanism of personal adjustment but also a process for maintaining equilibrium within a system.²³ This, however, assumes a degree of rational behaviour and the 'opportunities' hypothesis as a general theory only seems to work when applied to migrants of homogenous status and motives.²⁴ It does not allow for different opportunities to be presented to each migrant with varying relevance, and

19. S. A. Stouffer: op cit (1946).

20. M. Bright and D. S. Thomas: 'Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, December 1941, pp. 773 - 783.

21. ibid., p. 779.

22. See, for example, T. R. Anderson: op cit. and O. R. Galle and K. E. Taeuber: 'Metropolitan migration and Intervening Opportunities', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 31, February 1966, pp. 5 - 13.

23. D. J. Bogue: 'Internal Migration', in P. M. Hauser and O. D. Duncan: The Study of Population, University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. 486 - 509.

24. O. R. Galle and K. E. Taeuber: op cit.

the example of migration to California has been cited where climate is as much a determinant of migration as economic opportunities.²⁵ Thus, as Heide remarks, "these opportunities cannot all be represented by one indicator".²⁶ Stouffer's theory, therefore, does not allow for an inherent urge to migrate, or for a selection of migrants resulting from mobility differentials.²⁷

One further consideration relevant to the discussion is the over-representation of capital cities and large cities in offering opportunities for they have a distinctive character in attracting migrants regardless of the number of intervening opportunities. The excess of migrants to such places suggests a qualitative difference in the opportunities of such cities not adequately allowed for in Stouffer's theory when applied to total migration.²⁸ Thus, Stewart's suggestion that migration is a function of city ranking rather than a function of absolute population may be appropriate,²⁹ and this analogy between migration and central place theory has also been taken up by other investigators. "Since potential migrants could be viewed as analogous to consumers trying to satisfy their needs in a spatially given system, central place theory and migration might be connected via the concept of range ... the potential migrant first decides in which type of place his intentions can best be fulfilled and then, by minimising costs and efforts, moves to the nearest of these alternatives. This implies that a migrant would never move from place A to place B if there is a larger place C at a shorter distance from A."³⁰

25. M. Bright and D. S. Thomas: op cit. p.780.

26. H. ter Heide: op cit. p. 65.

27. E. W. Hofstee: 'Some Remarks on Selective Migration', Martinus-Nijhoff, The Hague, 1952.

28. E. C. Isbell: 'Internal Migration in Sweden and Intervening Opportunities', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, December 1944, pp. 627 - 639.

29. C. T. Stewart: op cit.

30. G. Olsson: op cit. pp. 35 - 36.

Such a model, however, could only be applied to migrants seeking opportunities and advantages which were a positive function of population size. Stub expressed a similar principle when he observed that the geographic position of a city has different 'opportunity' significance for migrants from different segments of the population.³¹ Olsson concluded that "it seems quite possible that the individual behaviour that generates the central place system also generates the spatial distribution of migrations",³² and it would seem that the two factors of 'opportunity' and 'distance' are satisfactorily linked by such a concept.

Some fundamental criticisms have been applied to gravity models as a whole. An empirical study by Hart of inter-regional migration in England and Wales emphasised that city size cannot be completely separated from economic opportunity as an inducement to population movement.³³ Using figures for gross migration flows rather than net flows, it was emphasised that, while there was certainly movement from under-employed to prosperous regions, the most significant movement was between prosperous regions.³⁴ The other major criticisms of gravity models and their associated concepts of interaction have been that they are essentially static and neglect the 'human' element in migration. While it may be possible to analyse migration on the basis of group behaviour, "the threshold where the power of individual decision-making critically affects the results must be determined before the concepts can be broadly applied in practice."³⁵

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31. H. Stub: 'The Occupational Characteristics of Migrants to Duluth: a Retest of Rose's Migration Hypothesis', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, Part 1, 1962, pp 87 - 90.
32. G. Olsson: *op cit.* p. 38.
33. R. A. Hart: 'A Model of Inter-regional Migration in England and Wales', *Regional Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1970, pp. 279 - 296.
34. *ibid.*, p. 292.
35. G. A. P. Carrothers: 'An Historical Review of the Gravity and Potential Concepts of Human Interaction', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 22, 1956, p.99.

The relevant concept of the orientation of an individual was developed by Connor, indicating "that it may be classified spatially as global, societal, subcultural, local, familistic or idiosyncratic, according to the size of his inner 'map of the world' ".³⁶ This is but an early recognition of what we now term the individual's perception of his environment and his own place within it.

Whatever the limitations of gravity concepts of migration, and given our conceptual definition of migration, the importance of origin, destination and the intervening distances as elements within the migration structure remain, as does the idea that in both the area of origin and destination there will be "push" and "pull" factors which either make migration an attractive proposition or detract from the idea of migration. There will almost certainly be intervening obstacles between the two areas to detract from migration, one of these being the factor of distance itself, and in association with the area of origin will be the concept of distance decay in describing the volume of migration from that area.³⁷

With regard to the flow of migrants between the areas of origin and destination, the concepts of stream and counterstream have been developed. First recognised by Ravenstein that "each main current produces a compensating counter current",³⁸ subsequently a number of general propositions have been added.³⁹ These include the notion that migration tends to take place within well-defined streams because destinations are usually specific and opportunities tend to be highly localised. The efficiency of a stream is recognised to be high if the major factors in the development of a

36. D. M. Connor: 'Selective Migration and Residence', International Migration, Vol. 2, 1964, p. 98.

37. These themes were drawn together by E. Lee: 'A Theory of Migration' in J. A. Jackson (Ed.): Migration, Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 282 - 297.

38. E. Ravenstein: op cit.

39. The following are summarised by E. Lee: op cit.

migration stream are minus factors at origin, while the efficiency of stream and counterstream is recognised to be low if origin and destination are similar as persons moving in opposing flows move largely for the same reasons and, in effect, cancel out each other. These propositions were drawn together by Lee, but other writers have also recognised these themes. "The development of any major migration stream goes through a series of stages. Starting with initial invasion it gradually matures into a place of settlement which in turn results in the development of a 'colony' of migrants at the destination point."⁴⁰ The efficiency of a migration stream is seen to vary according to the stage which it is at. Early migrants who initiate a stream may have limited information concerning the place of destination and will confront intervening obstacles without prior information from previous migrants, but such information from early migrants may flow back to subsequent migrants who, in turn, may migrate because of the additional information available concerning not only the destination but obstacles to be encountered en route. As the migration stream becomes established, many of the initial obstacles may disappear altogether.

It was noted by Hofstee that "the propensity to migrate is strongest among those who deviate from the norm of the area".⁴¹ As the migration stream becomes established it is suggested that the accumulation of knowledge about the migration opportunity brings about an expansion in the pool of potential migrants. Where previous migrants directly influence subsequent migrant behaviour, the term 'chain migration' has been introduced, defined by Macdonald as "that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities and are provided with transportation and employment

40. D. J. Bogue: 'Techniques and Hypotheses for the Study of Differential Migration: Some Notes from an Experiment with U.S. Data', International Population Conference 1961, Proceedings: Paper 114, pp. 405 - 409.

41. E. W. Hofstee : op cit., p. 8.

arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants!"⁴²
 This term is usually applied to international migration in which families follow another member of the family after successful adaptation to the initial migration, but at the centre of the concept is the notion that "one migrant in selecting a destination is dependent on earlier migrants."⁴³

Lee's work on stream and counterstream has been supplemented by that of Goldscheider⁴⁴ who argues that, in addition to reverse or counterstream flows, two other complementary types of migration flows must be recognised, namely, first time moves as separated from return moves, and movement to and from alternative origins and destinations. Goldscheider also identified an important element of the migration system, what he termed the "stability component". "We must account not only for decisions to move, but also for decisions not to move."⁴⁵ There has been a tendency in many migration studies to view the whole population as being potential migrants without recognising that stability is the more general characteristic of the population and that migration is, by nature, selective.

Economic or 'opportunity' determined migration certainly forms a substantial part of the total migration picture at any one time but the concepts developed to account for such migration fail to account for the stability component within communities and for the selective nature of migration. They also fail to distinguish between, for example, those moving to new opportunities from those returning to old communities either because of family, kinship and community ties or because prior migration and the subsequent adjustment have been unsuccessful. All voluntary migrations are usually the response to some kind of migration offer, but

42. J. R. MacDonald and L. D. MacDonald: 'Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Network', Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. 42, 1964, p.82.

43. ibid., p. 96.

44. C. Goldscheider: op cit., p. 2748.

45. ibid., p. 2747.

the response is influenced by many factors, including the characteristics of the migrants themselves. It is to a discussion of mobility differentials among migrants that this discussion now turns.

c. Mobility

The determinants of mobility operate at various levels. Demographic, social and psychological variables interact and combine to bring about varying degrees of mobility in individual households. Much of the discussion of mobility differentials revolves around factors associated with the family life cycle and with the career pattern of the individual. A study by Leslie and Richardson to determine which factors most determined residential mobility concluded that the significant variables could be grouped as follows:⁴⁶

A. Life Cycle:

1. Age of head of household.
2. Household size.
3. Tenure status.

B. Career Pattern:

4. Years of formal education completed by head of household.
5. Respondent's estimate of his social class compared to that of his neighbours.
6. Respondent's estimate of his prospects for upward social mobility.
7. Respondent's attitude towards present housing.
8. Respondent's attitude towards his present neighbourhood.

The three life-cycle variables were derived from the 'Mobility Potential Index' of an earlier study by Rossi⁴⁷ and both Jansen⁴⁸ and

46. G. R. Leslie and A. H. Richardson: 'Life Cycle, Career Pattern and the Decision to Move', *American Sociological Review*, Vo. 26, December 1961, p. 897.
47. R. H. Rossi: Why Families Move, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951.
48. C. J. Jansen: 'Social Aspects of Internal Migration', Bath University of Technology, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2 Volumes, 1968.

Simmons⁴⁹ concluded that the variables associated with the life cycle were important in influencing migration intentions. Leslie and Richardson themselves, however, concluded that upward social mobility far outweighed all other considerations in producing residential mobility.⁵⁰

Ofcourse, the variables listed above are inter-correlated. For example, life-cycle is a reflection of age and family type. Family type itself is a mobility determinant in that the probability of moving varies with different stages of family life. Marriage, then the birth and growth of children create a need for more space in the home, but as children leave home space becomes excessive so elderly people may move to suit their contracting housing needs. This is, however, rather an ideal picture of demands changing in accordance with housing needs and it is very much easier for a family or an individual to tolerate excess capacity in their housing than it is to overlook space shortages. The dynamics of residential mobility in terms of mortgages and housing supply may also create difficulties for the intending elderly migrant. Residential mobility, therefore, is normally associated with the expansion stages of the life cycle.

The role of age alone as a factor of migration is inconclusive. Olsson concluded that the length of a migration is possibly negatively related to the age of the migrant,⁵¹ while Tarver, in a study of interstate migration differentials in the U. S. A., found age to be the only significant factor in exerting a selective influence on annual migration rates.⁵² Jones found a significant difference between the ages of in

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49. J. W. Simmons: 'Changing Residence in the City - A Review of Intra-Urban Mobility', *Geographical Review*, Vol. 58, 1968, pp. 622 - 651.
 50. G. R. Leslie and A. H. Richardson: op cit., p. 897.
 51. G. Olsson: op cit., p. 20.
 52. J. Tarver: 'Interstate Migration Differentials', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 1963, pp. 448 - 451.

and out-migrants in mid-Wales⁵³ while in a different context Daniel, in an early study of Welsh migrants to Oxford, concluded that for a given economic incentive young people move more readily than older people, and that age selection was more significant in the case of women than in the case of men.⁵⁴ Migration is recognised to be more predominant among younger people. A study by Hitt of internal migration in the U.S.A. between 1940 and 1950 showed that after the age class 25 - 29 was passed each successive age group contributed proportionately fewer of its respective members to the streams of internal migration.⁵⁵ At the latter end of the life cycle, however, with the ending of remunerative work, migration may increase.⁵⁶ Beshers and Nishiura hypothesised that "migration among persons 65 and over will be greater than that within the age category immediately preceding",⁵⁷ a hypothesis confirmed by data from Illinois in 1935 - 40. The selective nature of migration streams among the elderly deserves attention and seems to be marked out by special characteristics. One study, for example, reported that in the age category 60 and over there was less evidence of unanticipated or reluctant moves than in younger age categories.⁵⁸

Tenure status was another factor identified by Rossi and the general conclusion on the role of tenure in influencing mobility is that renters are more likely to move than owner-occupiers.⁵⁹ A study by Speare in which mobility rates were examined by relation to home-ownership, age,

53. H. R. Jones: 'Rural Migration in Mid-Wales', Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 37, 1965, pp. 31 - 45.
54. G. H. Daniel: 'Labour Migration and Age Composition', Sociological Review, Vol. 31, Part 3, 1939, pp. 281 - 308.
55. H. L. Hitt: 'The Role of Migration in Population Change among the Aged', American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, Part 2, 1954, p. 194.
56. *ibid.*, p. 194 - 200.
57. J. M. Beshers and E. H. Nishiura: 'A Theory of Internal Migration Differentials', Social Forces, Vol. 39, 1961, pp. 214 - 218.
58. M. D. van Arsdol, G. Sabagh and E. W. Butler: 'Retrospective and Subsequent Metropolitan Residential Mobility', Demography, Vol. 5, Part 1, 1968, pp. 249 - 267.
59. G. R. Leslie and A. H. Richardson: op cit., p. 895.

marital status and duration of previous residence observed that there was little variation in mobility rates by duration for home owners while the mobility rates for renters declined with duration.⁶⁰

It is without question that migration has consequences for the family structure of which the migrant is a part. It has been argued that an extended family structure hinders migration because the potential disruption of a move may defer a migration decision or even avert its consideration in the first instance. Only the nuclear family, it is argued, can move without disruption. Research evidence, however, seems to contradict this popular view. Litwak⁶¹ and Christopher⁶² showed that while geographic mobility may modify kin structures, it is not disruptive of contact with kin. It may be that family obligations require a potential migrant to remain at home despite beliefs that aspirations cannot be satisfied there. In contrast, migration does not necessarily break the bonds of family attachment⁶³ and, because there is no regular contact, it does not mean that there is no affective tie. A study of the middle classes in London suggested that "geographic proximity in itself does not imply, or socially necessitate, intense contact between kin".⁶⁴ Hubert went further in his thinking to note that, while there was a correlation between distance and frequency of contact, maintained contact was selective in favour of close kin, and that in this case it seemed that

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- 60. A. Speare: 'Home Ownership, Life Cycle Stage and Residential Mobility', *Demography*, Vol. 7, 1970, pp. 449 - 458.
 - 61. E. Litwak: 'Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, 1960, pp. 385 - 394. Also 'The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals: Some Policy Implications', *Social Problems*, Vol. 7, 1960, pp. 177 - 187.
 - 62. S. C. Christopher: 'A Note on Research Relevant to the Extended Family and Geographic Mobility', in R. Piddington (Ed.): Kinship and Geographical Mobility, Leiden, 1965, pp. 183 - 184.
 - 63. See, for example, D. F. Hannan: 'Migration Motives and Migration Differentials among Irish Rural Youth', *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 9, Part 3, 1969, pp. 195 - 219.
 - 64. J. Hubert: 'Kinship and Geographical Mobility in a Sample from a London Middle Class Area', in R. Piddington: op cit., pp. 59 - 79.

"as much interaction will take place as possible at all times".⁶⁵ The perspective was widened by Tilly and Brown who suggested that, where migration is under the auspices of kinship, it "promotes continuing intense involvement in kin groups and thereby slows down assimilation to the formal structures" of the area of destination.⁶⁶

The dominant variables with regard to the career pattern of the individual are, of course, education, social class and a concomitant aspiration towards upward social mobility. The exact role of education and socio-economic status as a factor of selectivity remains in debate. One of the major early studies on migration differentials concluded that "the findings of most investigations suggest that the better educated are selected in cityward migration",⁶⁷ and Bogue observed that "the rate of migration from an area tends to vary inversely with the general level of educational attainment in that area".⁶⁸ Data examined in Britain for 1935 - 50 by Shryock and Nam showed an essentially direct association between the migration rate and the number of years of school completed by adults.⁶⁹ Their general conclusion, confirming Brogue's work, was that "there may be less interest in selection in the sense of the relationship between education and the propensity to migrate for the general population, than in selection in the sense of education of migrants from particular areas or types of areas as compared with the education of the non-migrants in these same areas or than in the effect of net migration upon the educational level of sending and receiving areas".⁷⁰ It was suggested

65. ibid., p. 74.

66. C. Tilly and C. H. Brown: 'On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 8., Part 2, 1967, pp. 139 - 164.

67. D. S. Thomas: 'Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials', *SSRC Bulletin* 43, New York, 1938.

68. D. J. Bogue: 'Internal Migration', in P. M. Hauser and O. D. Duncan (Eds.): The Study of Population, University of Chicago Press, 1959, p. 504.

69. H. Shryock and C. Nam: 'Educational Selectivity of Inter-regional Migration', *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, Part 3, 1965, pp. 299 - 310.

70. ibid., p. 299.

by Hofstee that migration is not necessarily selective with respect to intelligence and education and, though it might seem that empirically the more intelligent and better educated are more inclined to migrate, it is rather that the circumstances are such that they more often have a motive to migrate than those with less intelligence or education.⁷¹ There is also a correlation between education and socio-economic status which in turn links education with occupation. "The lower status migrant achieves his limited objectives at an earlier stage and with fewer moves than the upper class migrant whose geographic movement keeps step with periodic changes in a long drawn out career."⁷² Generally, therefore, lower class people find many more intervening opportunities in a given distance than do upper class people. It was hypothesised by Rose that in the United States "higher status persons seeking the better jobs or opportunities must move a greater distance to find them",⁷³ and his hypothesis was found to be true within the limits of a single culture. (An exception to his general findings were poor Negroes who migrated a considerable distance in search of new opportunities.) This hypothesis was retested by Stub who corroborated the major findings and concluded that "median distance of migration generally declines as one proceeds from those occupied as professionals to foremen and labourers".⁷⁴ A further study of occupational differentials in the U.S.A. by Tarver also rejected any hypothesis that proposed equal migration rates among twelve occupational groups and concluded that in nearly every case study professionals were more mobile

71. E. W. Hofstee: op cit., p. 7.

72. R. Illsley, A. Finlayson and B. Thompson: 'The Motivation and Characteristics of Internal Migrants', Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. 12, Part 2, 1963, pp. 115 - 143. Also Part 3, 1963, pp. 217 - 247.

73. A. M. Rose: 'Distance of Migration and the Socio-Economic Status of Migrants', American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, August 1958, pp. 420 - 423.

74. H. Stub: 'The Occupational Characteristics of Migrants to Duluth: a retest of Rose's Migration Hypothesis', American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, Part 1, 1962, p. 89.

than all other occupations.⁷⁵ Income and occupation, too, are closely related factors and Olsson hypothesised that the length of a migration is positively related to the level of income in both the place of origin and the place of destination, and found this to be a significant relationship.⁷⁶

Arising from the themes of economic and social mobility aspirations is the concept, advanced by Davies⁷⁷ and Brown and Belcher⁷⁸, of a latent migration potential behind each migration. In both cases they studied doctors, the former those of the National Health Service and the latter a sample in Georgia. They argued that for each job advertised only one applicant could be successful, therefore the unsuccessful applicants represented a latent potential for migration. Though the initial application to move was in economic terms as a response to a professional vacancy, a subsidiary finding of the studies was that distinct preferences were expressed for jobs in areas with a better social and physical environment.

One of the themes to arouse significant discussion in recent years has been that of the degree to which mobility at any given time is the consequence of prior migrations. "The major hypothesis is that a person's propensity to move declines as his duration of residence increases."⁷⁹ This has also been termed the "axiom of cumulative inertia".⁸⁰ A study in Pennsylvania revealed that "outmigrants from the study area tended to

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- 75. J. Tarver: 'Occupational Migration Differentials', *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, Part 2, 1964, pp. 231 - 241.
 - 76. G. Olsson: op cit., p. 12.
 - 77. W. K. D. Davies: 'Latent Migration Potential and Space Preferences', *Professional Geographer*, Vol. 18, No. 5, 1966, pp. 300 - 303.
 - 78. L. A. Brown and J. C. Belcher: 'Residential Mobility of Physicians in Georgia', *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 31, Part 4, 1966, pp. 439 - 448.
 - 79. P. A. Morrison: 'Duration of Residence and Prospective Migration: the evaluation of a stochastic model', *Demography*, Vol. 4, 1967, pp. 553 - 561.
 - 80. G. Hyman: 'Cumulative Inertia and the Problem of Heterogeneity in the analysis of Geographical Mobility', *Centre for Environmental Studies*, Research Paper 11, 1974.

be in migrants of an earlier year",⁸¹ thus despite high migration rates there was available in the community a core of continuing residents giving stability to what otherwise might have been a highly unstable social organisation, a general conclusion which has also been reached by Land⁸² and Rogers.⁸³ "Since a high proportion of total migrations seem to be made by a limited segment of the population, the factor of past migratory behaviour itself may be an important element in the identification of migration differentials and the prediction of future migration."⁸⁴ Concerning mobility intentions, Arsdol concluded that expressed intentions to stay were more accurate predictors of behaviour than expressed intentions to move,⁸⁵ while other studies have suggested that migration may not be disorganising for people accustomed to a mobile life pattern.⁸⁶

In summary, therefore, mobility differentials indicate that behaviour is generally inclined towards one of two opposing characteristics, mobility or stability. While there may be a latent potential for migration in any community or with regard to a particular sub-group of the population, it is usually connected with a specific migration offer or associated with a continuing state of potential mobility. The state of mobility itself may reflect specific differentials concerning the family life cycle or career aspirations, or it may arise from the fact of repeated migrations. Migration itself comprises two basic processes for the individual migrant, the destination choice process which will be related to the departure process. Set within the balance of mobility and stability, this has been

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- 81. S. Goldstein: 'The Extent of Repeated Migration: An Analysis based on the Danish Population Register', *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 59, December 1964, pp. 1121 - 1132.
 - 82. K. Land: 'Duration of Residence and Prospective Migration: Further Evidence', *Demography*, Vol. 6, 1969, pp. 133 - 140.
 - 83. T. W. Rogers: 'Migration Prediction on the basis of Prior Migratory Behaviour', *International Migration*, Vol. 7, 1969, p. 13.
 - 84. *ibid.*, p. 15
 - 85. M. D. van Arsdol, G. Sabagh and E. W. Butler: *op cit.*
 - 86. See, for example, J. Ladinsky: 'The Geographic Mobility of Professional and Technical Manpower', *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 2, Part 4, 1967, pp. 475 - 494.

termed a 'mover-stayer' context.⁸⁷ "If the phenomena of cumulative inertia is to be explained in terms of population heterogeneity, the effect must necessarily arise in the determinants of the decision to move."⁸⁸ It is to a survey of factors associated with the migration decision that we now turn.

d. The Migration Decision

The decision-making process entails "a resolution of the forces which bind the potential migrant to his present situation, and those forces which pull him away,"⁸⁹ and is, therefore, a behavioural bridge between the status of having mobility and the act of migration itself. These forces have traditionally been viewed in terms of push and pull factors associated with the place of residence and the prospective destination, and a number of concepts are central to the discussion.

One of the concepts most frequently discussed in recent migration literature is that of place utility, defined by Wolpert as "the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some time in space ... it may be expressed as a positive or negative quality, expressing respectively the individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to that place".⁹⁰ Where migration is intended and not forced, the argument goes, the migrant will tend to resettle at a destination which offers a relatively higher level of utility than both the place of origin and the alternative place of destination. This higher utility may be expressed in terms of the actual characteristics

87. It is worth noting that the majority of empirical migration studies have not made use of this framework, in the sense of trying to include non-migrants within the scope of their research, and by focusing only on specific migration streams have isolated their subjects from the broad perspective within which the migration system operates. For the 'mover-stayer' context see J. Wolpert: op cit., p. 160.

88. G. Hyman: op cit., p. 9.

89. R. C. Taylor: 'Migration and Motivation', in J. A. Jackson (Ed.): Migration. Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 115.

90. J. Wolpert: op cit., p. 162.

of the place, or it may be the potential of the place as perceived by the migrant. The 'subjective expected utility' of a decision was expressed by Graves to be a function of personal expectations that the decision would lead to various outcomes, and of the utility values, both positive and negative, of those outcomes.⁹¹ Thus, place utility enters the migration decision in respect of the potential migrant's decision to seek a new residential site arising from dissatisfaction with present utility or perceived improved utility, and as part of the decision as to actually where to search for a new residence.

If economic rationality is assumed in migration behaviour (as was implied by the original gravity models) then the logical end of such behaviour is a resolution of behaviour and aspirations in an optimum location where utility or revenue are maximised. The rationality of human behaviour, however, is limited, and man is frequently satisfied with less than the maximum obtainable. As a development of this theme, Wolpert introduced Simon's satisficer concept to his work, a concept which suggests that "aspiration levels tend to adjust to the attainable, to past achievement levels, and to levels achieved by other individuals with whom the aspirant compares himself."⁹²

The individual's physical and behavioural environment is constrained by his perception of the structures around him just as his activities are constrained by the 'activity-spaces'⁹³ or 'action-spaces'⁹⁴ as he perceives them. Migration is a process of adjustment to better satisfy the needs and desires of each intended migrant, that is, to increase the utility

91. T. D. Graves: 'Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration', Human Organisation, Vol. 25, Part 4, 1966, pp. 295 - 299.
92. J. Wolpert: 'The Decision Process in a Spatial Context', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 54, 1964, pp. 537 - 558.
93. L. A. Brown and D. B. Longbrake: 'On the Implementation of Place Utility and Related Concepts: The Intra-Urban Case', in K. R. Cox and R. Golledge (Eds.): Behavioural Studies in Geography - A Symposium, Northwestern University Studies, No. 17, 1969.
94. L. A. Brown and E. G. Moore: 'The Intra-urban Migration Process: A Perspective', Geografiska Annaler, Vol. 52B, 1970, pp. 1 - 13.

space of the migrant.⁹⁵ Images rather than concrete facts are seen by some to control spatial activities including all kinds of movements, searches and location choices,⁹⁶ while information is seen to be transmitted through 'community' or 'mean information fields' based on the perceptual structures of the individual.⁹⁷

A further concept important in the discussion of the migration decision is that of stress which arises from dissatisfaction with present place utility.⁹⁸ Brown and Moore write, "the environment provides a continuous source of stimuli to which the household responds - certain of these stimuli will contribute "stressors" for a given household. They will be perceived as either disrupting, or threatening to disrupt, the established and desired patterns of household behaviour. The result is a state of stress."⁹⁹ The perception of and response to stress situations will vary between individuals. Not every experience of stress will result in migration since stress may be expressed as violent frustration, or just as general discontent.¹⁰⁰ In determining where the stress will be converted into actual migration many factors play an encouraging or an inhibiting role,¹⁰¹ including the migration history of

95. *ibid.*, p. 2.

96. See, for example, R. L. Morrill and F. R. Pitts: 'Marriage, Migration and Mean Information Fields', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 57, 1967, pp. 401 - 422.

97. *ibid.*, Also, D. Marble and J. D. Nystuen: 'An Approach to the Direct Measurement of Community Mean Information Fields', *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, Vol. 11, 1963, pp. 99 - 109.

98. See, for example, L. A. Brown and E. G. Moore: *op cit.*, Also, L. A. Brown and D. B. Longbrake: *op cit.*, Also, J. Wolpert: 'Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 22, 1966, pp. 92 - 102.

99. L. A. Brown and D. B. Longbrake: *op cit.*, p. 4.

100. These themes are discussed within those articles mentioned in Note 98, above, and a recent treatment of the subject is provided by W. A. V. Clark and M. Cadwallader: 'Locational Stress and Residential Mobility', *Environment and Behaviour*, March 1973, pp. 29 - 41.

101. An early treatment of these ideas was contained in J. E. Ellemers: 'The Determinants of Emigration - An Analysis of Dutch Studies on Migration', *Sociologica Neerlandica*, Vol. 11, Part 1, 1964, pp. 41-58.

the household and general community satisfaction.¹⁰² The alternatives to migration as a response to stress are normally an adjustment of needs according to the type of stress imposed or, alternatively, a restructuring of the environment relative to the household so that it better satisfies the perceived household needs.¹⁰³

The development of the migration decision within a behavioural context implies first, a conscious decision to migrate and second, the active search for a new place of residence, and is an approach that has gone a long way in answering Petersen's criticism that there had been "few attempts to distinguish among underlying causes, facilitative environment, precipitants and motives" of migration.¹⁰⁴ The conscious decision to leave the place of origin has been summarised by Herbst as involving a resolution of commitment to the organisation (or social and economic environment) of which the migrant is a part (Figure 2 (1)),¹⁰⁵ a model which assumes indecision in the first instance. The search process for an alternative location has been summarised most adequately by Roseman in a 'locational decision model' which arises from the basic principles underlying search behaviour (Figure 2 (2)).¹⁰⁶ This model assumes the motivation necessary to engage on a search procedure. According to Roseman, migrations may be divided into two categories on the basis of fundamental movement characteristics, and related to the movement cycle for each household over each day and for each weekly period. The first type of migration, therefore, is described as 'total displacement migration' (TDM) in which complete spatial displacement of the daily or weekly

102. R. Schulze, J. Artis and J. A. Beegle: 'The Measurement of Community Satisfaction and the Decision to Migrate', *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 28, Part 3, 1963, pp. 279 - 283.

103. See L. A. Brown and E. G. Moore: *op cit.*

104. W. Petersen: 'A General Typology of Migration', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, Part 2, 1958, p. 258.

105. P. G. Herbst: 'Organisational Commitment: a Decision Model', *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 7, 1964, pp. 34 - 45.

106. C. G. Roseman: 'Migration as a Spatial and Temporal Process', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 61, 1971, p. 95.

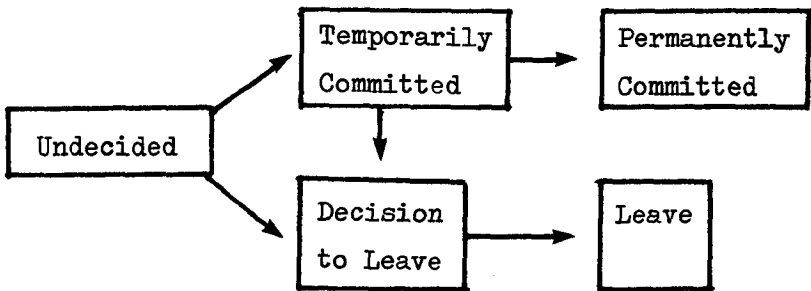


Figure 2 (1) Organisational Commitment: a decision model
(after Herbst)

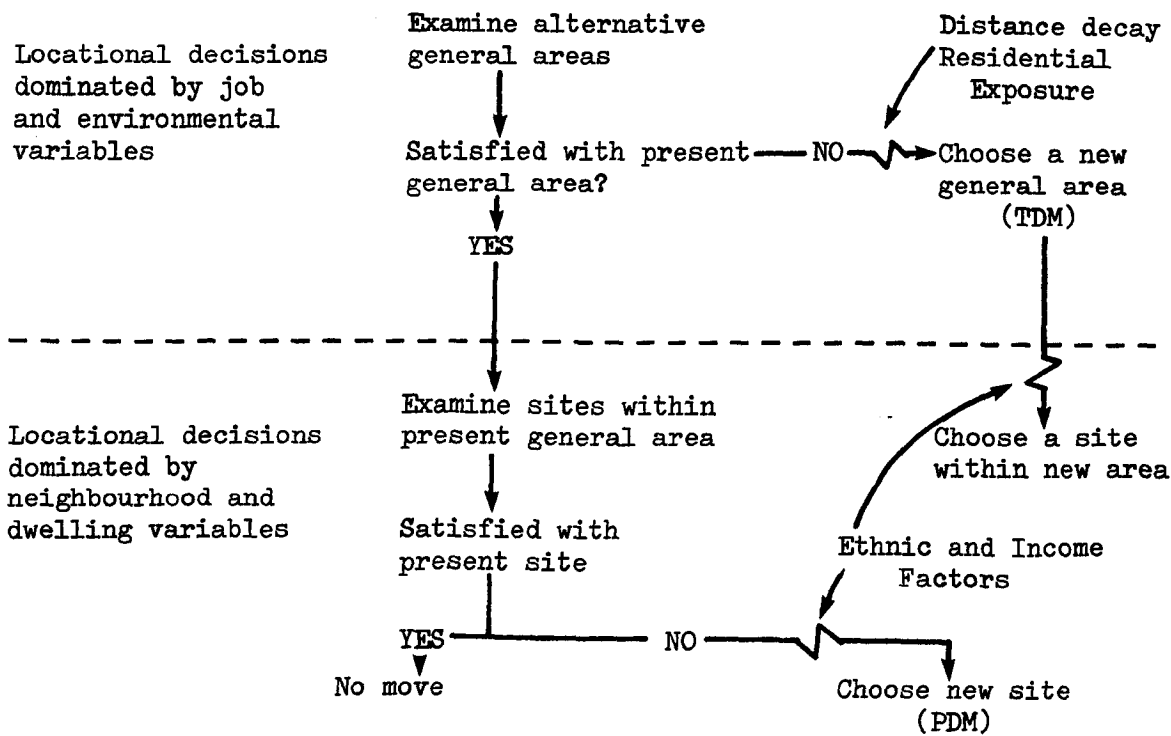


Figure 2 (2) Two-part Locational Decision Model
(after Roseman)

movement cycle is involved in the change of residence. The second category of migration is described as 'partial displacement migration' (PDM) in which only part of the daily or weekly movement cycle is changed by the migration. An example of the former would be found in inter-regional migrations where a change of the total social and physical environment accompanies the move, whereas intra-urban migrations in which the migrant may change his home and his neighbourhood but not his place of work or his shopping centre would be classified PDM.

As indicated above, this model of the decision-making process assumes the necessary motivation in the first instance, and the constituent elements of this motivation have been summarised by Taylor.¹⁰⁷ First, a degree of 'structural strain' is required accompanied by, second, the individual perception and evaluation of that strain. Third, aspirations of a long or a short term nature must be present together with, fourth, the realisation of a degree of 'dislocation' in the present situation. Fifth, the generalised belief that conditions are better elsewhere is matched by, sixth, the objective feasibility of migration as a possibility while, seventh, the presence of a 'trigger' factor completes the model. Of course, each element stands in a 'value-added' relationship to the others.

It was noted by Ellemers that conversion of the migration option into actual migration could be based not only on individual motives arising from general feelings of discontent but also on stereotyped, collective ideas that he termed "standard motives".¹⁰⁸ These motives, he suggested, may become strong enough to form an independent force and may even induce the less migration-inclined themselves to migrate. This idea of standard

107. R. C. Taylor: op cit., p. 99f. and similar to J. E. Ellemers: op cit., pp. 49 - 54.

108. J. E. Ellemers: op cit., p. 44.

motives is similar to what, at a local level, Brown and Longbrake termed 'neighbourhood mood', which they saw as being as influential on mobility rates as other mobility determinants.¹⁰⁹ It may be that the existence of such standard motives is of special importance where there is no particular economic or occupational aspiration to be fulfilled but where attitudes and images are influenced by the general climate of public opinion or the media. Ellemers himself also concluded that every determinant of migration may be regarded as a stage in a value-added process in which the strength of each determinant may vary.¹¹⁰

e. Migration of the Elderly

Over recent years there has been a growing awareness of the significance of the increasing proportion of the elderly within the population of England and Wales and the effects of this development on the social and economic fabric of society. Studies of the migration of the elderly represent one of the more important areas of work concerned with the spatial aspects of this development, particularly as the effects of this movement have been felt very strongly in those coastal areas that have received substantial amounts of in-migration. To date, however, few writers and researchers have been prepared to give more than a cursory interest to this, and related, phenomena.

The realisation of what is happening in England and Wales has been highlighted by certain parallel developments in the United States. Just as ethnic ghettos in the American city are pointed to as forerunners of immigrant conditions in Britain, the growth of retirement areas in England and Wales has been likened to the emergence of 'retirement States' and the

109. L. A. Brown and D. B. Longbrake: 'Migration Flows in Intra urban Space: Place Utility Considerations', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 60, 1970, p. 368f.

110. J. E. Ellemers: op cit., p. 54.

growth of adult and retirement communities in the United States.¹¹¹ There has been a realisation that much of the significance of these developments lies not in the total volume of migration or in its expansion during the past few decades, but in the effects of migration of the elderly on the receiving areas.¹¹²

An early study in the United States by Webber¹¹³ focused attention on coastal areas in Florida where in-migration of the elderly was significantly affecting their number and distribution in certain communities. An examination of mobility among the elderly by Manley¹¹⁴ reported several factors contributing to mobility, including high income, prior mobility and a suburban residence at the time of retirement, while Lenzer¹¹⁵ saw no reason why even higher mobility should not be expected among the elderly in future years. In contrast to Manley, however, Goldscheider¹¹⁶ concluded that among the elderly lower status, single people in rented accommodation were the most likely to move, mainly for reasons of dissatisfaction with housing or with the neighbourhood. In examining the social lives of the elderly, Bultena and Marshall¹¹⁷ concluded that although some elderly migrants tended to be socially isolated, especially from their children, it was more because of the residential mobility of the children

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- 111. The interest in this study stemmed from the present writer's work on an adult community in Oregon in preparation for a degree dissertation. The unpublished dissertation, 'Socio-geographic Perspectives on an Adult Community: A Study of King City, Oregon' was submitted to the University of Leicester in 1972.
 - 112. H. L. Hitt: 'The Role of Migration in Population Change among the Aged', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, Part 2, 1954, pp. 194 - 200.
 - 113. S. L. Webber: 'The Effect of Migration in the Number and Distribution of the Aged in Florida', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 11, 1956, pp. 323 - 327.
 - 114. C. R. Manley: 'The Migration of Older People', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, 1953, pp. 324 - 331.
 - 115. A. Lenzer: 'Mobility Patterns among the Aged, 1955 - 1960', *Gerontologist*, Vol. 5, March 1965, pp. 12 - 15.
 - 116. C. Goldscheider: 'Differential Residential Mobility of the Older Population', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 21, 1966, p. 103f.
 - 117. G. L. Bultena and D. G. Marshall: 'Family Patterns of Migrant and Non-Migrant Retirees', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 32, No. 1, February 1970, pp. 89 - 93.

after leaving home than due to the migration of the parents. Numerous studies have been made of retirement communities in the United States,¹¹⁸ the general findings of which are that first, migration is selective; second, that a social 'sub-culture' develops in the communities and third, that the environment of the communities generally proves conducive to the adaptation of its residents to the retirement role.

The question of migration is related to questions of social adjustment and the role of the elderly in society, but only one study in recent years has attempted to link the patterns and processes of migration with the theories of ageing that have been developed within the field of gerontology. The study, by Golant,¹¹⁹ was seen as being "concerned with the spatial manifestations of an aspatial process."¹²⁰ In examining the spatial location and behaviour of the elderly in Toronto, "the study not only examines the decisions of an ageing population, but the variables related to its decision-making process".¹²¹ Conceptually, therefore, as will be made clear in the conclusion to this chapter, Part III of this study follows the same general approach as Golant's work.

The study of migration of the elderly in Europe has not been confined

118. See, for example, the following:

a. R. W. Kleemeier: 'Difference of Adjustment: segregated old age communities versus unsegregated communities', Unpublished paper presented at the Northwestern University Centennial Conference on Problems of an ageing population, 1951.

b. *idem*: 'Moosehaven: Congregate living in a community of the retired', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, 1954.

c. G. J. Aldridge: 'Informal Social Relationships in a Retirement Community', *Marriage and Family Living*, No. 21, 1959.

d. E. Burgess (Ed.): Retirement Villages, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961.

e. G. L. Bultena and V. Wood: 'The American Retirement Community: Bane or Blessing', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 24, Part 2, 1969, pp. 209 - 217.

119. S. M. Golant: The Residential Location and Spatial Behaviour of the Elderly, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper 143, 1972.

120. *ibid.*, p. 11.

121. *ibid.*, p. 13.

to work in Britain, and Cribier¹²² has identified similar processes at work in France, also resulting in the development of coastal retirement areas. Paradoxically, it was a Frenchman whose work focused on retirement areas in Sussex and was reported in the geographical literature before much of the work in Britain began.¹²³ In Britain itself, the movement has generally been termed 'retirement migration' in recognition of the fact that most of the movement to retirement areas occurs at or about the time of retirement. (This study has adopted the term 'migration of the elderly' as more accurately describing the topic under study.)

Reaction to the impact of migration on the receiving areas in England and Wales has been mixed. One writer saw the effect as being "a real contribution to the easing of the problems of overcrowded urban areas",¹²⁴ while a study examining the impact on small towns in Norfolk saw the movement as maintaining the role of those towns as urban centres, although a need was also seen for other functions to develop to complement the in-migration of the elderly.¹²⁵ A recent report on retirement to the South West region estimated that "retirement migration provided employment for some 44,000 people in 1971 and added about £54 million to the income of the region".¹²⁶ Not all reactions, however, have been favourable, and the disadvantages of migration have normally been seen in the effects on social services and medical facilities. In Worthing in 1965, popular opinion was that the shortage of hospital beds was a "major problem",¹²⁷

122. F. Cribier: 'Les Migrations de Retraite en France: matériaux pour une géographie du troisième âge', Bulletin Association Géographie Française, Vol. 381, 1970, pp. 119 - 122. Also: 'Retirement Migration in France', in L. A. Kosinski and R. M. Prothero (Eds.) People on the Move, London, 1975, pp. 361 - 373.

123. C. Moindroit: 'Les villes de retraites de la côte de Sussex', Population, April-June 1963, pp. 364 - 366.

124. H. Mellor: 'Retirement to the Coast', Town Planning Review, Vol. 33, April 1962, pp. 40 - 48.

125. A. Lemon: 'Retirement and its Effect on Small Towns', Town Planning Review, Vol. 44, No. 3, July 1973, p. 254f.

126. South West Economic Planning Council: Retirement to the South West, London, HMSO, 1975.

127. J. Barr: 'For Old People Only', New Society, November 25th, 1965.

and the particular problems of coping with the demands for geriatric medicine in retirement areas have filled more than one conference agenda.¹²⁸ The view that "if in the end they cost money to hospitalise, this is man's common lot, and the Exchequer's headache, wherever they are"¹²⁹ rather avoids the very real problems that develop in a specific area. The issue, however, is broader than the problems affecting public services, and it was a study in Northern Ireland that recognised the importance of examining the elderly in the retirement areas within the context of the family and the wider social systems.¹³⁰

The most substantial work to date within the field of geography has been the work of Karn in Bexhill and Clacton, and that of Law and Warnes. Karn's work¹³¹ examined some of the more basic demographic trends associated with retirement migration, explored the motivations for migration among her sample populations and considered in depth the role of the social services in providing care for the elderly. Her major conclusions, valid for Clacton and Bexhill, were that the traditional reasons for moving to resorts (climate and health) were still the major ones, that retirement to the seaside seemed to be essentially a middle-class phenomenon and that, although the trend for moving was a long established one, the planning of health and social services had failed to take account of its scale and implications.

Law and Warnes first studied retirement migration to Morecambe and

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128. See, for example, the papers of the Royal Society of Health conference at Southport, June 1966: 'Problems of the Elderly in a Seaside Resort and Retirement Area.
129. E. W. Hodge: 'Whose Coast', Town and Country Planning, Vol. 37, March 1969, pp. 99 - 102.
130. E. Harrison, M. McKeown and T. C'Shea: 'Old Age in Northern Ireland - A Study of the Elderly in a Sea-side Town', Economic and Social Review, Vol. 3, 1971, pp. 53 - 72.
131. V. Karn: Retiring to the Seaside - a study of retirement migration in England and Wales, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1974. Recently published as: Retiring to the Seaside, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

Llandudno¹³² and concluded that the immigrant population was weighted towards the higher socio-economic groups, that among reasons given for moving 'pull' factors associated with the destination area were stronger than the 'push' factors away from the area of origin, and that there was "little reason to contradict the belief that retirement migration will become a mass movement".¹³³ Their more recent work¹³⁴ has examined the characteristics of retirement areas in England and Wales during the period 1951 - 1971, and the migration patterns of the elderly between 1961 - 1966. (Published after this particular study was completed, their work complements the discussion in Part II which adopts a broader time scale, 1921 - 1971, and examines migration patterns for the period 1966 - 1971.)

To date, therefore, the literature and work on migration of the elderly has been limited in scope and volume, and has been related largely to the local scale. The most recently published material has begun to provide a national perspective on the subject into which the local studies more readily find their context, but there are spatial and temporal dimensions to this perspective, both of which require more detailed study, the latter having hardly been considered in studies to date. Furthermore, the migration of the elderly has been examined only within its own terms of reference, whereas a perspective is required which sets the topic within the inherent stability of the majority of the elderly in England and Wales. It is suggested, therefore, that the 'mover-stayer' context (adopted for this study) is appropriate to this need. Before drawing together the theoretical issues on which this study is based, we turn to an examination

132. C. M. Law and A. M. Warnes: 'The Movement of Retired People to Seaside Resorts: A Study of Morecambe and Llandudno', *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 44, No. 4, October 1973, p. 373 - 388.

133. *ibid*: p. 387.

134. *idem*: 'Life Begins at Sixty: The Increase in Regional Retirement Migration', *Town and Country Planning*, Vol. 43, No. 13, 1975, pp. 531 - 534. Also: 'The Changing Geography of the Elderly in England and Wales', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1976, pp. 453 - 471.

of the literature and thinking of social gerontology as it is relevant to the study.

II. Gerontological

a. Introduction

The increase in the literature of social gerontology over the past few years has accompanied the realisation that the numbers of elderly persons are not only growing, but posing serious questions and problems to the society of which they are a part. "The object of gerontological research is, on an interdisciplinary basis, to promote greatest possible knowledge of man's individual and social conditions during the period of ageing."¹³⁵ As such, the literature spans the various branches of the social sciences in an effort to understand not only the physical, psychological and social changes that accompany advancing age in the individual but also the accompanying consequences of those changes on the structure and function of economic, political and social organisation.

Throughout the vast and complex range of issues which fall within the boundaries of social gerontology, a number of common themes emerge. "The problem for a science of gerontology is to understand ... an inner harmony which is personal adjustment."¹³⁶ The central theme is generally seen to be that of adjustment; adjustment within the individual as physical, social and psychological changes occur, and adjustment between the individual and society as personal changes bring about a reassessment of the roles and functions of the elderly. The total area of study, therefore, is by its nature dichotomous, and the literature consequently falls into three categories. The first is that in which the individual is the unit of study. The second is that in which the response of society to the

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135. T. Christoffersen: 'Gerontology: Towards a General Theory and a Research Strategy', Acta Sociologica, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1975, p. 395.
 136. D. B. Bromley: The Psychology of Human Ageing, Penguin Books, 1966, p. 67.

processes of ageing within it are examined. The third category of study is that in which the inter-relationships between the individual and society, and the need for mutual adaptation, is of central importance.

Emerging from the central themes of personal and societal adjustment are subsequent themes of segregation and integration. "The most important theoretical question in social gerontology today but also the key question affecting all social policies concerning the aged ... specifically, should the aged be integrated into society by new forms of employment and social activities, or should they be removed gently from the main streams and the cross currents of ordinary life? Do they prefer to live in the midst of the larger society or in retirement communities?"¹³⁷

With these three themes of adjustment, segregation and integration in mind, this section will review the literature of social gerontology as it is relevant to this study.

b. Retirement and Ageing

Retirement and ageing are frequently linked as inseparable stable-mates, yet the artificial nature of retirement contrasts directly with the natural processes of ageing. It is of fundamental importance that the two concepts be separated, for, while ageing is gradual and the older person differs only in degree from the younger person, in contrast retirement is total, if not in concept then frequently in practice.

Ageing is an inevitable part of life, and the period of old age is followed by the surest inevitability of all - death. Because ageing is accompanied by a certain natural decline in physical and psychological abilities, attitudes to it encompass a range of emotion, thought and feeling, from acceptance and gratitude for the reality of an active life, to feelings of bitterness, of resignation, of defiance and nostalgia. For many, to grow old is to watch values and beliefs modified or even swept

¹³⁷. E. Shanas and P. Townsend: Old People in Three Industrial Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968, p. 3.

away by a rising generation and to be threatened by the pace of a society and technology which advances at an incomprehensible speed. For others there is an immunisation against change, and hope and life are drawn from traditional values and beliefs.

Retirement, as the idea of withdrawing from gainful employment, is a concept fostered upon society rather than stemming from within. It introduces compulsory leisure to a level previously unthought of, and it frequently deprives the individual of the economic role which may have been the central role adopted in life. Retirement is normally imposed on the individual by societal norms, and only the self-sufficient and the self-employed have the freedom to abstain totally from its constraints. Writers of varying beliefs agree that the transition through retirement to a successful and well-adjusted old age depends on individual motivation and beliefs; the politically motivated Simone de Beauvoir wrote, "It is the meaning that men attribute to their life, it is their entire system of values, that define the meaning and the value of old age",¹³⁸ and from a very different school of thought Paul Tournier, a Christian psychiatrist, wrote, "Success in retirement depends essentially on how well you have developed your personality beforehand. The things that count are the things we do freely, all those things that widen our social relationships, everything that diversifies our lives and counter-balances an over-specialised professional occupation."¹³⁹

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Retirement has been variously defined as a "Psycho-social transition", a "psycho-social crisis",¹⁴¹ and a "rite de passage".¹⁴² All definitions imply the ideas of change and transition from one state to another, from

138. S. de Beauvoir: Old Age, Deutsch and Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1972, pp. 86 - 87.

139. P. Tournier: Learning to Grow Old, SCM Press, London, 1972, p. 22.

140. M. Crawford: 'Retirement and Disengagement', Human Relations, Vol. 24, 1971, p. 257.

141. idem: 'Retirement as a Psycho-Social Crisis', Journal of Psychosomatic Research, Vol. 16, 1972, pp. 375 - 380.

142. idem: 'Retirement: A Rite de Passage', Sociological Review, Vol. 21, 1973, pp. 447 - 461.

the state of being fully employed in gainful economic activity to the state of leisure in which the normal economic and aspirant motivations to life are removed. As such, while "retirement is not equated with old age in the minds of retiring persons",¹⁴³ it may be defined within the context of old age. During the process of natural ageing, between maturity and death, retirement is the point at which there is the abrupt loss of a major (economic) role. The nature of retirement as a transition point has been summarised very adequately by Kimmel. It is first "an event that marks a transition point. In some cases it is celebrated by ritual but more often than not it occurs unceremoniously and is not noted as an item of public interest. A social event without a precise social meaning". Second, it is "a status, a new social position with its own unique roles, expectations and responsibilities ... it is a negative change in social position, despite the decreased role demands and increased leisure". Third, it is "a process ... of anticipating the new status as one approaches retirement and the conscious and unconscious working through of the conflicts and resocialisations involved in the change of status, ... taking account of the biological, social and psychological factors that may be occurring at the time of the process".¹⁴⁴ The distinction between the event, status and process of retirement is one of which this study takes note.

For a very few retirement is enforced by a sudden illness or accident, but for most it is an aspect of life to be anticipated. Many studies agree that it is a more significant event for the husband of a marriage than for the wife,¹⁴⁵ though some studies emphasise that it may be equally

143. D. C. Kimmel: Adulthood and Ageing - An Interdisciplinary, Developmental View, John Wiley, 1974, p. 258.

144. ibid: p. 255 - 256.

145. A. C. Kerckhoff: 'Husband-wife Expectations and Reactions to Retirement', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 19, Part 4, 1964, p. 510.

stressful for the wife.¹⁴⁶ The loss of role for the husband has been paralleled with the loss of role for the wife that takes place when the children leave home. A study by Fillenbaum suggested that only where work holds the central organising position in a person's life should job attitudes influence retirement attitudes,¹⁴⁷ the implication being that family and social roles continue through the event of retirement, but this makes no consideration for the changing nature of leisure in retirement. Stokes and Maddox argue that increasing satisfaction in retirement appears to be a function of time,¹⁴⁸ but they did not consider the role of anticipation to retirement in determining the initial level of satisfaction, or adjustment, at retirement.

Anticipation to retirement was studied by Streib, Thompson and Suchman in the Cornell study of occupational retirement.¹⁴⁹ Working from the hypothesis that "adjustment in retirement is conditioned by pre-retirement anticipation of the retired status",¹⁵⁰ the general findings of the study suggested that "in every instance the two most important factors are an accurate pre-conception of retirement and a favourable pre-retirement attitude toward retirement"¹⁵¹ but, Thompson continued, the independence of the individual is still crucial in satisfactory adjustment. Elderly people "are more widely capable of managing their own lives than would be indicated by the proliferation of consulting programs, aids to self-help and organised activity programs".¹⁵² While it must be recognised that

146. M. Crawford: 'Retirement and Disengagement', Human Relations, Vol. 24, 1971, p. 275.

147. G. G. Fillenbaum: 'On the Relation between Attitude to Work and Attitude to Retirement', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 26, Part 2, 1971, p. 247.

148. R. G. Stokes and G. L. Maddox: 'Some Social Factors on Retirement Adaptation', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 22, Part 3, 1967, p. 329.

149. G. F. Streib, W. E. Thompson and E. A. Suchman: 'The Cornell Study of Occupational Retirement', Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1958.

150. W. E. Thompson: 'Pre-retirement Anticipation and Adjustment to Retirement', Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 14, 1958, p. 35,

151. *ibid*: p. 43.

152. *ibid*: p. 44.

"the detrimental effects of retirement may be over-rated",¹⁵³ and that taking the men of retirement age 55 - 65 as a whole, "all the evidence points to compulsory retirement being associated with a reduction in the incidence of serious illness",¹⁵⁴ the status and event of retirement brings new problems at many levels.

Central to the whole concept of retirement is the ending of work and the taking on of a wholly new concept of leisure. For the majority of individuals the demands of full time employment occupy the majority of the hours of a working day, and the psychological characteristics of their work are numerous. It is, first, a productive activity that has a value to society which is recognised by the self and by others. Second, it is a habitual way of acting, developed over many years and to which various interests and values accrue and third, it has a certain degree of complexity to hold the person's concentration. Finally, it is a continuing activity with which the person identifies and interacts, and may form a nexus of social relations for the individual.¹⁵⁵ Most of this value is lost to the individual at retirement and, except where a strong community feeling exists, the social relations developed at work may also fall away. The centre of daily existence is changed, from the workplace to the home, so for those who are more absorbed in work the process of adjustment may be more difficult. Michelen concluded that there is an inverse correlation between a person's adjustment to his job and probable adjustment to retirement¹⁵⁶ and part of the key to this relationship is found in the nature of leisure.

153. A. R. Emerson: 'The First Year of Retirement', *Occupational Psychology*, Vol. 33, 1959, p. 208.

154. J. Martin and A. Doran: 'Evidence concerning the Relationship between Health and Retirement', *Social Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3, November 1966.

155. J. E. Anderson: 'Psychological Aspects of the Use of Free Time', in W. Donahue (Ed.): Free Time - Challenge to Later Maturity, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1958, pp. 35 - 44.

156. L. C. Michelen: 'The New Leisure Class', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, 1954, p. 377.

The value of much leisure in that it is set in opposition to work, that it provides a contrast to the activities of work and that, in the truest sense of the word, it is recreation and relaxation. Kelly has summarised leisure activities under four categories:¹⁵⁷ first, there is 'unconditional leisure' which is ideal leisure, freely chosen and undertaken for its own sake alone and not related to work; second, 'co-ordinated activity' is freely chosen but related to occupation in some way; third, 'complementary leisure' is complementary to one's work in the sense that it reflects the role expectations associated with one's occupation and is activity that is sought as a diversion or an antidote to one's work; and fourth, there is leisure that is preparation for, or recuperation from, work. It is related to occupation and not freely chosen. It can be seen from this classification that much leisure activity has its value either as a contrast or as a complement to work. In either case the individual, when removed from productive activity, may feel that he has lost his value "because he is trying to live a new life of leisure while clinging to the values associated with work ... this contradiction often leads to inner conflicts and makes it difficult for aged people to adjust".¹⁵⁸ The most important factor is not the having and practising of various hobbies and recreational activities, but the role those activities play in relation to work, and to total leisure. To echo the sentiments of Simone de Beauvoir and Paul Tournier, "A meaningful use of time is only possible in the total frame of a meaningful life".¹⁵⁹

The ageing person adopts new personal qualities towards the end of his working life at the expense of others. The Nuffield report catalogued the changes that take place at work with increasing age. In general there .

157. J. R. Kelly: 'Work and Leisure': A Simplified Paradigm', Journal of Leisure Research, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1972, pp. 50 - 62.

158. J. Dumazedier and A. Ripert: 'Retirement and Leisure', International Social Science Journal, Vol. 15, 1963, p. 442.

159. D. C. Kimmel: op cit., P. 385.

is a decrease in sight and hearing, in manual strength and precision, in physical resistance and suppleness, speed of rhythm, memory, imagination, creativity, adaptability, general attentiveness, diligence, energy, initiative, drive and sociability. There is an increase, however, in pleasure in work, steadiness of rhythm, punctuality, method, close and watchful attention, willingness, discipline, prudence, patience and conscientiousness.¹⁶⁰ It is these latter qualities that may lose their frame of reference in retirement.

The physical changes that accompany normal ageing are not immediately relevant to this study, and detailed accounts may be found in any standard textbook of gerontology.¹⁶¹ It is sufficient to note that these physical changes will have social and psychological consequences, that there is a very great distinction to be made between physiological changes and disease, and that within the category of 'the elderly' a division may be made between the 'relatively active' and the 'relatively infirm'.¹⁶² The 'relatively active' are those individuals who, perhaps carrying some of the physical and psychological characteristics of advancing age, are able to maintain their own affairs and organise their own lives. In contrast, the 'relatively infirm' are those individuals who require some kind of support within the family or of an institutional kind without which rapid degeneration would occur.

c. Social Segregation and Integration

"Retiring persons expressed a desire to continue their contacts on the same level of intensity as in the past."¹⁶³ It is suggested that it is society that mainly views retirement as an event, while those who are retiring view the event as one step of a process, that of ageing. There

160. Quoted by S. de Beauvoir: op cit., p. 230.

161. For example, D. B. Bromley: op cit., or D. C. Kimmel: op cit.

162. E. Shanas and P. Townsend: op cit., p. 4.

163. M. Zborowski and L. D. Eyde: 'Ageing and Social Participation', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 17, 1962, p. 430.

is much written on social activity and social participation among the elderly, and throughout most of the literature of social gerontology the central concept with regard to social ageing is that of the changing nature of roles in retirement and old age. Social ageing "is a process of re-differentiation and re-integration of social roles and functions occurring as the individual ages chronologically, and is brought about by role and status changes imposed upon him either by society, or by misfortune, or deliberately self-accepted".¹⁶⁴ We have seen how the ending of work can bring about the necessity of a readjustment in the realm of work and leisure. Similarly, the natural processes of ageing demand reassessment by the individual.

It may be something of a generalisation to say that there is "a tendency for older persons to evaluate their present situation and future prospects in terms of some idealised conception of their past situation",¹⁶⁵ but the majority of findings in the literature indicate that social withdrawal does not and will not occur until it is forced upon the individual by physical or economic limitations. It is these "deprivations themselves rather than consequent changes in social interaction that are decisive in determining the level of social withdrawal".¹⁶⁶ What are the expectations of society concerning the role of the aged? The general finding is that older people constitute a group without a clearly defined position but with a continuing need of participation and status-giving roles.¹⁶⁷ "The most challenging problem of solving the present roleless role of the ageing is not so much inventing new leisure patterns and functional roles for the ageing as determining what roles presently exist in the social system."¹⁶⁸

164. B. Kutner: 'The Social Nature of Ageing', *Gerontologist*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1962, p. 8.

165. W. Bell: 'Anomie, Social Isolation and the Class Structure', *Sociometry*, Vol. 20, No. 2, June 1957, p. 112.

166. M. F. Lowenthal and D. Boler: 'Voluntary versus Involuntary Social Withdrawal', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 20, Part 3, 1965, p. 363.

167. C. Tibbets: 'Social Gerontology: Origins, Scope and Trends', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 15, 1963, p. 344.

168. A. M. Rose and W. A. Peterson: Older People and their Social World, Davis Co., 1965.

The effect of different occupational levels and class with regard to retirement adaptation and the continuation of roles has been noted, and some studies have suggested a direct relation between occupational prestige levels and retirement satisfaction.¹⁶⁹ Higher socio-economic classes, therefore, may be said to show more initiative in adapting to changing roles.

One of the most comprehensive studies of social integration of the aged has been by Rosow, who concluded that the older person's social role is weakened by the loss of individual social roles and the loss of group memberships.¹⁷⁰ These occur primarily in the three areas of Health, Marital Status, and Employment and Income,¹⁷¹ and once a role is lost it is seldom recovered.¹⁷² With the loss of roles there are no clear expectations connected with the aged role, so this becomes subject to personal preferences and private definitions which are intrinsically unshared with others, and thus role ambiguity in old age may be an independent source of anxiety.¹⁷³ There has been some discussion on the role of residential proximity in stimulating friendships among the elderly. A general principle seems to be that friendships develop among socially homogenous people who are comparably situated in the social structure and share the same relationship to the social system. Rosow argued that two variables explain and account for the bulk of local friendships; namely, social homogeneity and residential proximity.¹⁷⁴ From these assumptions he moved on to hypothesise that "local settings which concentrate old people will more readily integrate the aged than residences in which there are relatively few of them"¹⁷⁵ but he concluded that "the common

169. See, for example, R. G. Stokes and G. L. Maddox: op cit.

170. I. Rosow: Social Integration of the Aged, New York, Free Press, 1967, p. 10.

171. ibid: p. 19.

172. ibid: p. 13.

173. ibid: p. 31.

174. ibid: p. 38.

175. ibid: p. 39.

assumption in gerontology that residential proximity readily stimulates friendships between the generations is simply not borne out by the facts - the contrary premise is essentially sound and correctly predicts the observed pattern".¹⁷⁶ Rosow allowed three conditions under which the aged would be integrated into normal residential neighbourhoods; that the elderly are long term residents, that the neighbourhood is socially homogeneous, and that the older person's local primary groups of family, friends and neighbours are reasonably intact.¹⁷⁷

These themes were also investigated by Gillespie who examined acquaintance between elderly people and neighbours on the basis of housing types - single family units, multiple family units and high-rise blocks for the elderly. His data revealed that on all levels of intimacy, the occupants of the high-rise blocks had more neighbourhood contact than those in the other housing types. Another important variable was the number of years lived in the area, longer term residents having a greater degree of integration into the neighbourhood.¹⁷⁸

The most fundamental of social roles in retirement and old age is that of relationships within the family. A study in the United States by Glasser reported that "the modern American family fits neither the stereotype of the classical extended family nor that of the isolated nuclear family. While parents and children are expected to maintain close psychological and emotional ties, children are not expected to provide material support for their aged parents since society has not yet provided adequately for all of our aged, there is a gap between the expectation and reality, leading to role conflict among parents and children."¹⁷⁹

176. *ibid*: p. 78.

177. *ibid*: p. 84.

178. M. W. Gillespie: 'The Effect of Residential Segregation on the Social Integration of the Aged', Papers of the American Sociological Association, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 1965, pp. 2 - 3.

179. L. N. Glasser: 'Role Reversal and Conflict between Aged Parents and their Children', Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24, 1962, p. 50.

It may be asked whether this conflict is characteristic of all urban western, or merely North American, society. Certainly, there has been a change in the function and expectations of families during this century. The major trend, as a concomitant to the growth of urban industrial life, has indeed been the breaking up of the extended family and the emergence of the conjugal family,¹⁸⁰ and a major factor in this development has been the increase in mobility within society. Families are increasingly mobile during the working years of parents, and children do not have constraints to remain within the home community. Of those parents who move at retirement or in old age, Bultena and Marshall reported that they tend to be those who are least likely to realise a disruption in family ties by their actions.¹⁸¹ The isolation faced by ageing parents may not only be social but also emotional,¹⁸² but feelings of isolation depend not only on actual circumstances but on the attitudes of the individual. Social isolation has been seen to produce feelings of neglect only when there exists an expectation for close parent-child contact.¹⁸³ The fact of physical distance between parents and children is no indication in itself of social isolation, and the emotional distance within families may be considerably less. Clearly, the degree of dependence among the elderly is a factor contributing to adjustment and generally non-dependent people are more likely to be better adjusted than dependent people.¹⁸⁴

The expectations of husbands and wives to retirement is another area in which opinions may differ. Kerkhoff reported that the wife is much less deeply involved than her husband in both expectations of and reactions to retirement.¹⁸⁵ It has been suggested that what the male goes through at

180. E. W. Burgess: 'Ageing in Western Culture', in E. W. Burgess (Ed.): Ageing in Western Societies, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1960.

181. G. L. Bultena and D. G. Marshall: op cit., p. 92.

182. R. S. Weiss: Loneliness - The Experience of Emotional and Social Isolation, London, MIT Press, 1973.

183. R. G. Brown: 'Family Structure and Social Isolation in Older Persons', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 15, April 1960, p. 173.

184. A. F. Gravatt: 'Family Relations in Middle and Old Age: A Review', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 15, April 1960, p. 173.

retirement in the way of deprivation of roles is paralleled in the woman by events when the last children leave home, something which may have occurred many years before.

The nature of contact within families has been established by, among others, Bott.¹⁸⁶ Her conclusions, in summary, were that external social relationships of all families assume the form of a network rather than an organised group, and that while all families belong to a network there is considerable variation in connectedness. It was also revealed that the degree of segregation of conjugal roles is related to the degree of network connectedness. Those families with a high degree of segregation in the role relationship of husband and wife had a highly connected network and many of their friends, neighbours and relatives knew one another. Families that had a relatively joint role relationship between husband and wife had a dispersed network, where few of their relatives, neighbours and friends knew one another. It was also found that the network itself stands between the family and the total social environment, that is, the economic and occupational system, the structure of formal institutions, the ecology of cities and many other factors affect the connectedness of networks and limit and shape the decisions that families make.

The foregoing discussion has reviewed the major conclusions reached by a number of empirical studies in the literature of social gerontology and the review is by no means complete. There is, for example, an

185. A. C. Kerckhoff: op cit., p. 512.

186. E. Bott: 'Urban Families, Conjugal Roles and Social Networks', Human Relations, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1965, pp. 345 - 383.

extensive literature on family help-patterns among the dependent elderly,¹⁸⁷ but, as the concern of this thesis is predominantly the relatively active retired, it is not proposed to comment on this literature. It has been the aim thus far to draw out the major themes from the literature that are relevant to this study. We have seen that the central concept is that of adjustment to retirement and to the physiological changes of ageing, and that adjustment is related to concepts of work and leisure and to the network of family structures and social relationships. The changes within the individual himself may be due to environmental influences, or to changes in his perception of the situation. To summarise thus far, "it would be wise to conceive the ageing process in terms of a sequence of developmental 'tasks' more or less vaguely delineated by society and the natural course of life. These 'tasks' refer to adjustment. In defining them we should keep in mind that complete adjustment is more of an ideal than a reality".¹⁸⁸

d. Theories of Disengagement and Activity

At the centre of all the discussion on ageing and retirement in recent years has been the attempt to formulate a theory of ageing which accounts for normal adjustment in old age. That most publicised and criticised is the theory of Disengagement. Formulated by Cumming and

187. See, for example, the following:

a. R. S. Cavan: 'Family Life and Family Substitutions in Old Age', American Sociological Review, Vol. 14, 1949, pp. 71 - 82.

b. P. C. Glick: 'Life Cycle of the Family', Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 17, 1955, pp. 3 - 9.

c. H. E. Smith: 'Family Interaction Patterns of the Aged' in A. M. Rose and W. A. Peterson: op cit., pp. 143 - 161.

d. P. Townsend: The Family Life of Old People, Pelican Books, 1963.

188. H. Thomae: 'Ageing and Problems of Adjustment', International Social Science Journal, Vol. 15, 1963, pp. 366 - 375.

Henry it has undergone revision subsequent to its initial statement.¹⁸⁹

The theory assumes the individual to be in possession of good health and to have the minimum financial resources necessary for independence. Under these conditions "it proposes that normal ageing is a mutual withdrawal or disengagement between the ageing person and others in the system".¹⁹⁰ It is suggested by the theory that the individual's withdrawal has intrinsic characteristics as well as those that are a response to changes in the environment. In this context, disengagement is seen to be a natural, rather than an imposed, process.

The evidence of disengagement was based on five changes which could be measured quantitatively:¹⁹¹

1. Role count; the number of active institutionalised roles the respondent holds.
2. Interaction index; a rating based on the amount of each day spent in normatively governed interaction with others.
3. Social lifespace measure; an actual amount of the number of interactions the individual engages in during a given period.
4. Kinship contacts; their frequency and nature.
5. Restructuring of goals; answers to questions concerning the best and worst things about the age you are now.

The theory suggested that social and psychological withdrawal may be a necessary component of successful ageing.¹⁹² The suggestion, therefore,

189. E. Cumming: 'Further Thoughts on the Theory of Disengagement', International Social Science Journal, Vol. 15, 1963, pp. 377 - 395: A development from: E. Cumming and W. E. Henry: Growing Old: The Process of Disengagement, New York, Basic Books, 1961. The original paper by Cumming and Henry - 'Disengagement. A Tentative Theory of Ageing' - was presented in a symposium of the American Psychological Association on Developmental Theories of Ageing at Cincinnati in September, 1959.

190. E. Cumming: op cit., p. 377.

191. See E. Cumming and W. E. Henry: op cit.

192. B. Kutner and M. Tallmer: 'Disengagement and the Stresses of Ageing', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 24, Part 1, 1969, p. 70.

is that disengagement is an inevitable, universal, self-perpetuating, gradual and mutually satisfying process prepared for in advance by society and the individual. In its revised form, the theory allowed for the possibilities of re-engagement and the need to consider responses among people of differing life styles.

The second major theory has not been formally proposed and is the, implicit, activity theory of ageing. It implies that "except for the inevitable changes in biology and in health, older people are the same as middle aged with essentially the same psychological and social needs. In this theory the decreased social interaction that characterises old age results from the withdrawal by society from the ageing person, and the decrease in interaction is, therefore, said to proceed against the desires of most ageing men and women."¹⁹³ Thus, the more active the individual, the better adjusted he is in relation to the physiological and psychological factors which constrain him.

Criticism of the disengagement theory has been abundant and Crawford,¹⁹⁴ Shanas,¹⁹⁵ Townsend¹⁹⁶ and Zborowski,¹⁹⁷ for example, found little support of the theory in their respective studies. Their conclusions did not state that there was no evidence of disengagement, but that there was little evidence that older people take the initiative in disengagement and actively dislike the loss of roles and relationships. In some cases disengagement was the most firmly resisted factor in adjustment and one which led to much unhappiness.¹⁹⁸ A study by Kastenbaum criticised the assumption not only that disengagement was natural, but also that it was normal,¹⁹⁹ while

- 193. R. J. Havighurst: 'Personality and Patterns of Ageing', *Gerontologist*, Vol. 8, 1968, p. 20.
- 194. M. Crawford: 'Retirement and Disengagement', *Human Relations*, Vol. 24, 1971, pp. 255 - 278.
- 195. E. Shanas and P. Townsend: op cit.
- 196. P. Townsend: op cit.
- 197. M. Zborowski and L. D. Eyde: op cit.
- 198. M. Crawford: op cit., p. 256 (quoting Townsend's findings).
- 199. R. Kastenbaum: The Psychobiology of Ageing, New York, Springer Publishing Co., 1965, p. 16.

Prasad found no empirical support for the postulate within the theory that most men are ready to disengage or retire.²⁰⁰ Kutner's study remarked on the erroneous stress of the theory on the assumption that biological and social ageing were synonymous²⁰¹ and Havighurst later provided evidence that psychological disengagement preceded the decrease in social role activity by about ten years.²⁰² Furthermore, using a score of life satisfaction the measure was seen to be higher for respondents who had greatest amounts of activity, that is to say, most successful adjustment occurred when not disengaged.²⁰³

It has been a criticism of both theories that adjustment and the processes of ageing have been related to a level of activity, but that life satisfaction may be better measured by attitudes. "Adjustment reflects desires, goal-directed mental and behavioural attitudes",²⁰⁴ and attitudes and beliefs have their expression more in terms of personality than in terms of activity. This view has been adopted by a number of writers including Reichard, Livson and Peterson²⁰⁵, and Neugarten.²⁰⁶ The exact definition of personality is a cause for debate in the literature, but most agree that it consists of some internal attributes which bring about a consistency of attitude and response. Two definitions are, first, that personality is a "kind of internal predisposition to respond in predictable ways to a variety of different situations,"²⁰⁷ and second, "it may be explained as a percept or idea resulting from the fact that individuals possess identities based upon behavioural attributes which appear to have

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- 200. S. B. Prasad: 'The Retirement Postulate of the Disengagement Theory', *Gerontologist*, Vol. 4, 1964, p. 23.
 - 201. B. Kutner: 'The Social Nature of Ageing', *Gerontologist*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1962, p. 7.
 - 202. R. J. Havighurst; *op cit.*, p. 21.
 - 203. *ibid*: p. 21.
 - 204. D. B. Bromley: *op cit.*, p. 94.
 - 205. S. Reichard, F. Livson and P. G. Peterson: Ageing and Personality, New York, Wiley, 1962.
 - 206. B. Neugarten: Personality and Middle and Late Life - Empirical Studies, New York, Achaton Press, 1964.
 - 207. D. C. Kimmel: *op cit.*, p. 290.

an inner locus of causation and possess some degree of structure and organisation".²⁰⁸ The nature of personality itself is open to debate, but personality theory has generally adopted the consistency view that personality consists of 'contents'.²⁰⁹ The alternative social model sees personality consisting of an individual's unique collection of roles, these roles being maintained by social sanctions and social expectations.

If personality is viewed as an interactive system between the individual and the environment, then "a person's behaviour in any situation is jointly determined by the characteristics of that situation as he perceives them, and by the particular behavioural dispositions of which he is possessed at that time".²¹⁰ Personality is seen to possess the characteristics of both continuity and change and, therefore, under the social model of personality roles change is easily explained and consistency is a less relevant factor. With regard to the elderly, there is seen to be a centripetal tendency within the personality in which the importance of the external social environment lessens and internal processes become more relevant. Jung sums up this tendency thus: "Ageing people should know that their lives are not mounting and expanding, but that an inexorable inner process enforces the contraction of life ... for the ageing person it is a duty and a necessity to devote serious attention to himself. After having lavished its light upon the world, the sun withdraws its rays in order to illumine itself."²¹¹

208. L. H. Levy: Conceptions of Personality, New York, Random House, 1970, p. 19.

209. D. C. Kimmel: op cit., p. 295.

210. ibid: p. 295.

211. C. G. Jung: 'The Stages of Life', in: Modern Man in Search of a Soul, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1933, p. 125.

III. Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed some of the major themes that have emerged from two major areas of study; migration, in respect of its structure and process; and social gerontology, in respect of its empirical observations and theoretical constructs. The literature of both subjects is extensive and the discussion, therefore, has necessarily been selective in an attempt to present a balanced foundation on which this study may proceed, yet having drawn out in discussion those areas of particular relevance.

The review of the migration literature has highlighted the major themes of discussion in recent years. The gravity model and its derivatives have been seen to be of value in studying intermetropolitan migration and other migrations related to economic opportunities. Migration of the elderly, however, is free from the constraints imposed by job and upward social mobility aspirations, for the opportunities open to the elderly migrant are more likely to be linked to the freedom from work which retirement brings, and to the whole range of social, familial and residential amenities which this freedom allows. It may be more properly defined, therefore, as amenity or leisure migration.

A number of concepts have been derived to explain the migration process within an overall structure. Using ideas such as origin and destination areas and intervening opportunities, the migration system has been developed primarily to account for economically motivated movements, but the general value of these concepts is that they may also be applied to amenity migrations where the motivations are not necessarily economic. One concept that is fundamentally related to migration is that of stability. Given a set of opportunities, it has been the tendency in migration studies to view migration as the norm and so to ask the question, 'Why do people not move?'. (Similarly, the concept of latent migration potential was developed to imply latent mobility within the population. This concept was developed among groups of doctors who had already expressed a desire

to move, and any unqualified extension of this concept to the whole population would not be in order.) However, given a mover-stayer structure to migration, where the majority of the population under study do not migrate, stability should more properly be regarded as the norm and mobility the exception. In this context, therefore, the relevant question becomes, 'Who does move, and why?', and the joint concept of mobility-stability may be the background against which examination of mobility differentials and the decision processes involved in migration gain a truer perspective.

Mobility differentials themselves are seen to distinguish between migrants and non-migrants, and in this context the factor of past mobility is of special relevance to a study of the elderly. Through an analysis of the migration decision and its related concepts, it is seen to be necessary to consider not only migrants as a group but also the individual as the essential unit of migration. These various levels of analysis are appropriate to different parts of this particular study.

The literature of social gerontology is extensive and certain themes of particular relevance to this study have been reviewed in this chapter. The theme of spatial segregation and concentration through migration is mirrored socially by the themes of segregation and integration and the general withdrawal of the elderly from society with passing age. Therefore, the consequences of migration of the elderly are measured not only in spatial and demographic terms, but also in terms of social integration in the community and within the extended family. Together, these themes point towards the extent to which the elderly person is integrated into the society of which he is a part and to the extent of personal adjustment that is effected.

In drawing its theoretical background from two disciplines, this study aims to provide a more contextual treatment of the subject of the migration of the elderly than has hitherto been achieved in locally

oriented studies. An 'overview' of the growth of retirement areas and the role of migration in this growth in recent years is provided in Part II of this study, utilising the concepts and framework of the migration system. Part III of the study also moves away from the purely local study of retirement areas and elderly migrants; first, by examining the migration of the elderly within a mover-stayer context, studying the elderly in one retirement area and those in an area of residential stability and age integration; second, not only by focusing on the motivations and reasons lying behind individual migrations (and non-migrations) but also by taking account of the general family and social patterns which form the backcloth to such decisions. Lastly, this study follows the theme of residential and personal adjustment through these topics and considers the extent to which migration itself is an agent of adjustment.

PART II

'England leaves her centre for her tide-line.'

John Betjeman
Beside the Seaside

CHAPTER 3. PATTERNS OF AGEING IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1921 - 1971.

I. Introduction

The twentieth century has witnessed unprecedented changes in the age structure and composition of society in England and Wales. The trends are not unique to Britain but are characteristic of much of western, technological society. In contrast to the developing world, birth rates in western society have fallen considerably in recent years, life-expectancy has risen and the pyramidal age structure of the population has broadened out in the upper years of life. Technological and social changes have given rise to a pattern of almost universal retirement in which the elderly not only look forward to years of active life but also are given the resources with which to continue a life style that lends itself to shifting patterns of social and geographic mobility. It is against this background that this chapter examines the changing spatial patterns of ageing in England and Wales during the years 1921 - 1971.

After an examination of the changing demographic structure of England and Wales, the shifting spatial patterns of ageing, 1921 - 1971, are discussed at the county level of analysis. Then, after identifying those areas which, in 1971, could be classified as significant retirement areas, their growth at a regional level is briefly examined. A discussion of their more distinctive population characteristics focuses in detail on their internal demographic structure, and the chapter concludes by examining the growth of several adjacent areas over time within the conceptual framework of diffusion theory.

II. The Growth of the Elderly Population

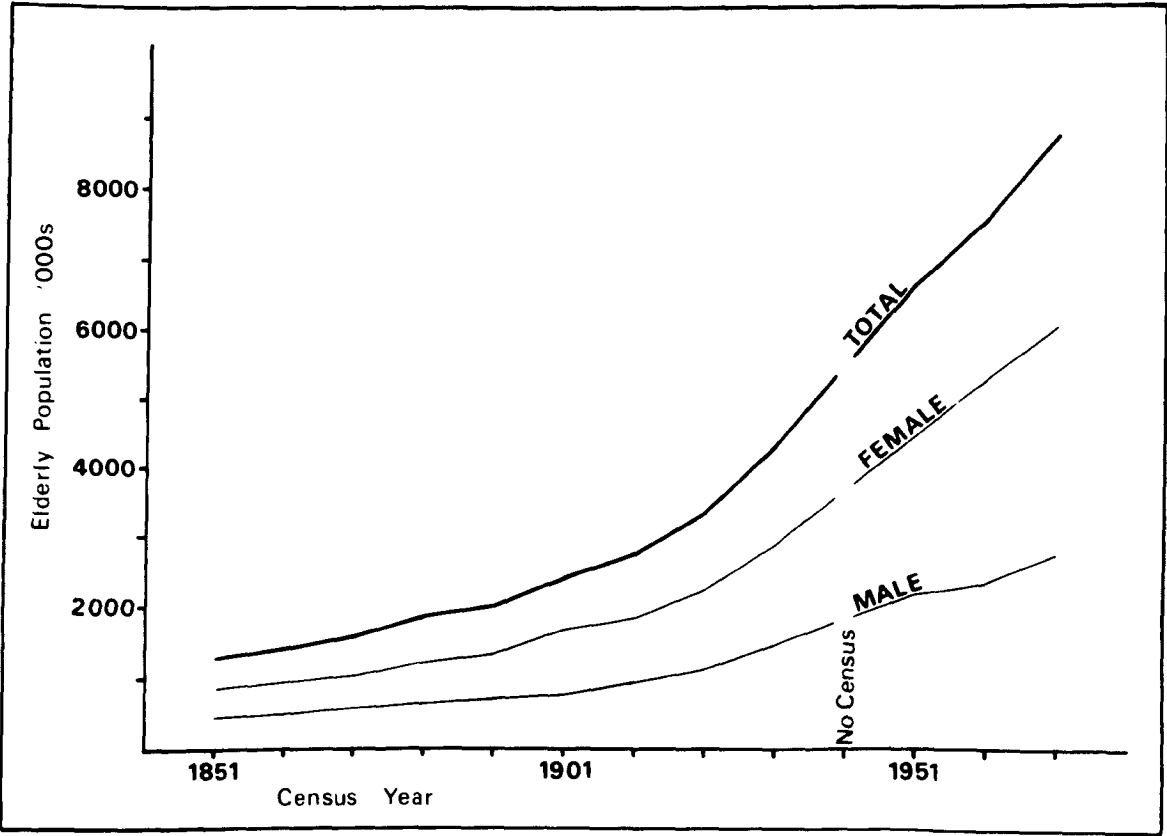
a. Demographic Changes in England and Wales

The Census of 1971 established the population of England and Wales at 48,749,575, having grown from a total of 37,886,700 in 1921, a rise of

28.67% over half a century.¹ During the same period, the number of elderly people in England and Wales rose from 2,971,900 to 7,813,350, a rise of 163%. In 1921 the elderly formed 7.8% of the population, a proportion that, by 1971, had risen to 16.1%. This rise in the proportion and numbers of elderly people has been one of the most distinctive demographic trends during the twentieth century.

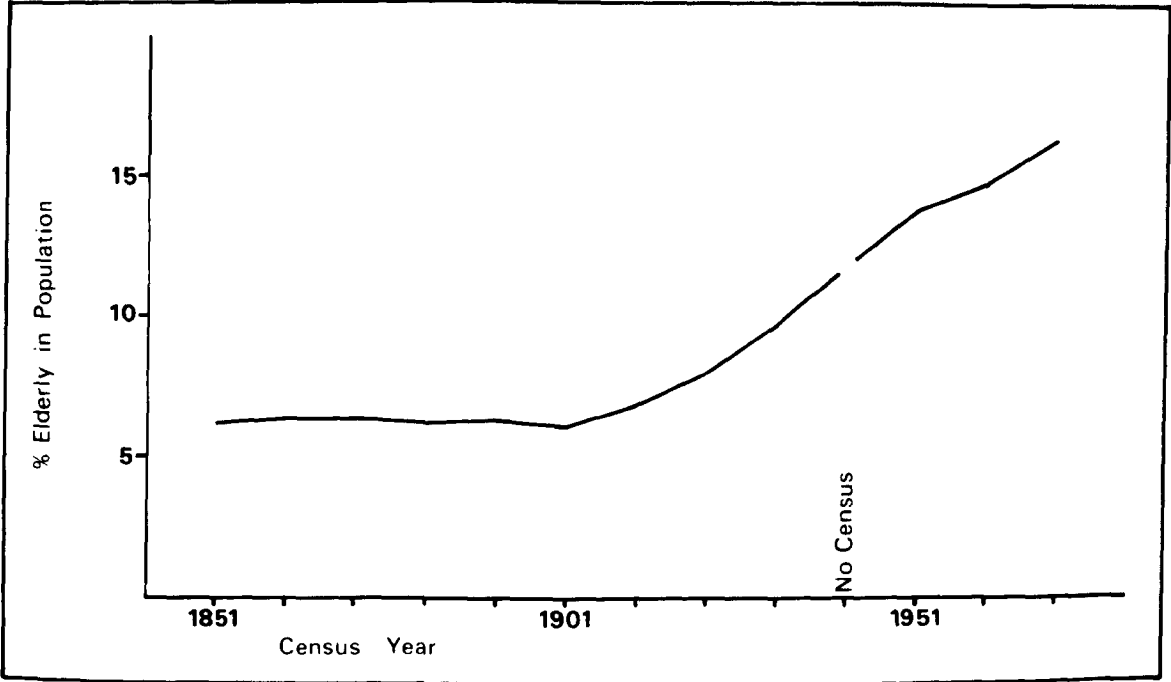
After a steady rise in the numbers of elderly people during the second half of the nineteenth century there was a steep upturn in the rate of increase during the early years of the twentieth century, a trend that was unbroken by the absence of data for 1941, a year in which no census was taken - see Figure 3 (1). There was, however, a noticeable slackening in the rate of increase for males between 1951 and 1961 when the generation which fought in the first world war reached retirement age, an indication of the significant number of casualties in the war and their effect on population structures.² Of course, Figure 3 (1) does not indicate that between 1851 and 1971 the total population of England and Wales was also increasing and, therefore, in Figure 3 (2) the numbers of elderly people as a percentage of the total population are shown. Interestingly, the proportion remained very stable throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the census of 1911 revealed a sudden upturn during the first decade of the twentieth century, and the rate of increase was sustained until checked by the first world war 'casualty dip' in the decade 1951 - 1961. The year 1901 is seen to have marked an abrupt divide between an almost linear pattern of stability and a linear pattern of growth.

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1. Data for this chapter was mostly derived from Census and government statistical sources. General statistics for 1971 and preceding census years were abstracted from the Census 1971: Preliminary Report, and Census 1971: Advance Analysis, both published by HMSO, 1971.
 2. For example, casualties for the whole of the British Empire included 908,371 killed. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 23, 1962, p. 775.



Growth of the Elderly Population 1851-1971

Figure 3(1)



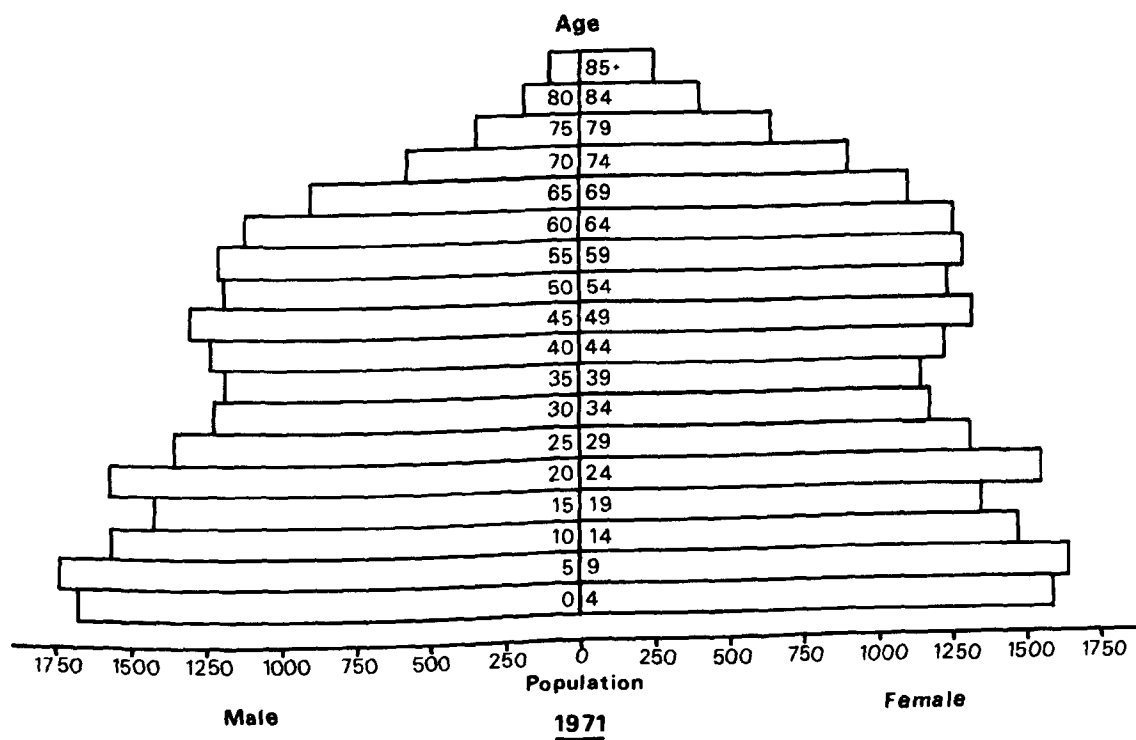
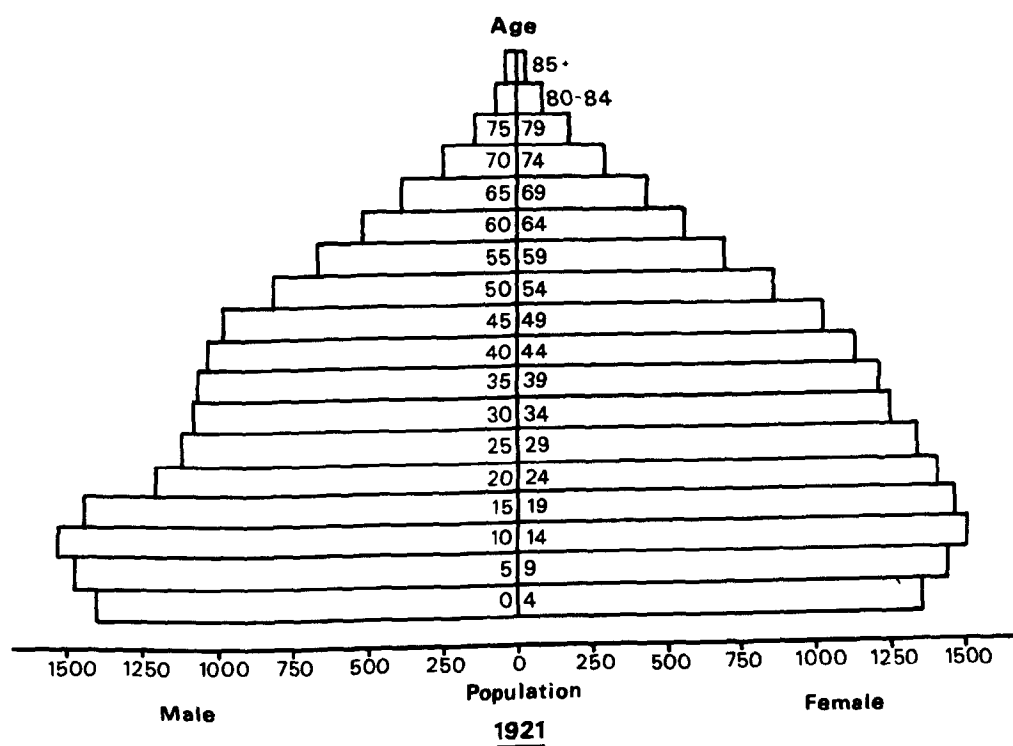
Elderly as a Proportion of Total Population 1851-1971

Figure 3 (2)

The effect of these changes on the population structure of England and Wales has been substantial, and Figure 3 (3) shows the population age-sex pyramids for 1921 and 1971. By 1971 the upper age groups reflected their gradual expansion during the twentieth century, concomitant with changes in the younger age groups. In 1921, the age group 10 - 14 was broadest and with each subsequent older group there was a regular falling off in total numbers, while a deviation from the balance of male and female was provided by the marked loss of males in the age range 20 - 44. By 1971, the age group 5 - 9 was broadest, but several irregularities appeared in the age groups immediately above, and a bulge in the ages 20 - 24 and 40 - 49 was indicative of an increased birth rate caused by, amongst other things, the optimism following the two world wars. The 1971 age-sex pyramid revealed a dip in the age groups 50 - 54 and 30 - 39, an indication of a future steadying in the total numbers of elderly. The reasons for the increase in numbers of elderly people in the population are not hard to find and must include the unprecedented advances of the past century in the levels of medical technology, standards of hygiene and nutrition, resulting not only in increased life-expectancy but also in falling rates of infant mortality. The reasons also lie in the changing nature of birth and death rates during the twentieth century. Life-expectancy has risen from 55.6 to 69.0 years for males and from 59.6 to 75.3 years for females between 1921 and 1971³ - see Table 3 (1), and at the same time there has been an increase in the numbers of both live births, and deaths, shown in Table 3 (2). The more distinctive trends are not shown in these absolute figures but in the relative changes over the period. The birth rate, expressed as the number of live births per 1,000 population, has fallen from 19.9 in 1921 to 16.0 in 1971,⁴ and the death rate, similarly

3. Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales 1971:
Part I, Population, Table B 2, HMSO, p.13.

4. ibid: Part I, Population, Table D 1, p. 16.



Population Profiles of England and Wales

Figure 3 (3)

Table 3 (1) Expectation of life at birth, (England and Wales), 1921-1971

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1920 - 22	55.6	59.6
1930 - 32	58.7	62.9
1951	65.8	70.9
1961	68.0	73.8
1971	69.0	75.3

Source: Registrar General's Statistical Review
1972

Table 3 (2) Live births, Deaths, and Standardised Mortality Ratios,
(England and Wales), 1921 - 1971

	<u>Total live births per 1,000 population</u>	<u>Death rates per 1,000 population</u>	<u>Standardised Mortality Ratio</u>
1921 - 25	19.9	12.1	151
1931 - 35	15.0	12.0	134
1951	15.5	12.5	106
1961	17.6	11.9	92
1971	16.0	11.6	86

Source: Registrar General's Statistical Review
1972

expressed, has fallen from 12.1 in 1921 to 11.6 in 1971.⁵ Thus, the Registrar General's Standardised Mortality Ratio has fallen from 157 in 1921 to 86 in 1971, with 1950 - 52 as the base years of value 100.⁶

Projections for the future indicate that there will be a slowing down in the rate of increase of elderly people as a proportion of the population. Table 3 (3) shows the projected increase in total and retired populations from 1971 to 2011,⁷ and it can be seen that the total population of England and Wales is projected to grow to about 58,000,000 at a steady rate of increase. The elderly population, however, is projected to reach a

5. ibid: Part II, Medical, Table 3, p. 5.

6. ibid: Part II, Medical, Table 3, p. 5.

7. OPCS: Population Projections No. 2, 1971 - 2011, Appendix Table II, p. 92.

Table 3 (3) Projected population (England and Wales) 1971-2011

(thousands)

	<u>Males 65 and over</u>	<u>Females 60 and over</u>	<u>Retirement ages Total</u>	<u>All ages</u>	<u>Percentage Elderly</u>
1971	2446	5451	7897	48894	16.2
1976	2679	5705	8384	49827	16.8
1981	2817	5815	8632	50817	17.0
1986	2840	5917	8757	51854	16.9
1991	2892	5867	8759	53025	16.5
1996	2867	5723	8590	54223	15.8
2001	2813	5625	8438	55473	15.2
2006	2808	5732	8540	56812	15.0
2011	2952	6075	9027	58294	15.5

Source: OPCS Population Projections No. 2.

peak of 8,759,000 in 1991, and then decline in total numbers until another rise in 2008 - 11 after the turn of the century. The proportion of elderly people in the population is expected to reach a peak of 16.986 % in 1981 and then decline towards the end of the century before increasing again during the first decade of the twenty-first century. A major factor in bringing these changes about will be the increase in life expectancy during the coming decades, and it can be seen from Table 3 (4),⁸ which shows Mortality Rates in 1970 - 71 for both males and females in the upper age groups and the projected rates for 2010 - 11, that this will be experienced in every age group except the last.

The implications of these changes for society are very great. At the turn of the century the proportion of the population who were retired from economically active work were few, but that proportion has increased through the century and will continue to do so. Fifty years ago a small proportion of elderly, economically inactive people were supported by the active majority of the population. Many could not afford to retire and remained at work until sickness or death removed them from the economic

8. *ibid.* Appendix Table V n 102

Table 3 (4) Assumed Mortality Rates (England and Wales),
1970-71 and 2010-11

<u>Age last</u> <u>birthday *</u>	<u>1970-71</u>		<u>2010-11</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
62	0.0277	0.0129	0.0221	0.0084
67	0.0451	0.0217	0.0392	0.0152
72	0.0687	0.0368	0.0624	0.0279
77	0.1010	0.0624	0.0948	0.0511
82	0.1499	0.1055	0.1440	0.0928
87	0.2209	0.1722	0.2165	0.1622
90 and over	0.2860	0.2530	0.2860	0.2530

* Probability that a person in that age group will die before the end of that year.

Source: OPCS Population Projections No. 2.

sphere. Today, compulsory retirement at 60 or 65 is the norm, and an increasing number and proportion of elderly people are to be supported by a working population which, in the foreseeable future, will continue to be a diminishing proportion of the whole.⁹ Throughout the remainder of this chapter, 1921 is adopted as the base year for examining the trends through the century, not only because the period 1921 - 1971 (based on Census years) is a convenient half-century, but also because the first world war, 1914 - 18, was more of a watershed than the turn of the century itself in marking the beginnings of the social and cultural developments which have

9. For example, in 1921, all 'occupied males' aged 12 and over accounted for 32.0% of the population; by 1971, the critical age had been raised to 15 through improved educational expectations, and all 'economically active males' aged 15 and over accounted for 29.6% of the total population. For further details, see Census 1921: Industries, Occupation, Workplaces and Census 1971: Economic Activity Tables, Part I.

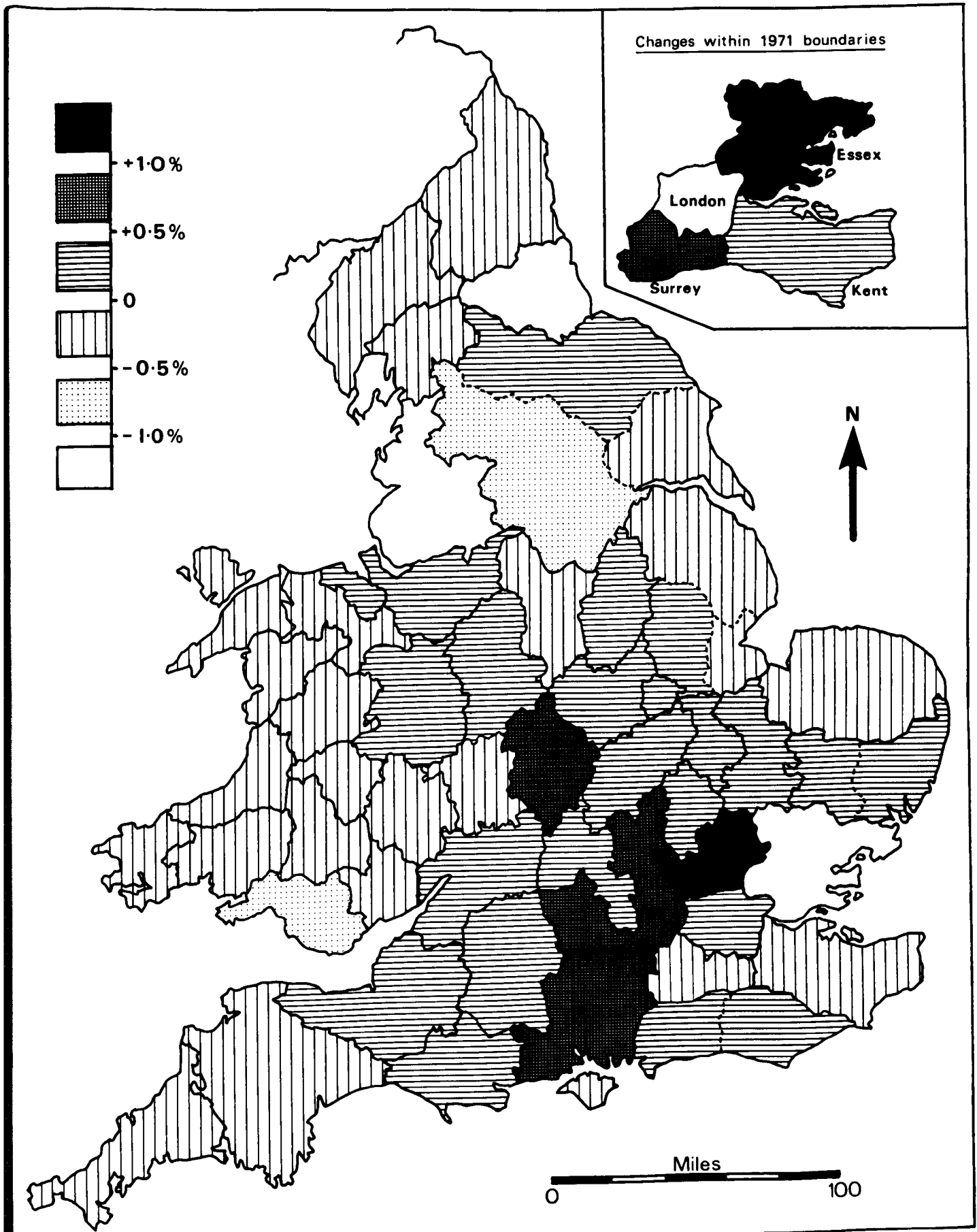
characterised the century, and data from the 1921 Census begins to identify the effects of these developments in the post-war years.

Changes in the distribution of the population: Just as there have been substantial changes in the age structure of the population during this century, there have also been changes in the distribution of the elderly population and it is helpful to examine first the changing distribution of the total population between 1921 and 1971 against which are set the changing spatial patterns of the elderly. The regional and county variations in national rates of change are a function of various factors, natural gain and loss within the resident population being modified by the processes of in and out-migration. Appendix I contains the total and proportional populations of the counties of England and Wales for 1921 and 1971,¹⁰ and the changes in proportion between these years have been mapped in Figure 3 (4), (on 1971 county boundaries. The map insert takes note of the major boundary changes over the period, associated with the expansion of Greater London).

Proportional growth of the population occurred mainly in the South East, in those counties bordering on the South East region, and in a band stretching from the South East through the Midlands to Cheshire in the West and Nottinghamshire in the East. The most dramatic changes were around London itself, with the Greater London area losing more than half a million people to a total of under 7½ million in 1971.¹¹ The adjoining counties of Essex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Surrey more than doubled their total populations as well as increasing the proportion of the total population of England and Wales that lay within their boundaries. Hampshire, Warwickshire, the outer counties of the South East, the Midlands counties, southern East Anglia and the eastern counties of the South West region also had an increase in proportion of

10. Derived from Census 1921: and Census 1971: County Reports.

11. Census 1971: Preliminary Report: Table 4, p. 10.



Changes in Proportions of the Total Population.
Administrative Counties of England and Wales 1921-1971.

Figure 3 (4)

population. The reasons for these distinctive changes in the South East lie in the adoption of new policies for the region, the deliberate reduction in the size of London, the development of new towns in a peripheral ring around London, and the continuing magnetic force of the region as a focus for life in the nation as a whole.¹² The outer South East and the Midlands have become more accessible with advances in transport technology, and the growth of urban areas has continued at the expense of rural areas, proportions of the total population declining in the rural counties of England. Devon and Cornwall, Norfolk, rural Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Derbyshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and East and West Yorkshire all saw proportional decline. In addition, the two northern 'industrial' counties of Durham and Lancashire also stood out very distinctively in the general pattern, as did the Welsh counties, all of which saw a proportional loss of population.

The general pattern of proportional change in the years 1921 - 1971 was one of greatest growth in the South East, especially in the dormitory counties of London. Indeed, the only area of loss of population was that of Greater London itself as the direct consequence of planned change. Proportional losses were greatest in the rural peripheries, including the whole of Wales, and in the northern industrial counties of Durham and Lancashire.

The pattern of total population change between 1921 and 1971 was very different from that presented above. In England, almost every county gained in population (with the notable exception of Greater London). In Wales, however, seven of the thirteen counties saw a total population decline (namely Brecon, Caernarvon, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Merioneth, Montgomery and Radnor). Of those counties gaining in population, those

12. See, for example, the discussion in G. Manners, D. Keeble, B. Rodgers and K. Warren: Regional Development in Britain, London, Wiley and Sons, 1972, Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 71 - 152.

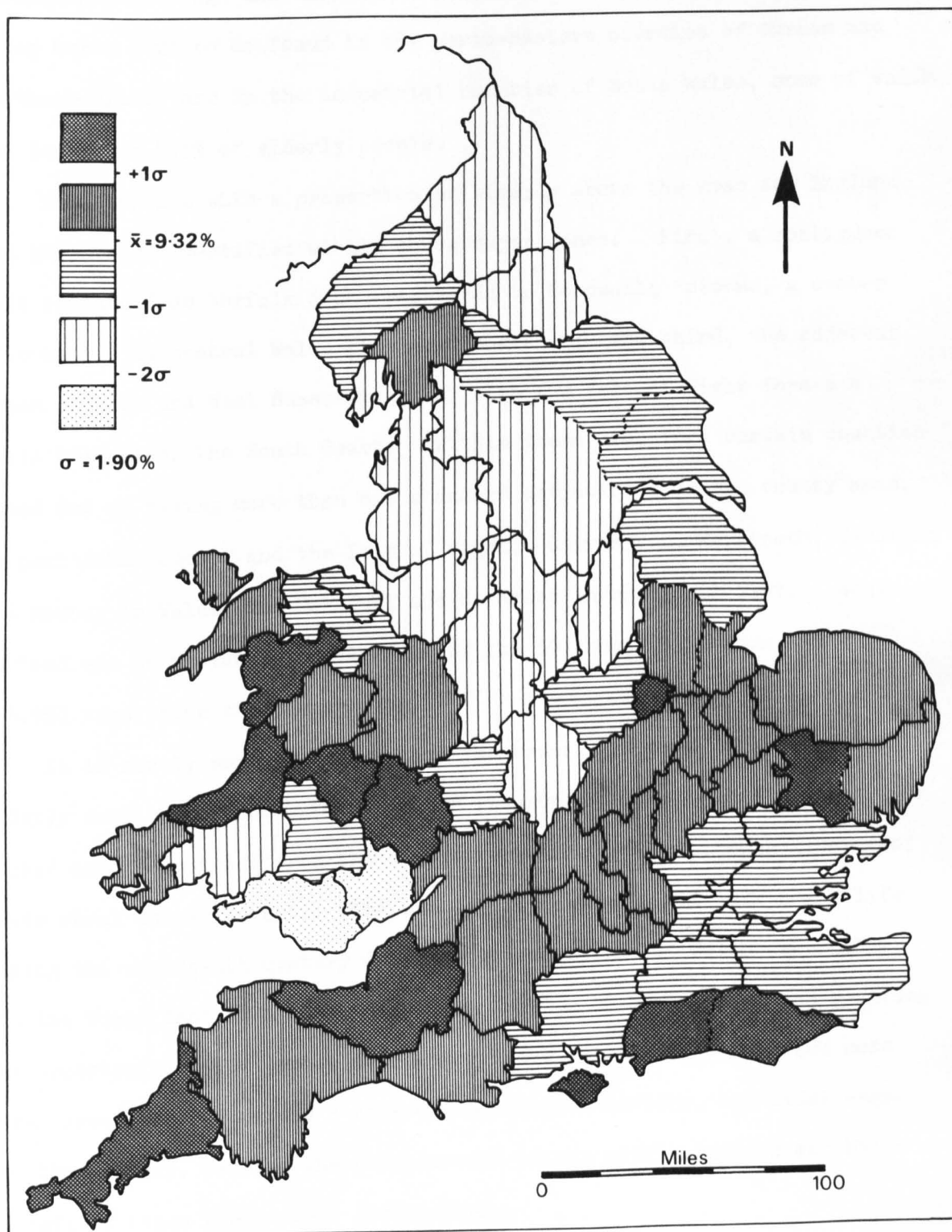
adjacent to London saw the greatest absolute gains with some more than doubling their population (for example, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire and West Sussex). In general, therefore, the pattern was that of the South East having the most substantial increases in population and the 'urban' counties gaining more than the rural counties. These, then, are the general patterns of total and proportional population change in England and Wales against which is set the changing distribution of the elderly.

b. Changing Spatial Patterns of Ageing

Against the pattern of change in the population of England and Wales as a whole, the changes in the spatial distribution of the elderly population between 1921 and 1971 reveal certain distinctive characteristics. The proportion of elderly in the population at county level for the years 1921 and 1971 are shown in Figures 3 (5) and 3 (6) respectively.¹³ The standard deviations from the county mean of the proportion of elderly in each census year have been used to illustrate the variations in density between the two periods, the mean having changed from 9.32% in 1921 to 17.29% in 1971 and the standard deviation from 1.90% in 1921 to 3.17% in 1971. For comparative purposes, by this technique there is a distortion in the representation of absolute proportions of the elderly (exemplified by an understatement of 1971 values in relation to 1921 values) but a more accurate picture is gained of the position of each county relative to the changing national mean. Furthermore, this technique emphasises the increasing variance of proportions of the elderly in local areas over time, evidence of the increasing polarisation between areas of high and low density of the elderly.

Patterns of Ageing 1921: From Figure 3 (5) it can be seen that the counties with the lowest proportions of elderly people in 1921 formed three

13. Derived from Census 1921: and Census 1971: County Reports.



Proportion of Elderly in the Population. Counties of England and Wales 1921.

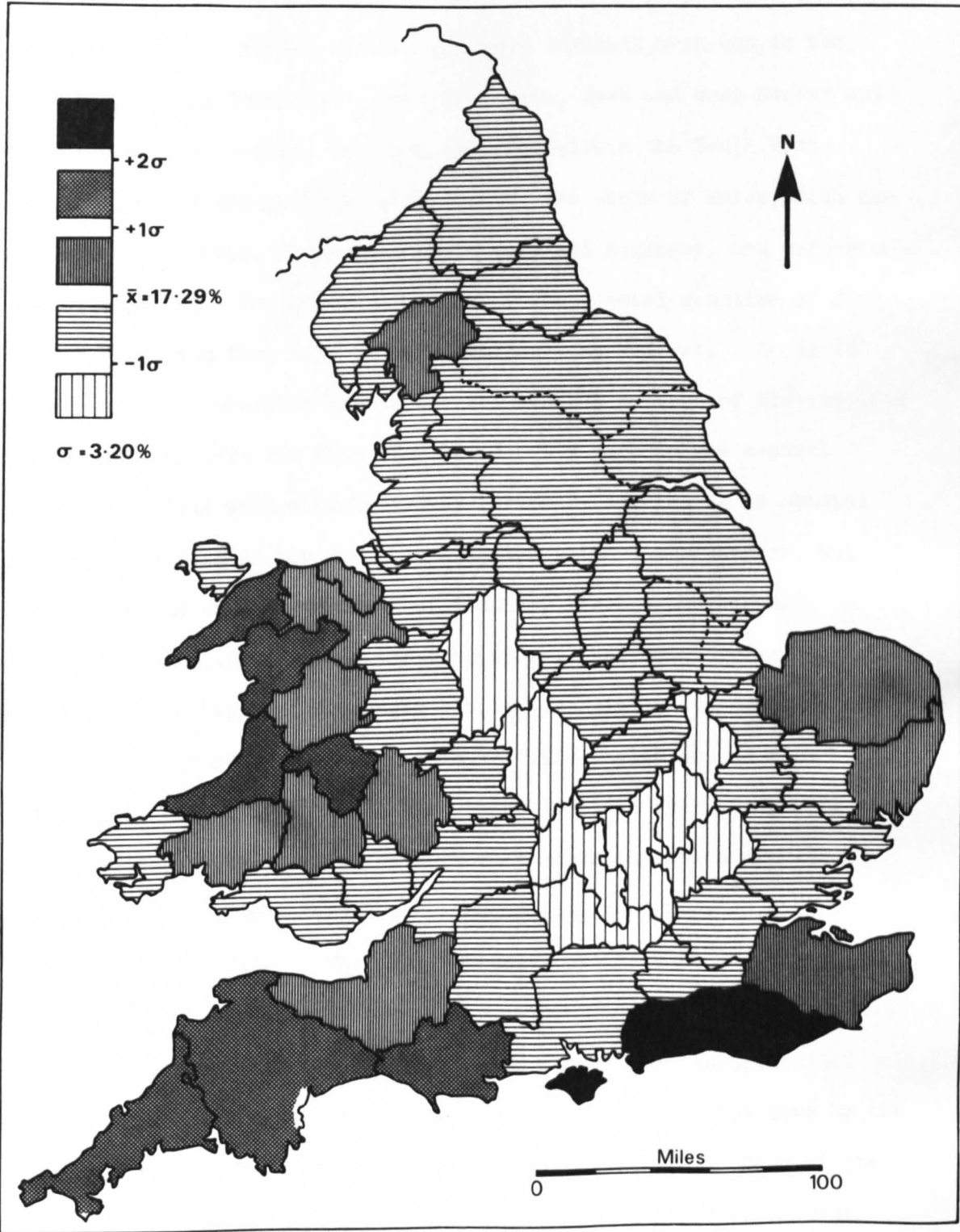
Figure 3 (5)

distinctive contiguous belts, the largest of which stretched from Warwickshire through the industrial counties of the north-west. Two other belts were to be found in the north-eastern counties of Durham and Northumberland, and in the industrial counties of South Wales, some of which had less than 5.5% of elderly people.

The counties with a proportion of elderly above the mean for England and Wales were identified within three major zones. First, a contiguous belt reached from Norfolk south-westwards to Cornwall; second, a number of counties in central Wales clustered together; and third, the adjacent areas of East and West Sussex together with the Isle of Wight formed a small belt along the South Coast. Within these groupings certain counties stood out as having more than one standard deviation from the county mean, in particular Sussex and the Isle of Wight; Caernarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan and Radnor in Wales, and Cornwall and Somerset in the South West. Westmorland was an isolated 'outlier'. Of the 59 county divisions, 33 (55.9%) were above the county mean.

It is surely not surprising that the areas of lowest density of the elderly were coincident with the major industrial areas of the country, marked out in contrast from those counties which had retained something of their rural character until this time. The expansion of industrial life during the nineteenth century drew men to the cities of Wales, Lancashire and the North East at a time when mechanisation of agriculture was reducing the opportunities for people to remain in the country. Within the more rural areas there remained a core of established workers, the middle-aged and the elderly, causing the polarisation of age within England and Wales to reflect these urban-rural distinctions.

Patterns of Ageing 1971: From Figure 3 (6) it can be seen that the counties with the lowest proportions of elderly people in 1971 formed a single contiguous area in the centre of the country comprising the counties of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire,



Proportion of Elderly in the Population. Counties of England and Wales 1971.

Figure 3 (6)

Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Huntingdon and Peterborough. In contrast, the counties with the highest proportions of elderly people were seen to be within four major areas: first, the most dominant area was in the coastal belt of the South East, including Kent, East and West Sussex and the Isle of Wight; second, the four counties within the South West peninsula formed a distinctive area; third, the whole of Wales, with the exceptions of Pembroke, Glamorgan, Montgomery and Anglesey, had proportions of the elderly above the mean; and fourth, the coastal counties of East Anglia, Norfolk and East Suffolk were similarly marked out. As in 1921, Westmorland was an isolated outlier. The general pattern of distribution of the elderly by 1971 was that of a low-density core in the central counties of England with a high-density periphery developing in coastal counties. The reasons for the change in the pattern are complex, but include the facts of the dispersal of industry through the century, the ageing of the population within the traditional industrial areas and the high rates of mobility among younger people, especially those of professional status, many of whom adopted commuter life-styles around the conurbations. The elderly population themselves, as this study will show, have contributed to the developing pattern through migration away from the conurbations and urban areas into the coastal counties.

Changes 1921 - 1971: The trends revealed by the data for the period 1921 - 1971 point consistently towards an increasing polarisation between high and low density of the elderly in terms of both age structure and spatial patterning. First, there has been a very distinctive move by the elderly from the centre of the country to the peripheries. None of the central English counties retained their high relative position between 1921 and 1971 and by 1971 all the English counties with a proportion of the elderly higher than the mean were coastal, with the exception of Herefordshire. The cluster of counties in Wales with a high proportion of the elderly consolidated their position during the half-century, with

the addition of Flint, Denbigh and Carmarthen to the loss of Pembroke and Anglesey.

Second, the changes might be interpreted as a very distinctive move by the younger population towards the South East, in effect 'pushing out' the elderly to the peripheries. Most distinctive of all was the move of the contiguous belt of low density of the elderly from a position around the industrial North West to a central location in England embracing the West Midlands and the counties north-west of, and immediately adjacent to, Greater London.

Third, behind the statistics of change is the implication that the degree of age segregation has been increasing through the century. In 1971 there were no longer any counties falling within the category of more than two standard deviations below the mean, but East and West Sussex and the Isle of Wight fell within a new category of more than two standard deviations above the mean. Furthermore, the number of counties above the mean fell from 33 (55.9%) in 1921 to 21 (35.6%) in 1971, an indication that the 'regularity' of density across the major part of the country has been achieved at the expense of increasing density of the elderly in certain peripheral, mainly coastal, counties. The trend, therefore, between 1921 and 1971 at the county level of analysis has been towards increasing segregation of the elderly and an increasing polarisation between the elderly and the younger elements of the population.

One of the potential sources of misunderstanding in any discussion of these trends lies in the fact that the average proportion of elderly people within the population has been increasing through the century and thus the interpretation of absolute rises in both total and proportionate numbers of the elderly may become difficult or even meaningless in the context of a changing national average. To counteract this source of misinterpretation, the proportions of elderly people for each county for

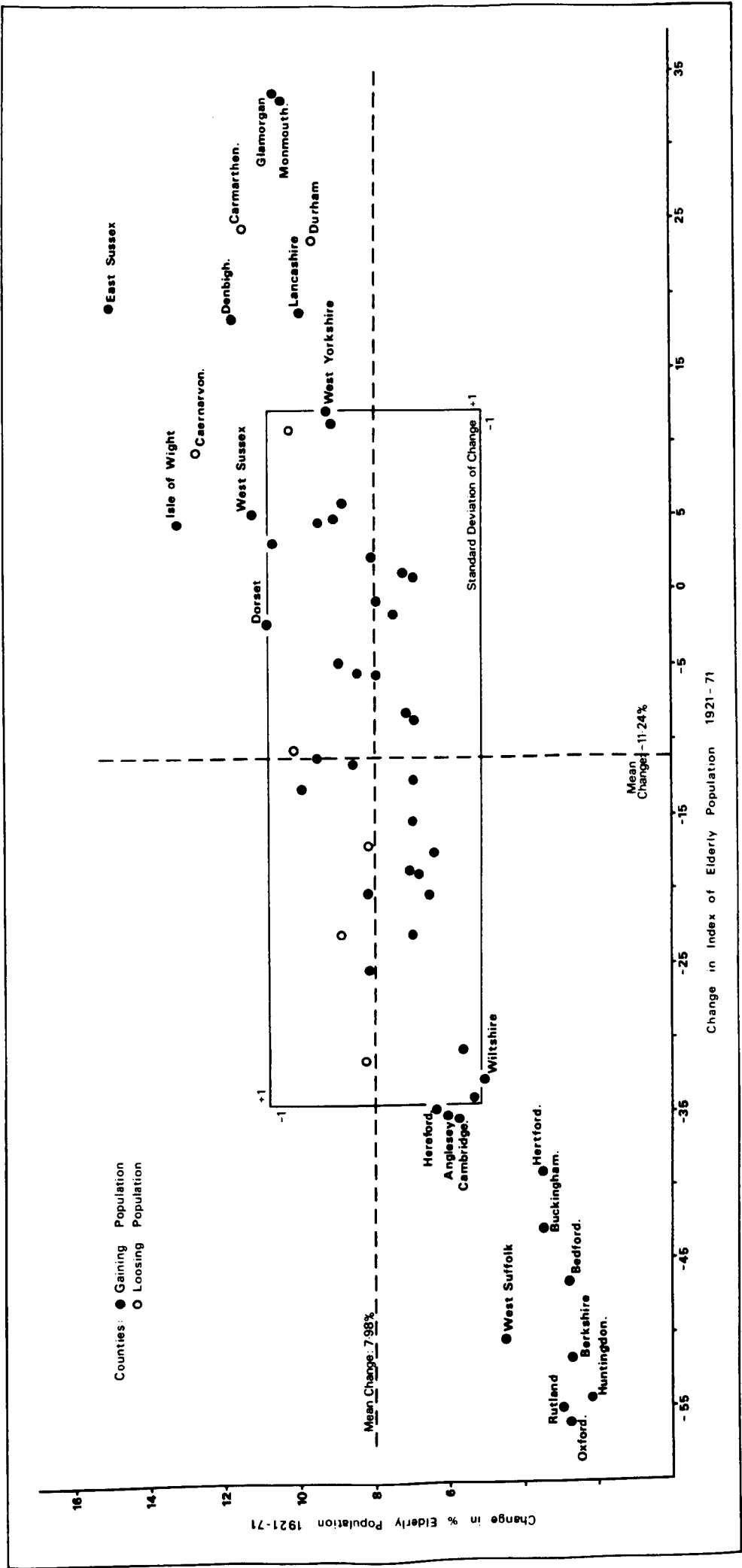
each census year were indexed to the county mean for that year.¹⁴ Thus, for example, 100 represents the mean of 7.84% in 1921 and the mean of 16.08% in 1971. The indices for each county are contained in Appendix I, and the changes in indices in relation to the changes in the absolute proportions of the elderly between 1921 and 1971 are plotted in Figure 3(7).

The majority of counties fell within the zones of one standard deviation from the means, and it can be clearly seen from Figure 3(7) which counties were particularly anomalous in respect of either measure. The statistical relationship between the two measures was relatively high, with a correlation coefficient value of 0.85. Six major groupings emerged from those counties marked out by high or low scores on one or both of the two measures:

- (i) High scores on both 'Index' and 'Proportion'
East Sussex. Denbigh. Carmarthen.
- (ii) High scores on 'Index'
Lancashire. Durham. Glamorgan. Monmouth.
- (iii) High scores on 'Proportion'
Isle of Wight. Caernarvon. West Sussex. Dorset.
- (iv) Low scores on both 'Index' and 'Proportion'
Hertfordshire. Buckinghamshire. Bedfordshire. Berkshire.
West Suffolk. Oxfordshire. Rutland. Huntingdon.
- (v) Low scores on 'Index'
Herefordshire. Anglesey. Cambridgeshire.
- (vi) Low scores on 'Proportion'
Wiltshire.

Certain features of the categorisations should be noted. The numerous counties in the centre of the country which were marked out by their low

¹⁴. The index is described in more detail at the end of the next section;
III The Identification of Retirement Areas, 1971.



Changes in Proportion of the Elderly Population. Counties of England and Wales.

Figure 3 (7)

proportion of elderly in 1971 clustered together with low scores on both measures. The four 'industrial counties' that saw significant changes over the period appeared in the same category (ii) with high scores on the 'Index' change but not on the 'Proportion' change, indicating that it was their relative rather than their absolute position that altered. The most interesting clustering, however, concerned those counties which, in 1971, might be termed 'retirement counties', and which fell into two categories. East Sussex, Denbigh and Carmarthen had high scores on both 'Index' and 'Proportion', indicating a continued growth of the elderly population on both counts, but the Isle of Wight, together with West Sussex, Dorset and Caernarvon, showed a high score only on their change in 'Proportion' of the elderly, indicating that their relative change was not one of the most marked trends during the period. In other words, these particular 'retirement counties' were already marked out for their relatively high proportion of the elderly in 1921 and the past fifty years has seen a confirmation and accentuation of their ranking.

The fifty years from 1921 to 1971 saw numerous changes in the distribution pattern of elderly people over England and Wales. The greatest amount of change occurred in a cluster of counties at the centre of the country and in certain industrial counties of the north, and South Wales. Those counties which, in 1971, were distinctive as retirement counties included some which were established as such, statistically and relatively, in 1921. A few had joined the retirement classification by 1971, namely Kent, Carmarthen, Brecon, Denbigh and Flint, but a far greater number of counties fell in relative status. The overall pattern of change between 1921 and 1971 was one of increasing polarisation between the elderly and the young, and the increase in the proportion of the elderly in certain coastal counties 'at the periphery' was balanced by the development of an increasingly youthful population in those counties at the centre of the country.

III. The Identification of Retirement Areas, 1971

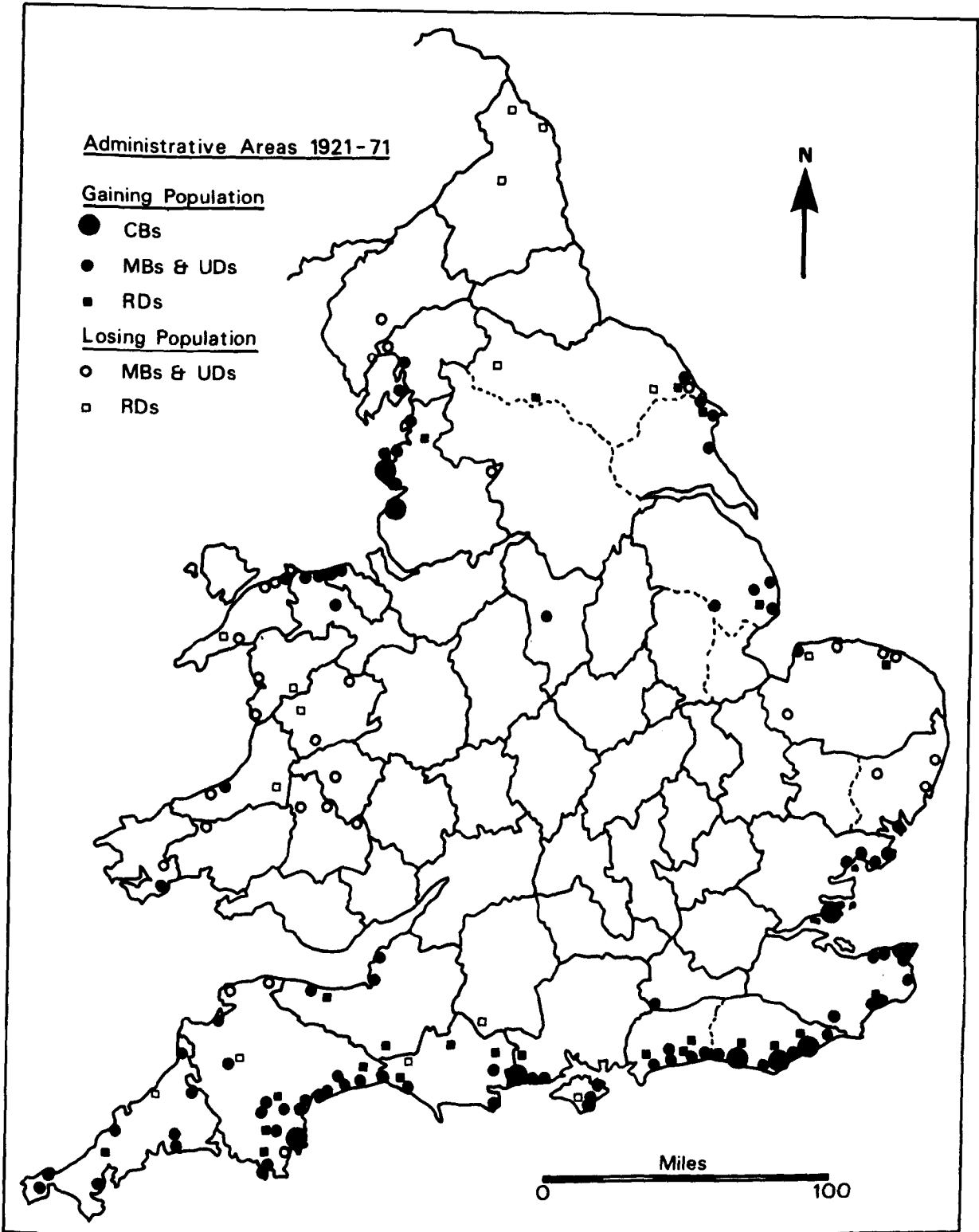
From the 1971 Census of England and Wales an analysis of the proportion of elderly people (males aged 65 or over and females aged 60 or over) in all administrative divisions of England and Wales revealed that, of a total of some 1,400 divisions, 159 had a proportion of elderly people greater than one standard deviation from the mean of all areas.¹⁵ The mean proportion for all administrative areas was 17.47%¹⁶ (compared with a mean of 16.07% for the total population and 17.29% for the counties) with a standard deviation of 5.08%. 159 areas, therefore, had in excess of 22.55% elderly people within their population. These areas are here termed 'retirement areas' although, technically, they should perhaps be termed 'areas of concentration of the elderly', since the retirement function is but one of several. As will be seen during this study, those areas marked out by heavy in-migration of the elderly are not coincident with all these areas since a number of forces contribute to specific concentrations of the elderly.

From Figure 3 (8) it can be seen that the location of retirement areas was almost exclusively in those counties with a coastline; the exceptions included Haslemere U.D. (Surrey), Bakewell U.D. (Derbyshire) and Mere and Tisbury R.D. (Wiltshire) in England, and seven areas in Wales, in the counties of Montgomery, Radnor and Brecon. These ten areas aside, the pattern was remarkably consistent, comprising mostly urban areas on the coast and their immediate rural hinterlands. Surprisingly, exceptions to this pattern of 'node and hinterland' were few, notably Trawden U.D. (Lancashire), certain rural areas of North Yorkshire, Northumberland, Wales and the counties of the west country.

Of the 159 retirement areas (see Appendix I for a full list), 7 had a proportion of elderly in excess of 40% (see Table 3 (5)), the highest

15. Derived from Census 1971: County Reports, Part I, Table 8.

16. Calculated from a grouped frequency distribution.



Administrative Areas 1971 with Significant Proportion of Elderly

Figure 3 (8)

Table 3 (5) Retirement Areas 1971. The twenty-five areas with the highest proportions of elderly people, in rank order.

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Administrative Area</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Proportion of</u> <u>Elderly (%)</u>
1	Grange UD	Lancashire	3475	45.47
2	Sidmouth UD	Devon	12075	44.31
3	Bexhill MB	E. Sussex	32900	44.24
4	Southwold MB	E. Suffolk	2000	43.75
5	Budleigh Salterton UD	Devon	4155	42.96
6	Seaton UD	Devon	4140	42.15
7	Frinton & Walton UD	Essex	12475	40.80
8	Worthing MB	W. Sussex	88405	38.78
9	Preesall UD	Lancashire	3985	38.27
10	Herne Bay UD	Kent	25200	36.78
11	Newquay UD	Cardigan	750	36.67
12	Clacton UD	Essex	38070	36.37
13	Minehead UD	Somerset	8055	35.26
14	Lyme Regis MB	Dorset	3405	33.63
15	Hove MB	E. Sussex	73085	33.60
16	Worthing RD	W. Sussex	50560	33.59
17	Filey UD	Yorkshire	5335	33.55
18	Seaford UD	E. Sussex	16225	33.40
19	Eastbourne CB	E. Sussex	70920	33.38
20	Hailsham RD	E. Sussex	53585	33.31
21	Hunstanton UD	Norfolk	3910	32.74
22	Broadstairs & St. Peters UD	Kent	20050	32.69
23	Sheringham UD	Norfolk	4705	32.50
24	Colwyn Bay MB	Denbigh	25565	32.37
25	Prestatyn UD	Flint	14515	32.35

Source: Census 1971, County Reports

proportion being in Grange UD. (Lancashire) with 45.47% and the largest place, with more than 40%, being Bexhill MB. (44.24%). In total, 39 areas had elderly proportions of between 30% and 40%, the highest proportion being in Worthing MB. (38.78%). Of the 159 areas, 8 were County Boroughs (CB), 37 were Municipal Boroughs (MB), 75 were Urban Districts (UD), and

39 were Rural Districts (RD). The population size of the areas varied considerably, from over 160,000 in Southend-on-Sea and Brighton to less than 500 in Llanwrtyd Wells. When the areas were ranked according to population size and administrative status (Table 3 (6)) the relatively small size of the majority of places was the most distinctive feature. Only 15 areas had populations in excess of 50,000; 81 were of less than 10,000; and 39 and 24 fell within the ranges of 10,000 - 25,000 and 25,000 - 50,000 respectively.

According to Figure 3 (8) the greatest concentrations of retirement areas were in those counties identified as significant at the county level of analysis, and from an examination of Figures 3 (6) and 3 (8) there is at least a visual correlation, therefore, between the areas of density of the elderly identified in analyses at different scales.

Among these retirement areas a distinction may be drawn between those gaining in total population over the study period 1921 - 1971 and those losing population (Figure 3 (8)). Of the 159 areas, 45 lost population between 1921 and 1971 and the majority of 114 gained in total population during the same period. The comparisons for 1921 and 1971 relate to the administrative areas as constituted at the respective census and, therefore, incorporate boundary changes over the period. Of these changes, the most significant was the amalgamation of Torquay and its surrounding area into the administrative area of Torbay, while other changes reflected the expansion of individual areas and the alteration of boundaries to bring them into line with actual areas of population.

Of the retirement areas declining in total population, the majority were in Wales. They were, however, not only in the rural centre of the principality where rural depopulation has been an important characteristic in recent years, but also along the coast. In England the areas of population loss were concentrated in three major regions: the South West, represented by numerous rural areas as well as Dartmouth MB, Lynton UD and

Table 3 (6) Administrative status and size of Retirement areas, 1971.

<u>Population size</u>	<u>County Borough</u>	<u>Urban District</u>	<u>Municipal Borough</u>	<u>Rural District</u>	<u>Total</u>
0- 500		1			1
500- 1,000		3			3
1,000- 2,500		11	5	3	19
2,500- 5,000		18	7	5	30
5,000- 10,000		17	6	5	28
10,000- 25,000		17	6	16	39
25,000- 50,000		7	10	7	24
50,000-100,000	3	1	3	3	10
Over 100,000	5				5
<hr/>					
Total	8	75	37	39	159

Ilfracombe UD on the coast; East Anglia, with the majority of retirement areas in Norfolk and East Suffolk declining in population; and the North, which included rural areas in Northumberland and North Yorkshire and two urban districts at Keswick and Trawden. The distribution of retirement areas gaining in population was more scattered. On the one hand, absolute gains were generally greatest in the conurbations and larger urban districts but, on the other, proportional gains were generally greatest in smaller urban and rural areas.

All areas saw an increase in both absolute and proportional numbers of the elderly during the period 1921 - 1971, but as the period also saw an increase from 7.8% to 16.1% in the proportion of the elderly within the national population there is a need to relate the changes within each administrative area to changes in the national proportion of the elderly.

Several indices were considered for this purpose. For example, the ratio of elderly persons to the working population (ages 15 to retirement age) is often used when the purpose is to identify the economic support of the elderly by the economically active population. On the other hand, when the objective is the changing relationship between births and deaths in the population, the ratio of elderly to young people (ages 0 - 15) has been used. Since, in this instance, the concern is with the significance of the elderly within the total population, an alternative index was derived, expressed simply by the following equation:

$$\frac{e_p}{t_p} \times 100 \text{ where}$$

e_p = the percentage of elderly people in an administrative area for any given census year.

t_p = the national percentage of elderly for the same census year.

The index, therefore, relates the changing proportion of each area to the changing national proportion of the elderly. The national proportion of the elderly for each census year is thus expressed as an index value of 100 and the index of each area is expressed as a percentage of that national proportion. Thus, for example, when, in 1971, the national proportion of the elderly was 16.07%, an area with a proportion of 25% would have yielded an index value of 155.5.

Of the 159 retirement areas, 119 had an increase in index status during the period 1921 - 1971, while 40 areas declined in relation to the increasing national proportion of the elderly. Furthermore, 83 of the areas had experienced an increase in total population as well as an increase in index status. A criticism which can be levelled against the index is that smaller populations are more sensitive to proportional change than those areas with large populations. Clearly, for example, an increase of 1,000 people registers a very different effect in a town of 15,000 from the same growth in a town of 150,000. Having identified significant

retirement areas in England and Wales in 1971, and established a technique by which the growth of those areas may be examined against the changing national proportion of the elderly, this chapter will now examine in more detail the stages in the growth of the areas during the period 1921 - 1971, and their demographic characteristics.

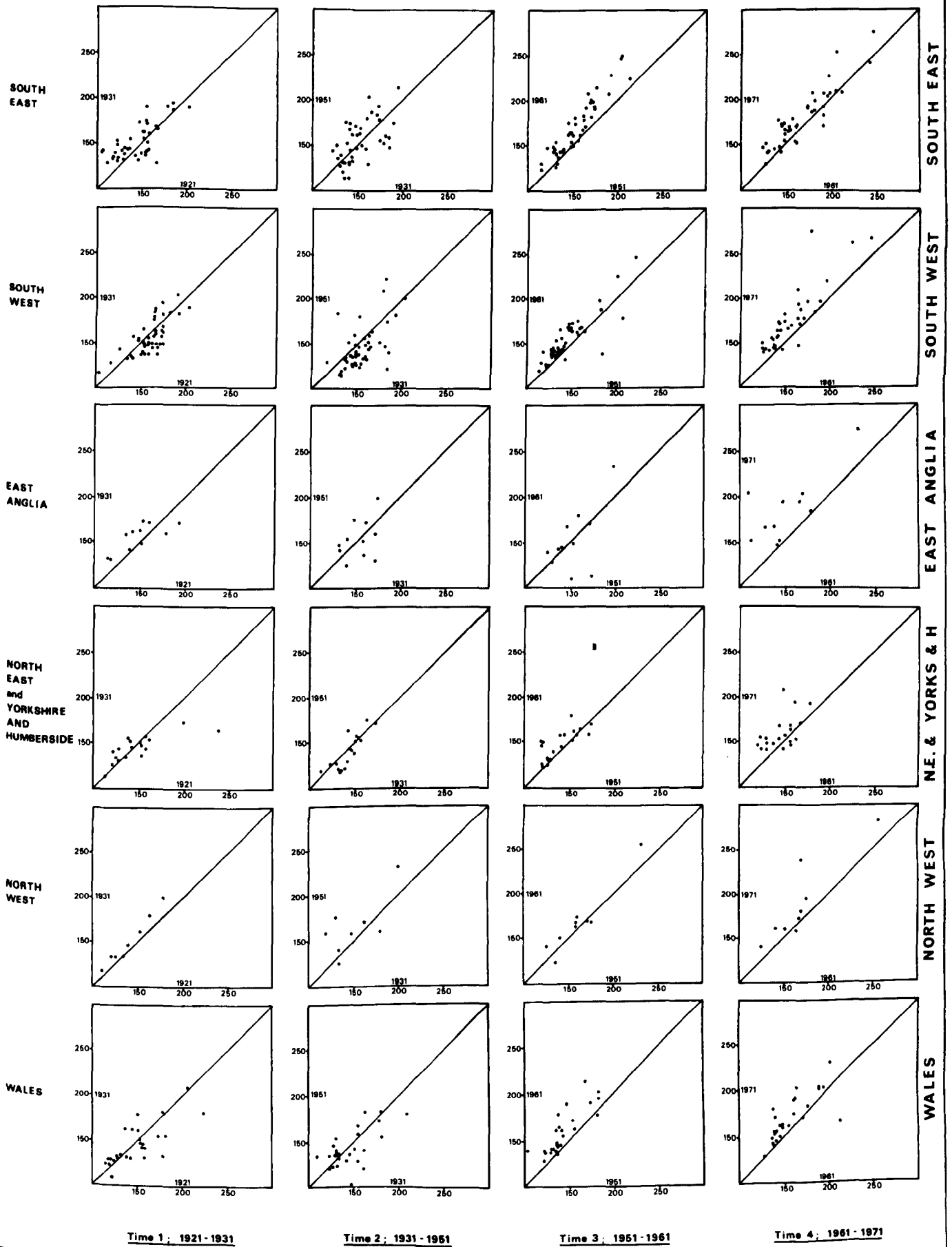
IV. Stages in the Growth of Retirement Areas

The growth of retirement areas between 1921 and 1971 did not occur at a uniform rate across the country, but showed distinctive regional variations in the pattern of growth. The purpose of this section is to outline the stages of growth at the regional level and to suggest an interpretation of the pattern.

The concept of an index of the elderly has been introduced, in which the proportions of the elderly in a local population are expressed as a ratio of the proportion of the elderly in the total population of England and Wales. An index value for each retirement area for each census year (1921 - 1971 inclusive) was calculated,¹⁷ and a growth of the retirement function in an area was inferred from an increase in the index score over any inter-censal period. From Figure 3 (9), in which inter-censal changes for areas of both population gain and loss have been summarised, it may be observed whether, at a regional level, areas suffered a gain or loss on the index score.¹⁸ The horizontal scale represents the index score at a given census year and the vertical scale represents the index score in the subsequent census year. The diagonal represents a perfect correlation between index scores for two consecutive census years, so, therefore, above and to the left of the diagonal identifies those areas

17. Derived from the County Reports of the Censuses of 1921, 1931, 1951, 1961 and 1971.

18. See Appendix I for detailed statistics of each area. The standard regions of England and Wales, 1971, are shown in Figure 4 (3).



Retirement Areas: Inter-Censal Index Changes (in Standard Regions) 1921-1971

Figure 3 (9)

which had a rise in index scores. The discussion that follows will concentrate on those areas which showed most evidence of having grown as centres for retirement (see Table 3 (7)) and will thus cite examples only from those places with a 20 point increase or more on the index for any particular inter-censal period.

The discussion will also attempt to clothe the statistics of change with a descriptive interpretation of the stages of the growth of retirement areas. The direct link between the growth of retirement areas and the migration of the elderly between 1966 and 1971 will be examined in some depth in Chapter 4, but it is necessary, for the purposes of this discussion, to make some preliminary assumptions about the link between the growth of retirement areas and migration. It is now generally agreed that the development of any migration stream goes through a number of stages.¹⁹ Related to this thinking is the concept of 'standard motives' which was introduced in Chapter 2;²⁰ pioneer migrants move with specific motives behind them and specific objectives in view, but, as the migration stream develops, information concerning the receiving areas flows back to the sending areas, broadening the basis for migration and inducing those less inclined towards migration to migrate. During this process the motives for migration become less specific and more standardised. Extending these ideas to a regional analysis of the growth of retirement areas, in which we assume migration to have an important role, it is possible to suggest several hypotheses concerning developments over the past fifty years. First, it is suggested that migration of the elderly to coastal retirement areas was initially the prerogative of the few, and that only as the stream developed did it find acceptance among the population at a wide level; second, the effects of migration on the growth of retirement areas may also have developed in stages with a few areas developing early, before adjacent

19. See the discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 12 - 13.

20. See Chapter 2, p. 28.

Table 3 (7) Retirement Areas 1971, which had increased their elderly population by 50 index points or more between 1921 and 1971.
(* losing population).

<u>South East Region</u>	<u>Index Change (+)</u>
Frinton & Walton UD	147.18
Bexhill MB	124.69
Clacton UD	103.15
Seaford UD	101.63
Margate MB	93.87
Herne Bay UD	80.96
Eastbourne CB	71.12
Bognor Regis UD	70.45
Hailsham RD	57.64
Hythe MB	56.84
Worthing MB	56.83
Worthing RD	54.08
 <u>South West Region</u>	
Sidmouth UD	110.51
Minehead UD	71.75
Seaton UD	71.66
Budleigh Salterton UD	65.12
Swanage UD	64.16
* Mere & Tisbury RD	55.55
* Dartmouth MB	53.35
 <u>Wales</u>	
Colwyn Bay MB	57.25
Abergele UD	52.27
Conway MB	50.66
* Llandudno UD	80.65
* Narberth UD	54.60
 <u>North West Region</u>	
Preesall UD	114.45
Grange UD	105.14
Thornton Clevellys UD	63.56
* Trawden UD	52.21
 <u>East Anglia</u>	
* Southwold MB	117.80
* Cromer UD	74.01
* Hunstanton UD	67.80
* Skegness UD	59.32
* Aldeburgh MB	53.32
 <u>Yorkshire and Humberside</u>	
Filey UD	86.24
Mablethorpe & Sutton UD	56.64
Skegness UD	53.49
Bridlington MB	52.80

areas also adopted the retirement role; third, that as migrants are more inclined to move over short distances than long, and the majority of movements of the elderly were from the major conurbations, that near-by retirement areas should have received migration streams of the elderly at an earlier stage than more distant regions. Having made certain assumptions about the role of migration in the growth of retirement areas, it must be remembered that the following discussion, which accompanies the evidence for growth of the areas, is more in the nature of interpretation than explanation.

Time 1. 1921 - 1931: Only three areas with population gains during the period had an elderly index gain of 20 points or more, namely Abergele (+25.6) and Prestatyn (+27.3) in Wales and Bognor Regis (+28.6) in Sussex. All three were resorts characterised not merely as places of recreation but as health spas, and, during the inter-war years, enjoyed a status that had endured from the early years of the century. Such areas were patronised particularly by the upper middle classes who enjoyed long, recuperative stays in the spa hotels. There were 12 areas, however, which had more than a 20 point index gain during the period, but which suffered total population losses. In the South East, Swanage, Brightlingsea, Clacton, Frinton, Herne Bay, Margate and Seaford exhibited similar characteristics to Teignmouth and Mere and Tisbury RD in the South West, Grange in the North West and Southwold in East Anglia. The general conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that the most significant increases in proportions of the elderly at this time were more a function of population loss than of population gain. While some elderly may have been moving into these areas, the out-migration of the younger generation in search of employment from what were primarily seasonal holiday resorts would have contributed to the observed changes, for in a decade of unemployment and depression the opportunities in the resorts would have considerably declined.

These years drew many of their characteristics from an earlier age.

The young were seeking out employment opportunities in the cities while long-distance mobility was largely governed by the railways, for only as the decade progressed did the effect of the car begin to mould certain aspects of society. During the 1920s, for example, it was still the best part of a day's journey by car from London to the south coast. The leisured elderly were only just beginning to emerge as a coherent, recognisable group, and only the aspiring middle classes enjoyed vacations of more than a few days, or had the opportunity to spend their leisure in coastal or overseas resorts.

Time 2. 1931 - 1951: With no census taken in 1941, the period spans the immediate pre-war and post-war years. During the 1930s there was a recovery from the uncertainties of the previous decade, and a new sense of optimism permeated society, briefly, for then six years of war, 1939 - 1945, interrupted the normal course of developments. By 1951, however, the war was firmly behind the country, and the future was beginning to open up once again. These twenty years saw unprecedented changes, as the technology of the car, the radio and the new medium of television began to reach the majority within society. Mobility found a new meaning with the extensive marketing of the mass-produced car in conjunction with increasing wealth. Over the period the car became a norm and a necessity for some, in contrast to its previous status as a luxury, while the building of the first dual-carriageways heralded new motoring styles.²¹ The nature of leisure, too, took on new meanings as vacations became longer and holidays by the sea became the prerogative not only of the middle classes but also of the lower middle classes and some working classes. Residential mobility also created new patterns of life-style as the commuter moved

21. The 'arterial road' from London to Southend was the first dual-carriageway to be built. Ostensibly, the project was created to alleviate unemployment problems, but the road was designed to carry military equipment to a vulnerable coastal area, rather than carry day trippers to Southend!

out, for example, from London to Surrey, and the more wealthy commuter to Brighton and the Sussex coast.

During the period the numbers and proportions of the elderly within society were rising, as were their life expectancy, their wealth and their mobility. It was natural, therefore, for retirement to be viewed as an extension of the holiday, becoming a kind of permanent holiday in which there was a certain amount of self-indulgence. For those with the financial resources, therefore, it was a logical step to spend the retirement 'holiday' in an environment similar to that enjoyed during the annual holiday.²² Thus, the extensive movement of retired migrants to the coast began in an attempt to maintain the holiday mood and environment throughout the retirement years. Of course, the more wealthy were the first to move, some spending long periods each year in their second homes on the coast, others buying property for year long residence.

It is possible that the retirement areas began to develop on the coast in this fashion, supplementing the role of the coastal towns as holiday and health resorts. Certainly, there is substantial statistical evidence for the growth of the retirement role in coastal areas during the period, particularly in those centres close to London and the conurbations. Clacton (+24.9 index points) and Frinton (+25.6) in Essex developed along the same lines as Herne Bay (+20.1) and Margate (+21.0) in Kent. Two concentrations were evident in Sussex; Bexhill (+42.1) together with Seaford (+33.1) and Battle RD (+22.7) in the east and Worthing MB (+21.2) and Worthing RD (+40.2) on the West Sussex coast plain. In the North West, Grange (+32.2), Preesall (+45.8) and Thornton Clevelys (+39.6) catered for the aspirations of the northern conurbations and Conway (+25.1), Penmaenmawr (+23.3) and Colwyn Bay (+20.5) were the northern Welsh representatives of

22. A more subtle interpretation of leisure in retirement has developed in recent years; see, for example, the discussion in Chapter 2, p. 41.

the growing trend. Elsewhere, the impact of this developing trend was minimal. In Devon, Budleigh Salterton (+32.3) and Sidmouth (+29.0), alone, represented this new trend, as did Minehead (+26.3) in Somerset, and the only other place of significant change was Hornsea (+20.2). A few areas experienced a growing concentration of the elderly at the expense of population loss, for example, Okehampton, Trawden, Docking RD and Southwold, but while sharing this characteristic they were also scattered across the country.

The two decades 1931 to 1951 spanned the years of the Second World War, but it is clear that during the period the fact of retirement migration took root. Those who formed this growing trend were probably the more wealthy members of the population, some of whom owned second homes and had the greatest propensity to move. There were others who formed the nucleus of the growing mobile middle classes and who, having grown accustomed to an annual holiday, saw in retirement the chance of maintaining the leisured pattern of life which marked out the time of non-work.

Time 3. 1951 - 1961: During the 1950s, as wealth and social mobility permeated through all the social classes, retirement migration accelerated as the idea was grasped by more and more people. The secluded bungalow, by the sea or in the country, away from the growing pressures within the cities, appeared for many to be the utopian panacea for many of the uncertainties of the retirement years. The possibility of such a move was realised by increasing numbers of prospective pensioners following the path of those who had established the trend during the previous decades. Thus, the flow to the coast began to expand to those places already established as desirable locations, and, as property prices rose and the pressures on space and social provision grew, to adjacent towns and villages. The housing market responded to the trend with the provision of suitable properties, especially flats and bungalows.

The expansion of established retirement areas continued; for example,

Clacton (+27.3 index points) and Frinton (+41.5) in Essex, Herne Bay (+34.5) and Margate (+30.6) in Kent, Bexhill (+42.3) and Worthing (+29.0) in Sussex, and Conway (+27.2) in Wales. In addition, a second generation of retirement areas rapidly expanded as the trend spread out from the original centres. Broadstairs (+28.3) in Kent, Llandudno (+42.9) in Wales and numerous centres in Sussex, e.g. Eastbourne (+31.5), Bognor (+28.2), Littlehampton (+28.7) and Hailsham RD (+29.7), all adopted the trend. Looe (+22.2), Dawlish (+23.7) and Seaton (+24.1) were the three principal areas of growth in the South West while, in the North West the rate of increase curiously slowed. In the North East, however, Skegness (+26.6), Cromer (+21.0) and Bridlington (+26.3) developed as reception areas for the flows from the conurbations of the north. On the other hand, certain areas saw a growing concentration of the elderly during this time but at the expense of total population loss. Bude (+21.4), Budleigh Salterton (+23.3), Lynton (+27.8) and Camelford (+21.4) in the west country, Ventnor (+21.9) and Folkestone (+23.2) on the south coast, Eye (+20.2) and Southwold (+33.6) in Suffolk and Filey (+28.4), Bridlington RD (+26.6) and Scarborough RD (+32.4) in the north east, all had a substantial fall in population, as did Llanwrtyd Wells (+44.9), Newcastle Emlyn (+26.5) and Dolgellau RD in Wales.

The decade 1951 - 1961 saw an expansion and consolidation of the trend towards concentration of the elderly in coastal retirement areas. Consolidation occurred predominantly within the centres in the South East region, not only by the continued expansion of established centres but also by the adoption of the retirement function in new areas. Expansion was seen at a national scale and, while the South East remained dominant, centres in other regions also showed strong evidence for adopting the function in substantial measure.

Time 4. 1961 - 1971: By 1961 streams of retirement migration were firmly established and their effect was being felt in numerous retirement

areas around the country. Post-war affluence permeated throughout society and the trends that were established by the innovators showed evidence of being adopted by many others. The opportunity for retirement migration became a reality for many who, a few years previously, would not have entertained the idea. By the 1960s the effects of retirement migration on the structure of some of the coastal areas began to become apparent. The first-generation migrants who had remained in the retirement areas were passing from a period of active old age to a period of relatively infirm old age,²³ and the consequent strains on medical facilities and social services were reaching an extreme, in some cases approaching breaking point.²⁴ Within these areas the continuing inflow of elderly migrants suggested that the trend was being sustained and, in certain areas, had reached saturation levels, for example, the continued growth of residential suburbs which had grown up in response to potential demands was hindered by a lack of available land.²⁵ Furthermore, it was recognised that the holiday trade in the resorts was, if not in permanent decline, changing in character as the English seaside holiday became eclipsed by continental holidays. In many coastal towns, therefore, the retirement function appeared to be becoming dominant rather than sharing roles within a retirement-holiday centre.

Between 1961 and 1971, the growth of retirement areas continued apace in the South East, for example, Clacton (+27.5 index points) and Frinton (+46.4) in Essex both sustained high proportional growth of the elderly population. In Sussex, Bexhill (+26.4) and Hailsham RD (+26.2) again registered high growth but Worthing and Eastbourne did not, while the adjacent areas of Rye (+22.4), Chanctonbury RD (+26.1) and Chichester RD

23. See Chapter 2, p. 42.

24. See Chapter 2, p. 32 - 33.

25. For example, the northward extension of Brighton and Worthing has been contained by attractive downland landscape, some of which has been designated as an area of 'Outstanding Natural Beauty'.

(+22.9) experienced a high growth in the elderly population for the first time. Newcastle Emlyn (+35.0) and Abergele (+27.9) continued the pattern of growth in Wales, while growth was also maintained in Skegness (+21.0), Cromer (+25.4) and Filey (+58.9) on the east coast. Retirement areas in the North West began to expand once again with Grange (+25.6), Morecambe (+20.7), Preesall (+68.9) and Lancaster Road (+20.4) being of greatest significance.

Meanwhile, on the south coast, Christchurch (+36.4), Sandown and Shanklin (+34.7), Swanage (+20.2) and Bridport RD (+26.4) registered high index changes as the trend spread westwards along the coast. The greatest areas of growth, however, were in the South West with Burnham-on-Sea (+27.5) and Minehead (+22.1) in Somerset, and Falmouth (+24.1) in Cornwall, among the areas of substantial gain. It was the Devon coastline, however, that witnessed the greatest increases in proportions of the elderly. Budleigh Salterton (+22.2), Ilfracombe (+21.7), Kingsbridge (+26.0), Northam (+33.2), Ottery St. Mary (+21.1), Seaton (+37.8) and Kingsbridge RD (+26.0) became the major reception areas for this sudden influx of elderly people. The area of most extreme gain was Sidmouth which, during the decade, suffered an index change of +97 points.

By this period, 1961 - 1971, the idea of a 'bungalow by the sea' had firmly taken root. So, while the first misgivings and questionings were being raised in the council chambers of the retirement areas,²⁶ the demand for property from potential migrants was greater than ever before. Thus, new areas of retirement emerged in those areas adjacent to the established centres and, where the demand could not be met within one region, there was a shift in emphasis towards the resources and opportunities of new regions, especially the South West. The decade 1961 - 1971 was one in which unquestioned assumptions and standard motives would seem to have character-

26. See, for example, the discussion on Worthing in Chapter 5.

ised much retirement migration and, as will be seen from a case study of one area in Chapter 5, only as the decade progressed did questions concerning the whole desirability of the trend begin to be asked.

V. Retirement Areas: Demographic Characteristics

a. Changes in Population

The 159 administrative areas which, in 1971, had significant numbers of elderly people may be classified into four categories according to their basic demographic changes (1921 - 1971):

Category A: Population Loss - Elderly Index Loss.

Category B: Population Loss - Elderly Index Gain.

Category C: Population Gain - Elderly Index Loss.

Category D: Population Gain - Elderly Index Gain.

Forty of the 159 retirement areas suffered a decline on the elderly index rating between 1921 and 1971 (see Appendix I for the statistics of change in these areas); of these, 9 experienced total population losses and 31 total population gains. Of 119 areas gaining in significance, 36 declined in total population and 83 gained in population. In order to identify the role of population change in relation to the changes in retirement status in more detail, each of the four types of area identified above will be considered in turn.

Category A: Population Loss - Elderly Index Loss. Of the 9 areas in this category, the majority (6) were rural districts, the exceptions being Eye MB in Suffolk and the Welsh urban districts of Llanwrtyd Wells and Llandrindod Wells. The loss in population experienced by these areas varied considerably, for example, a loss of 1,216 people (58.2%) from Llanwrtyd Wells and of 121 people (6.79%) from Eye. In the rural areas minimal losses of 22 people (0.27%) from Beaminster and 656 (3.8%) from Docking contrasted strongly with losses of over 1,000 people from all the other areas, including 2,783 (40%) from Tregaron; proportional losses in

other areas varied from 10.4% in Lleyrn to 21.6% in Dolgellau. All 9 areas saw an increase in the total of elderly people within their populations, but the proportions fell in relation to the changing national proportions; for example, the index fell by 39 points in Tregaron RD and between 16 and 19 points in Llandrindod Wells, Beaminster RD and Pickering RD.

Category B: Population Loss - Elderly Index Gain. The majority of places with total population losses registered a rise in the elderly index, and of a total of 36 areas, 27 were urban in status. Of these areas, Southwold MB suffered the most extreme change in structure with a rise of 31.6% in the proportion of elderly people, an index growth of 117, while losing 40% of the population. Less extreme but equally distinctive were the changes in Llandudno UD which saw a 23% rise in its proportion of the elderly and an 80 point increase on the index, but with a loss of only 206 people (1.07%) indicating that changes must have been caused partly by migratory factors. Of the other areas in Wales, the losses in total population were considerable, varying from 11% in Penmaenmawr (493 people) to 40.7% (1,448 people) in Barmouth. These losses indicated changes in the total proportion of elderly of between 16.6% in Barmouth and 19.8% in Newcastle Emlyn, and index changes of between 11 in Criccieth and 55 in Narbeth.

Although the retirement areas in England within this category were scattered throughout the range of change, two distinctive regional groupings could be identified within the pattern of change. First, three rural Northumbrian areas clustered together with a gain of 13% or 14% in elderly population and 19 to 26 points gain on the elderly index. This was in spite of their very disparate sizes and absolute change in population, for example, Rothbury RD experienced only a 1.6% loss of population (84 people) while Norham and Islandshires RD lost 42% (2,546 people) and Belford 18% (1,044 people). Thus, despite the wide range of population change within these rural areas, the trend towards an increasing proportion

of the elderly occurred at a constant rate, evidence of a general regional change. Second, the four East Anglian towns which lost population, Aldeburgh in Suffolk and Sheringham, Cromer and Hunstanton in Norfolk, suffered an elderly index change of between 52 and 74 and an absolute rise in the proportion of elderly of between 20% and 22%. It would appear, therefore, that the rates of change (and perhaps the processes of change) were very similar within these areas over a period of 50 years.

The relationship between absolute changes in the proportion of the elderly in the population and index changes in those areas losing population between 1921 and 1971 is summarised in Figure 3 (10). The relationship is basically linear, and it is interesting to note that the three most distinctive residuals include Nequay UD, which is open to statistical distortion on account of its small population (750 in 1971), and Trawden UD and Mere and Tisbury RD, which are both inland areas and exceptions to the general rule of 'coastal location'.

Category C: Population Gain - Elderly Index Loss. By far the majority of retirement areas, 114 of a total of 159, experienced an increase in their total population between 1921 and 1971. Of these, 83 gained in their proportion of elderly people as measured by the index and 31 suffered a loss according to the index. Of the areas with an index loss, 22 were urban areas (MBs and UDs) and 9 were rural districts, and as with certain groupings in Category B, these rural areas were characterised by their regional proximity. Five of the 9 were in the South West region (Truro, Axminster, Sturminster, Williton, and Wimborne and Cranbourne), three were in the South East region (Chailey, Elham, and Ringwood and Fordingbridge), and only Spilsby in Yorkshire was outside of the south. The greatest population gains were in Wimborne and Cranbourne (26,858, 178%) and Ringwood and Fordingbridge (17,981, 132%).

Similarly, the urban areas were characterised by their regional groupings. Of the 22 MBs and UDs in this category, 11 were in the South

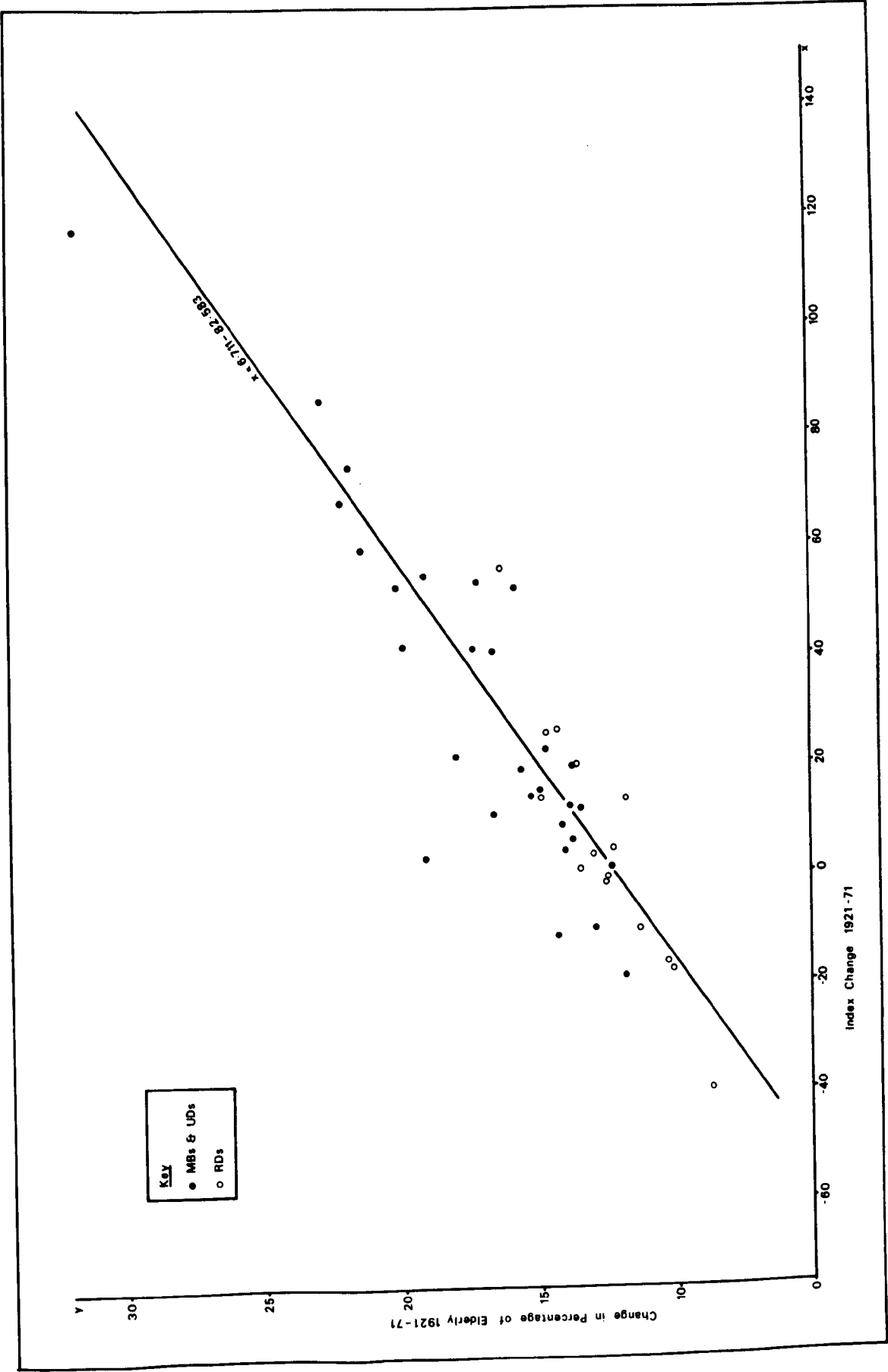


Figure 3 (10)

Changes in Administrative Areas with Population Losses 1921-71

West region, 5 were in the Outer South East, 4 were along the East coast while 2, only, were in Wales. The greatest individual changes were in Ryde (an increase of 11,911 people, equal to 105%), Tenterden (2,494, 72%) and Penzance (7,328, 61%), but that these areas did not maintain a proportion of elderly people in line with the changing national index was an indication of their relative decline as areas of retirement.

Category D: Population Gain - Elderly Index Gain. The areas which, in 1971, could most accurately be defined as expanding retirement areas were the 83 which, between 1921 and 1971, gained both in total population and on the elderly index. The majority, 68, were coastal urban areas and even the remaining rural districts (15 in number) were all, without exception, immediate hinterlands to coastal urban centres.

Of greatest significance in terms of population size were the eight County Boroughs, (namely Torbay, Southend, Bournemouth, Blackpool, Southport, Brighton, Eastbourne and Hastings), all of which were coastal and five of which had populations of over 100,000. The rate of change was greatest in Eastbourne with an increase of 23% in the proportion of the elderly and an elderly index increase of 71 points, while, in comparison, the rates of increase in the other CBs were more moderate, although given their total populations the numbers involved were large. Southend-on-Sea, for example, saw a 53.5% increase in its elderly population between 1921 and 1971, representing 56,760 people, whilst the change was even greater at Bournemouth, which saw a 67.7% increase (62,109 people). The total population of the eight Boroughs in 1971 was 967,010, nearly 2% of the total population of England and Wales, while the elderly population of the Boroughs was 261,435, or 2.7% of the total elderly population of England and Wales. Within such figures can be seen the degree of concentration of the elderly in certain areas.

The Urban Districts and Municipal Boroughs were also characterised by their coastal locations. Almost without exception they were holiday

resorts, although in many cases the major function of the town seemed to be in the retirement role rather than in recreation. There were some exceptions to this general pattern, for example, Felixstowe in Suffolk, which has seen the resort function giving way to the retirement function in recent decades, together with a total expansion of the area in association with the development of Felixstowe docks.

The most distinctive feature of these retirement areas was their tendency to form a series of continuous belts along the coast. The most extensive was the one which stretched eastwards from Bognor Regis to Hastings on the Sussex coast. A similar but smaller belt was to be found in Kent reaching around the north east corner of the county from Whitstable to Deal, while Clacton, and Frinton and Walton, clustered together on the north east Essex coast. In the south a small belt ran eastwards from Bournemouth to Lymington in Hampshire, while in the South West a near continuous belt stretched westwards from Bridport in Dorset to Salcombe in Devon, along with a number of more scattered resorts. Retirement areas in North Wales also clustered together on the coastline between Prestatyn and Conway, while in Lancashire a number of retirement areas, including Lytham St. Annes, Thornton Clevellys and Preesall, focused on Blackpool in a distinctive cluster. On the east coast the number of retirement areas was fewer, but yet clustered in two small groupings, i.e. Hornsea, Bridlington and Filey on the Yorkshire coast, and Skegness and Mablethorpe and Sutton on the Lincolnshire coast.

The pattern of retirement areas that had emerged by 1971 was very clear (see Figure 3 (8)). Two major coastal belts in Sussex and Devon dominated the pattern with subsidiary clusterings of coastal resorts occurring in North Wales, the North West (Lancashire) and elsewhere. The absence of urban retirement areas in East Anglia that gained in population between 1921 and 1971 has already been noted although, as Chapter 4 will show, the flow of elderly migrants to East Anglia was identified as one of

the more dominant migration streams between 1966 and 1971. Since there was a net inflow of elderly migrants into East Anglia, it would appear that there was not the same tendency to concentrate in particular areas but to be dispersed across a wider area, and this may suggest a new style of growth of retirement areas and perhaps different processes at work.

Some of the most dramatic increases in the proportion of the elderly among those places gaining in total population between 1921 and 1971 were in the County Boroughs (see Figure 3 (11)). Eastbourne experienced the greatest change with a gain in population of 14.3% and a 23% increase in the proportion of the elderly, representing a 71 point gain on the elderly index. The other County Boroughs clustered together with a range of change in percentage of elderly of between 12% (Brighton) and 22% (Bournemouth) and an index gain of between 5 (Hastings) and 40 points (Blackpool).

What is of particular interest, however, is that the rate of change was not consistently highest among the places within any one coastal belt during the period 1921 to 1971. The five areas which had both the highest proportional and index gains during the period were Frinton and Walton (a 32% increase in the proportion of the elderly and an index gain of 147 points), Bexhill (32% 125), Sidmouth (31% 111), Grange (32% 105) and Preesall (29%, 114). Geographically, these five areas could not be more dispersed with one each in Essex, Sussex and Devon and two in Lancashire. Among the rural areas, the two with the highest rates of change, Worthing and Hailsham, were in close proximity (both in Sussex) and their rates of change (21.4%, 54 in Worthing); (21.6%, 58 in Hailsham) were also much greater than any other rural areas.

Thus far, this chapter has been concerned with identifying those retirement areas which, in 1971, could be regarded as significant within the broad demographic patterns of England and Wales. In beginning to reveal the characteristics of such areas, the discussion has dwelt upon population gains and losses as factors contributing towards a preliminary

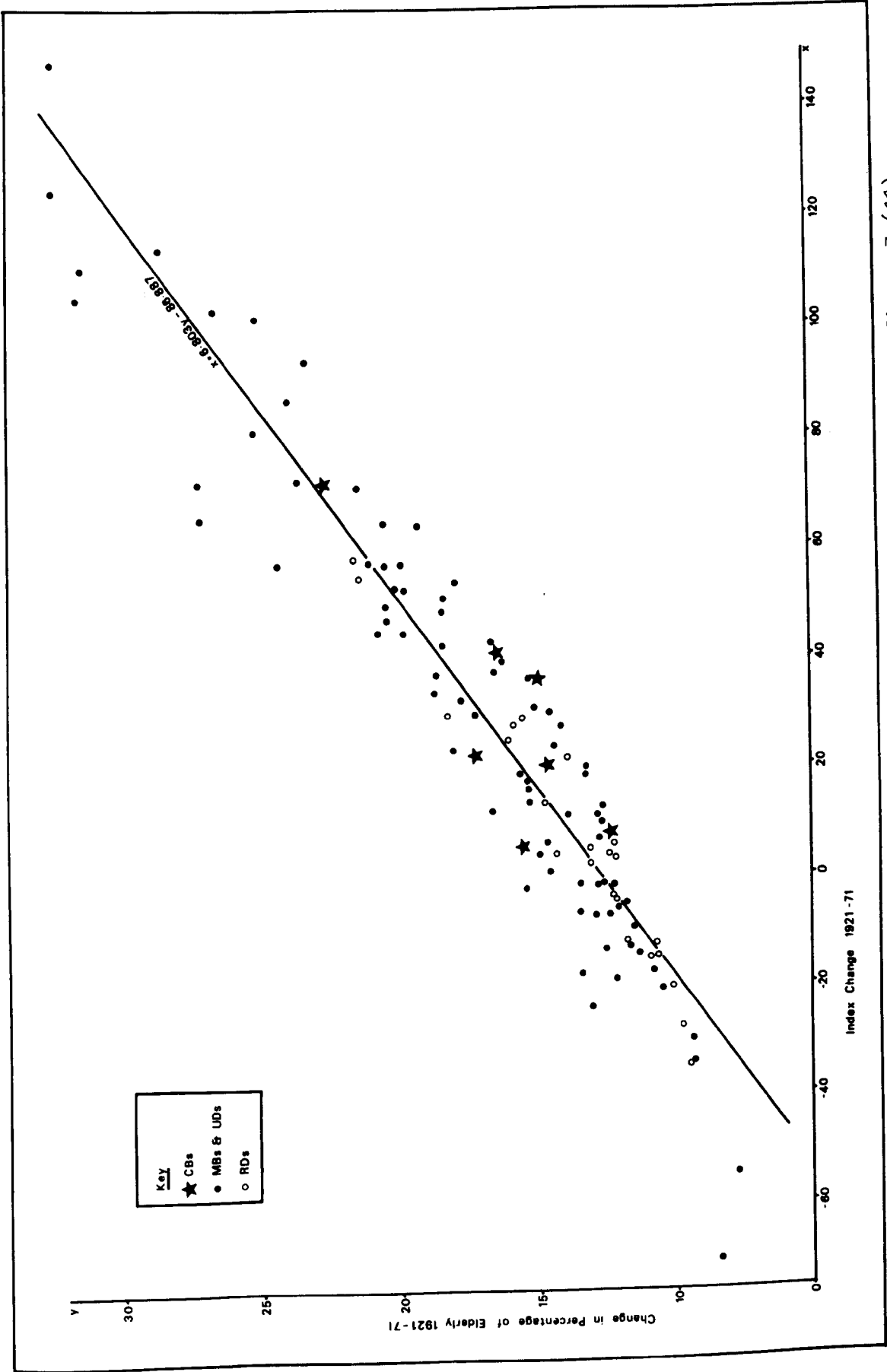


Figure 3 (11)

Changes in Administrative Areas with Population Gains 1921-71

definition of the more important areas. As has been noted, some areas, especially in Central Wales and East Anglia, registered as statistically significant in 1971, but their present status has been brought about not by an expansion of the retirement role but by population losses including, in some cases, outmigration of the young. Within those areas which saw a rise in both their total population and their score on the elderly index between 1921 and 1971, two further factors were examined in an attempt to delineate more clearly their demographic structure. First, death rates within the population were examined since one would expect areas of high density of the elderly to possess high death rates; second, the elderly are distributed mostly within one and two-person households, and an examination of the number and sex-structure of one-person households gives some indication of the household structure in retirement areas.

b. Death Rates

It would be expected that, as a result of the increasing concentrations and proportions of the elderly within certain areas, the death rates for those areas would be higher than the national average. In order to see whether this was true or not, two forms of death rate statistics were analysed for the year 1971; these were the crude death rates per 1,000 in each administrative area and the local adjusted rate which allowed for varying age and sex structures and the presence of hospitals and other specialist institutions to be taken into account.²⁷ The latter involved the calculation of a standardising ratio, the 'Area Comparability Factor' (ACF),²⁸ in order to negate the effects of differing age and sex structures and, once calculated, was adjusted to have the effect of apportioning the deaths and the population in chronic sick and psychiatric hospitals over all areas of a county in proportion to their non-institutional populations.

27. Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales 1971: Part I, Population, Table E, p. 18f.

28. ibid: see explanatory note 'Area Comparability Factors (b) Deaths', p. X.

The adjusted rate for each area may thus be compared with the average rate of 1.0 for England and Wales as a whole.

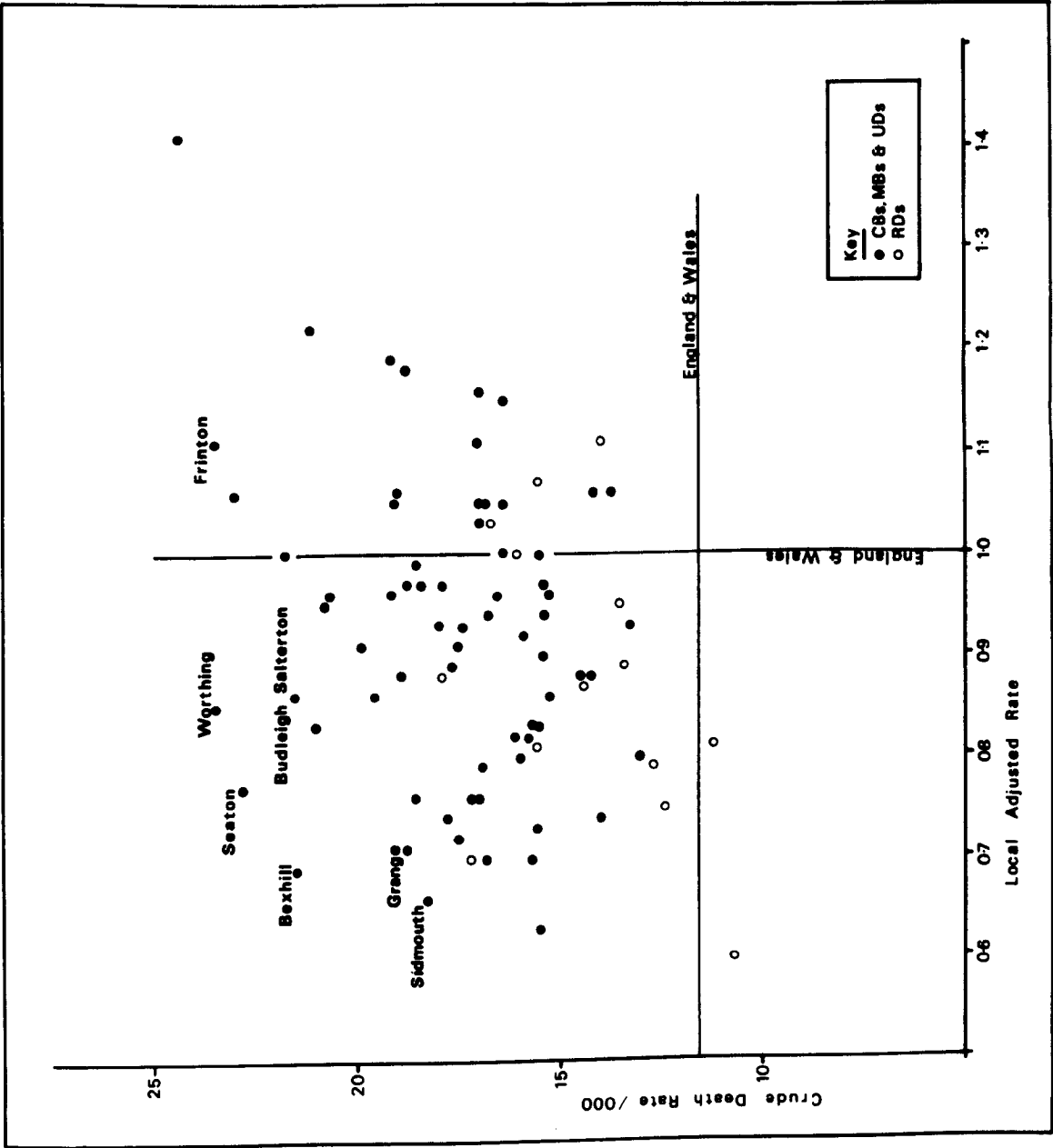
Figure 3 (12) summarises the crude and adjusted death rates for the 83 retirement areas that experienced both a population and elderly index gain in the period 1921 to 1971.²⁹ Almost all the areas had a crude death rate in excess of the national average (11.6 per 1,000); the two exceptions being Scarborough RD (10.7) and Bridlington RD (11.2). As would be expected, the areas with the highest crude death rates were also those with a high proportion of the elderly, for example, Worthing (23.5 per 1,000), Frinton and Walton (23.5), Herne Bay (23.1), Seaton (22.8), Bexhill (21.5), Budleigh Salterton (21.6), Minehead (21.0) and Filey (21.2). On the other hand, the lowest crude death rates were among rural-status retirement areas.

When the ACF was applied, however, the local adjusted death rates revealed very different characteristics in relation to the norm for England and Wales. What was particularly significant was that, for the majority of areas, the adjusted death rate was lower than the average national rate. From this statistic, it may therefore be concluded that retirement areas are relatively 'healthy' places in which to live, thus lending support to the claims of other studies,³⁰ as well as the publicity of the areas themselves in promoting the beneficial effects of living by the sea in relatively mild climates.³¹ The situation exists, therefore, in which the retirement areas possess a high gross death rate directly

29. See Appendix I for detailed statistics.

30. See Footnote 32.

31. For example, the official guide to Worthing, 1973, includes the following: "Worthing has always held a high position in sunshine records over the years, and the last official publication by the Meteorological Office of averages of bright sunshine for a thirty-year period shows 'Sunny Worthing' at the top of the list for the English mainland with an average of 1,821 hours of sunshine per year". Similarly, the (October to March) winter sunshine average - 553 hours - is the highest on the mainland. (p. 37.)



Death Rates. Significant Administrative Areas 1971

Figure 3 (12)

reflecting the age of residents, but may be characterised as comparatively healthy areas within the country as a whole. Any explanation of this apparent paradox must involve a number of factors. First, the low adjusted death rate is a reflection of a less than 'average' number of people dying in the area, the ACF having removed from the crude death rate the effects of those dying in certain institutions. As will be seen from the case study of Worthing in Chapter 5, many of the very elderly, at least in some retirement areas, are in such institutions at the time of their death and must be an important accounting factor in explaining the low adjusted death rates. Second, studies of mortality have shown that the number of deaths through certain diseases is considerably less in retirement areas than in urban centres where the incidence of diseases associated with stress, strain or contamination (e.g. heart, lung and respiratory diseases) is very much higher.³² In short, deaths in retirement areas are more likely to be the result of 'old age' than the direct result of disease. Third, the high numbers of elderly within the retirement areas are the consequence of high in-migration, particularly at the time of retirement. Any out-migration of the elderly would probably contribute to a lower death rate, particularly if population levels were maintained by in-migration of younger people (that is, younger than the out-migrants). In practice, as will be seen in Chapter 4, there are fairly high levels of out-migration of elderly people from retirement areas, thus contributing to this particular factor in accounting for relatively low death rates. These numerous factors are offered as part of the explanation as to why death rates in

32. See, for example, the following:

a. M. A. Murray: 'The geography of death in England and Wales', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 52, 1962, pp. 130-149.

b. G. M. Howe: National Atlas of Disease Mortality in the United Kingdom, Nelson, 1965.

c. R. K. MacPherson, F. Ofner and J. A. Walsh: 'The effect of prevailing air temperature on mortality', *British Journal of Preventive Social Medicine*, Vol. 21, 1967, pp. 17 - 21.

retirement areas are naturally high in gross terms, but relatively low when adjusted to discount the effects of age, sex and institutionalisation.

c. The Incidence of One-person Households

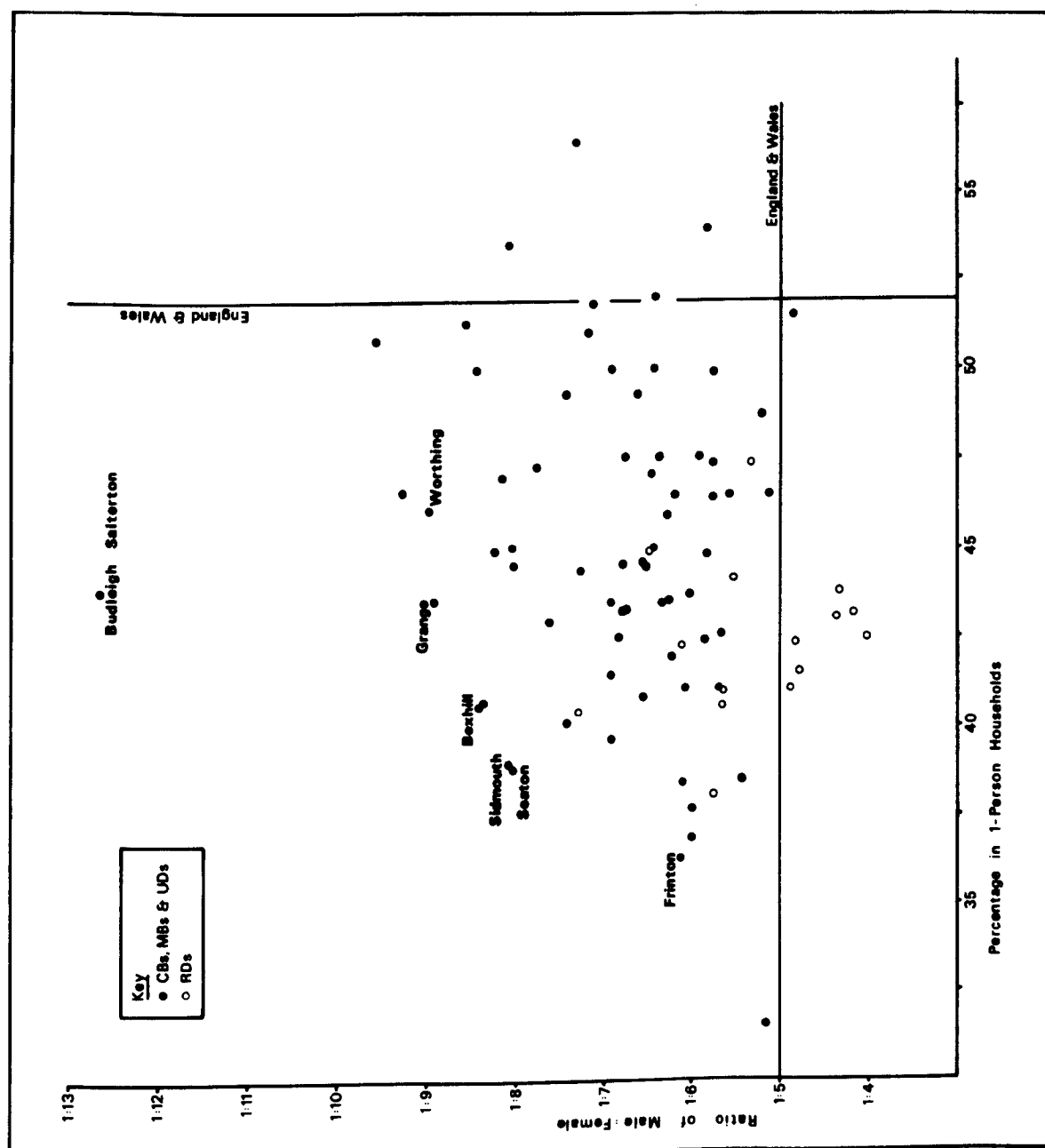
Two critical characteristics of retirement areas have been identified: the high proportions and growth of the elderly within the population and the comparatively low death rates associated with them. One further measure of interest concerns the structure of households, that is, the incidence of one-person pensionable households within the population.³³

In 1971, 51.8% of elderly (pensionable) people in England and Wales lived in one-person households, yet, surprisingly, a lower proportion of the elderly in the 83 retirement areas lived alone. (There were, however, four exceptions to this: Okehampton (53.5), Bridport (52.0), Brighton (54.0) and Hove (56.4)). Clearly, the most significant implication to be drawn from this finding is that a higher proportion of the elderly in retirement areas lived as couples than was the average for England and Wales as a whole. This finding has the effect of questioning the widely held view that retirement areas are 'ghettos' for the single elderly; obviously, in proportional terms this is less a characteristic of retirement areas than for England and Wales as a whole.

What is also of significance and concern is the sex component of one-person households within retirement areas (Figure 3 (13)).³⁴ The ratio of male to female one-person households in England and Wales in 1971 was 1:5, yet, apart from eight exceptions, all 83 retirement areas possessed a more extreme ratio. The most extreme ratio was found in Budleigh Salterton (1:13), but in general the areas ranking highest in proportions of elderly in the population possessed ratios of between 1:10 and 1:8 (e.g. Grange, Worthing, Bexhill, Sidmouth and Seaton), approaching double the average ratio for England and Wales.

³³. Census 1971: Pensionable Persons, Table 6.

³⁴. See Appendix I for detailed statistics.



From Figure 3 (13) it can be seen that rural areas possessed a more 'balanced' average ratio, reflecting the probability that the single elderly are unlikely to remain in comparatively isolated rural areas when they become incapable of maintaining their own lives and in need of some form of institutional help. Similarly, of those who participate in retirement migration, the majority go to urban centres and it is the female of a marriage partnership who is more usually the one to be widowed and who, if she then does not move away, remains in the area alone.

These statistics begin to characterise the demographic structure of retirement areas. On the one hand it is interesting to note that, when compared to the averages for England and Wales as a whole, the areas emerged quite favourably on the measure of adjusted death rates and, similarly, the proportion of single pensionable households in retirement areas was generally less than for all areas of England and Wales. On the other hand, the retirement areas were characterised by extremes, particularly in the high gross death rates per thousand (reflecting the high proportions of elderly) and the severe imbalances of the sex characteristics of one-person households. These are the consequences not only of the greater life expectation of females but also of the processes by which they move into, and remain within, the retirement areas.

VI. Sequential Growth of the Retirement Function: An Example from Sussex 1921 - 1971

A number of common characteristics have marked the growth of retirement areas, and the present high numbers and proportions of elderly people within the areas reveal similar patterns in their death rates, household structure and general mobility. However, while marked out by these shared characteristics, the areas reveal differentials in the rate of growth which, at a regional level, seem to reflect a sequential adoption of the retirement role. The general stages of regional growth have been

described within this chapter, but more detailed analysis of demographic characteristics would be required for specific times and reasons to be allocated to the growth of particular areas. The motivations underlying such growth may exhibit variations over time and, although this chapter has attempted to suggest the broad areas of changing expectations of the elderly over a fifty year period, the exact motivations of the migrants must remain within the field of speculation. (The latter part of this study attempts to achieve an understanding of the motivations underlying recent movement into such areas.)

In an attempt to clarify what were the patterns of growth of the retirement function at a local level, one sub-region was examined in more detail over the various inter-censal periods. The Sussex coast is one of the more mature of the coastal retirement belts, having shown evidence of adopting the retirement role from the inter-war years. During this analysis it became clear that the spatial and temporal sequence of adoption of the retirement function could be interpreted within the context of spatial diffusion theory.

Geographical studies of diffusion have largely been concerned with the spread of an object, invention or idea over time and space; for example, pioneering studies by Hagerstrand³⁵ examined the diffusion of new farming techniques among rural communities in Sweden, and later studies examined the spread of disease from primary centres of contraction.³⁶ The main

35. T. Hagerstrand: The Propagation of Innovation Waves, Lund:Gleerup, 1952. Lund Studies in Geography, Series B, No. 4. also: 'A Monte Carlo Approach to Diffusion', European Journal of Sociology, Vol. VI, 1965, pp. 43 - 67. also: Diffusion of Innovations, (trans. A. Pred) Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

36. G. F. Pyle: 'Diffusion of Cholera in the United States', Geographical Analysis Vol. I, Part 1, 1969, pp. 59 - 75.

See also, for example:

a. R. Morrill: 'The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives', Geographical Journal, Vol. 4, July 1965, pp. 339 - 81.

b. L. A. Brown and E. G. Moore: 'Diffusion Research: A Perspective', in C. Board, R. J. Chorley, P. Haggett and D. Stoddart, (Eds.), Progress in Geography, London, Edward Arnold Ltd., 1969, Chapter 4, pp. 120-157.

features of the diffusion process relating to the spread of, say, an idea are as follows: first, there is a point of origin at which certain innovators adopt the idea; second, the idea spreads within the area of origin, at the same time spreading outwards to surrounding areas as secondary adopters pick up the idea; third, the pattern of diffusion continues by a slowing of growth in the point of origin as the capacity for adoption reaches saturation point, the surrounding areas continue to see a spread of the idea, and a third wave of adopters continue the outward diffusion of the idea. Throughout the diffusion process there may be areas which fall within the path of the outward spread of the idea but which, for one reason or another, do not adopt the idea and are thus termed areas of 'resistance'. The logical end of the diffusion process is for the idea to reach maximum levels of adoption throughout the area of study, while the process itself is a dynamic concept of the diffusion of the idea over time from the point of origin to the level of maximum adoption. Such a pattern of change characterised the growth of the elderly population in Sussex between 1921 and 1971. Whatever the exact demographic causes of and contributors to this development, the key to the expanding role of retirement in Sussex lay in an increasing total population and an increasing proportion of the elderly, both absolutely and in relation to the changing national proportions. The latter factor was measured by the elderly index and areas which increased by more than 15 index points during any single inter-censal period were identified as areas of particular note (Figure 3 (14)). Statistics of growth are summarised in Table 3 (8).

Time 1. 1921 - 1931. Bognor Regis, alone, was identified as a centre of growth within the defined statistical limits. With an index score of 151.1 in 1931 and an index growth of 28.6 over the period, it may be described as one of the pioneering centres of ageing, a fact not unconnected with the function of the resort as a centre for recuperation from illness.

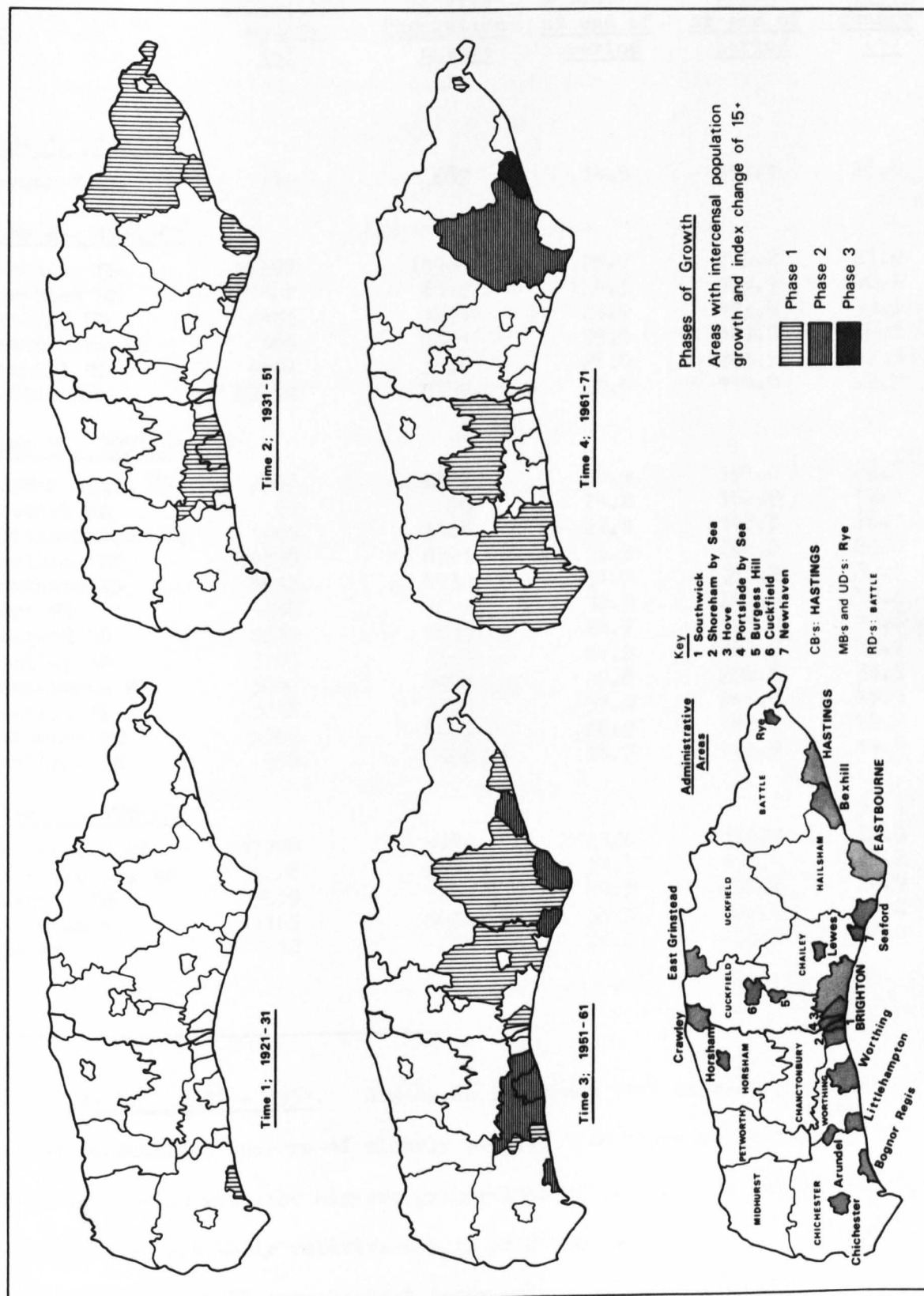


Table 3 (8) Sussex Retirement Areas. Statistics of growth 1921 - 1971.

	<u>Population change (+)</u>	<u>Elderly Population change (+)</u>	<u>% Elderly at end of period</u>	<u>Index at end of period</u>	<u>Index change (+)</u>
<u>Time 1. 1921-31</u>					
Bognor Regis UD	219	687	14.5	151.1	28.6
<u>Time 2. 1931-51</u>					
Worthing MB	23207	11961	29.7	215.2	21.2
Worthing RD	21427	6142	24.3	175.9	40.2
Seaford UD	2431	1264	23.9	173.4	33.2
Eastbourne MB	386	5021	23.3	169.0	16.2
Bexhill MB	4464	3908	28.0	203.5	42.1
Battle RD	23512	5399	20.5	149.0	22.7
<u>Time 3. 1951-61</u>					
Bognor Regis UD	2417	2222	28.4	191.2	28.2
Arundel MB	63	96	24.2	162.9	17.1
Littlehampton UD	1760	1168	22.1	148.8	28.7
Worthing MB	10898	8591	36.3	244.2	29.0
Worthing RD	8512	4939	31.7	213.2	37.3
Hove MB	3238	4272	30.9	207.5	17.6
Seaford UD	2020	1013	28.7	193.0	19.6
Chailey RD	2760	1542	24.2	162.7	17.7
Eastbourne MB	3097	4708	29.8	200.5	31.5
Bexhill MB	3248	3508	37.0	248.8	45.3
Hailsham RD	5362	3699	26.9	181.0	29.7
Hastings CB	956	3402	28.7	192.7	19.3
<u>Time 4. 1961-71</u>					
Chichester RD	13708	5786	23.6	146.7	22.9
Chanctonbury RD	5228	2821	27.4	171.4	26.2
Bexhill MB	3959	3844	44.2	275.2	26.4
Hailsham RD	11165	6430	33.3	207.2	26.2
Rye MB	12	231	24.2	150.3	22.0

Time 2. 1931 - 1951. Six areas in Sussex were marked out as having gained substantial numbers of elderly people. Worthing MB and Bexhill MB ended the period with the highest proportions of the elderly (29.7% and 28.0% respectively) but their relative change over the two decades was sharply contrasted. Bexhill rose by 42.1 index points during the period and, while other areas also rose sharply, especially Worthing RD (+40.2) and Seaford UD (+33.2), Worthing MB registered a 21.2 point increase

on the index. These figures reveal that for Worthing, a relatively high proportion of elderly were resident in the town as early as 1931, whereas for Bexhill the adoption of the retirement role was a more sudden event. Eastbourne MB and Battle RD also registered as areas of rapid growth of the retirement role during this period.

Time 3. 1951 - 1961. The four urban areas of significance in Time 2, together with Worthing RD, sustained a second phase of extensive growth of the retirement role. Bognor Regis also experienced a second phase of growth and also in West Sussex, Littlehampton UD and Arundel MB formed an extension to the contiguous area around Worthing. In East Sussex the two urban centres of Hove MB and Hastings CB experienced substantial growth, as did the two rural districts of Chailey and Hailsham. The latter rural area, in particular, was characterised as a rural hinterland to those coastal urban centres which grew in the previous decades. The most intensive growth was sustained in Bexhill (+45.3 index points) and Worthing RD (+37.3). Apart from the area of Hailsham RD, the areas sustaining growth by more than 20 index points were all located in West Sussex.

Time 4. 1961 - 1971. Only Bexhill was able to sustain a third phase of extensive growth as a retirement centre during this decade, and of the areas adopting the retirement role during Time 3, only Hailsham RD was able to sustain a second phase of expansion. In West Sussex, while the Worthing-Arundel-Littlehampton-Bognor belt, together with its rural hinterland of Worthing RD, could not uphold further extensive growth, the immediately adjacent rural districts of Chichester and Chanctonbury sustained growth for the first time. Rye MB, in East Sussex, adopted the trend, statistically, for the first time. The rate of expansion showed considerably during this decade with all significant Sussex areas rising by between 22.0 and 26.4 index points. Remarkably, it was Bexhill which maintained the highest rate of expansion for a third successive intercensal period.

Certain analogies with the diffusion process may be identified from

this pattern of growth and change. Particular areas were identified as innovators or primary adopters of the retirement function in the years up to 1951 and they were all characterised as coastal urban centres, e.g. Worthing MB (index of 215 in 1951), Eastbourne MB (169), Bexhill (203.5) and Seaford (173.4). In the years 1951 - 1961, a number of secondary adopters were identified which, with the exception of Hove, were exclusively adjacent to the primary adopters, e.g., Chailey RD (index in 1961 of 162.7), Hailsham RD (181), Arundel (162.9) and Littlehampton (148.8). By the time the decade 1961 - 1971 was reached, tertiary adopters such as Chichester RD (146.7 in 1971) and Chanctonbury RD (171.4) further extended the contiguous belt of coastal retirement centres.

Another theme concerns the manner in which each area progressed through a series of stages of growth. For example, Worthing, Eastbourne and Seaford all registered as adopters in 1931 - 1951 and, after two time periods of sustained growth in which the trend was consolidated, reduced their rates of growth perhaps as a point of saturation was being reached. The process of adoption, consolidation and saturation may be one to which all retirement areas are (potentially) subject. Bexhill is an interesting case in that it has been the only area so far able to experience a third phase of intensive growth of the retirement function. Whether or not this is related to the number of functions and roles an area tries to sustain is a matter for conjecture.

A third theme is the manner in which diffusion of the demographic process occurred through time. The early adopters of 1931 - 1951 (e.g. Worthing, Bexhill and Eastbourne) appear to have acted as core centres from which the role was diffused centrifugally. The adopters of Time 3 and Time 4 were each on the fringes of the established centres, thus representing an outward diffusion of the retirement role, rather than being areas of infill in the then existing spatial pattern, thus representing consolidation.

Where there was a 'core' and a 'periphery' of adoption, two distinct

patterns could be identified. The periphery around Worthing MB seemed to become significant at the time when the core itself lost the impetus to growth (1961 - 1971). In contrast, the periphery of rural districts around Bexhill seemed to have received and developed growth while the core itself maintained growth. In the first instance, the growth of the periphery may have been an 'overflow' from the core, while in the latter instance it may have been part of the consolidation process.

A further theme may be recognised in those areas which did not adopt the retirement role to any degree of statistical significance (although close examination of the data will reveal that these places, too, experienced growth in their elderly populations over the study period) and which may thus be classified as areas of 'resistance'. In fact, these areas almost all support a number of wider roles, such as the ports at Shoreham and Newhaven, the light industry of Southwick and Brighton and the metropolitan-cosmopolitan nature of Brighton itself. That these areas resisted classification as areas of growth of the elderly adds weight to the notion that growth is most extreme in those areas which carry few functions and roles.

Historically, innovation and primary adoption of the retirement role took place in Times 1 and 2, 1921 - 1951. Consolidation within most areas occurred during the second phase of growth (and in Bexhill during the third also) and in the core areas primarily during 1951 - 1961. Saturation, and a reduced rate of growth thereafter, occurred in the core areas in Time 4. (In some instances the 'index' actually fell between 1961 and 1971, although the absolute percentage of elderly within the population increased, for example: Worthing MB:- 1961; 244.2, 36.3%:- 1971; 241.2, 38.8%:- Worthing RD:- 1961, 213.2, 31.7%:- 1971; 209.0, 33.6%. The growth of adjacent areas at the stages of consolidation and 'saturation' would seem to indicate a reflection of an overflow from the original core centres at a time when an ever increasing number of people would seem to have participated in movement to the coast.

This analysis has commented only upon those areas which saw growth within the statistical constraints of population and index growth during the period. Even when not considered significant for inclusion within this analysis, some areas were returning high rates of growth which at times approached the critical threshold of 15 points per inter-censal period. From this brief analysis it can be clearly seen how the growth of retirement areas in Sussex can be understood within a conceptual framework analogous to that of spatial diffusion theory. Such a framework might be a hypothesis by which a study of the growth and development of retirement areas in other regions might be approached.

VII. Conclusions

The demographic characteristics associated with the growth of the elderly population in England and Wales were among the most distinctive during the period 1921 to 1971. This chapter has examined the broad spatial patterns of ageing during the period and, in particular, has focused in some detail upon the growth, and some of the characteristics, of coastal retirement areas.

In broad terms, two themes marked out the developing spatial pattern. First, there was a growing concentration of elderly people in specific areas, mostly on the coast. Analysis of change at the county level, and the level of the administrative areas themselves, showed a substantial rise in the density of elderly people in terms of both absolute numbers, and in relative terms when examined in conjunction with the rising proportion of the elderly in England and Wales as a whole. Second, the rising proportions of elderly people were matched by a growing polarisation between the elderly and the rest of the population, and the level of age integration across England and Wales was seen to be much higher in 1921 than in 1971.

In identifying retirement areas in 1971, the simple criteria of a high proportion of the elderly within the population was initially used as a basis for selection, but further investigations showed that a complex

series of demographic processes were associated with these areas. The areas were seen to possess distinctive characteristics in their death rates, and in the incidence of one-person households, but their fairly extreme basic statistics clouded the fact that, relatively, retirement areas are healthy places in which to live, and that a lower proportion of elderly people in retirement areas live in one-person households than is the national average. The rise in the proportion of elderly people was seen to be not only the consequence of a rise in the numbers of elderly people but also a function of population gain or loss within individual areas.

Perhaps the most interesting conclusion to this chapter concerns the manner in which the retirement function was seen to develop in areas on the Sussex coast. Its growth over time revealed distinctive phases of growth as the role was adopted in a few centres before being taken on by other, adjacent, areas. In spatial terms, this growth represented a diffusion of the retirement role from primary centres of growth to later areas of growth, with various aspects of the diffusion process being recognised in the developing pattern.

Underlying the discussion throughout this chapter has been the implicit assumption that migration was one of the major demographic processes in creating the developing pattern. Having examined the development of the pattern over a fifty-year period, and some of its attendant characteristics, Chapter 4 turns to an analysis of the role of migration in contributing to the emergent pattern during the years immediately prior to the 1971 census, and as an agent of the growth of particular retirement areas.

CHAPTER 4. MIGRATION OF THE ELDERLY

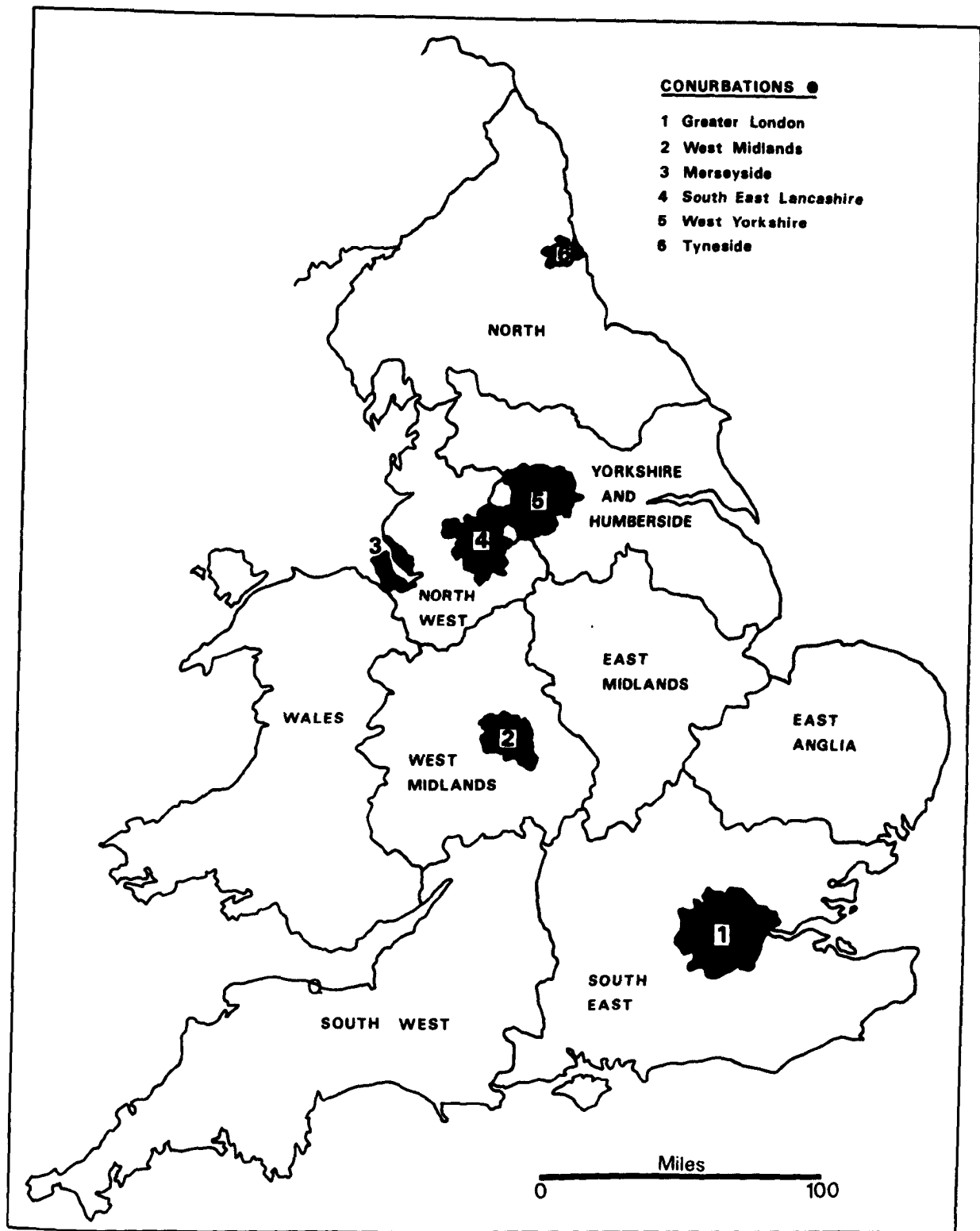
I. Introduction: The Relationship between Density of the Elderly and Migration

The 'retirement areas' of England and Wales have been gaining in their share of the elderly population during this century, and Chapter 3 identified these areas and has discussed their growth in the context of certain demographic characteristics. Throughout the discussion, and particularly in the more detailed study of the growth of Sussex retirement areas, it became clear that once a particular area had adopted the retirement function, it became a focus for growth attracting further numbers of the elderly. It was implied, also, that migration was one of the dominant demographic processes contributing to the developing pattern, and in this chapter the migration of the elderly is examined at length. In examining the role of migration in contributing to the changing spatial patterns of ageing in England and Wales in recent years, the discussion confines itself largely to the recent period 1966 to 1971, for which accurate statistics were published in the 1971 Census.¹ Apart from a brief examination of migration trends between 1961 and 1966, the discussion does not attempt to take account of migration trends prior to 1966, partly because of a lack of suitable data, and partly because what data does exist was published in the context of different areas to that of the 1971 Census.

The discussion is at two levels of analysis. First, it examines migration between the standard regions and conurbations of England and Wales, as defined for the 1971 Census (Figure 4 (1)).² Unless otherwise stated, totals refer to movement within the boundaries of England and Wales, but excluding movement to and from Scotland and overseas, since the calculation of certain net flows required the inversion of a data-matrix in which

1. Unless otherwise stated, all statistics for migration concerning the Regions and Conurbations of England and Wales were found within Census 1971 (Great Britain), Migration Tables, Part 1, (10% Sample), London, HMSO, 1974, especially Table 2B, pp. 34 - 60.

2. As defined in ibid: pp. x - xiii.



Regions and Conurbations of England and Wales 1971

Figure 4 (1)

the totals of out-migration to certain of these areas could not be calculated. Where these additional areas have been included in the discussion, 'Elsewhere in the British Isles' comprised the Isle of Man, Channel Islands and N. Ireland, and the 'Commonwealth and Colonial countries' were defined separately from all other 'Foreign countries'. After outlining the basic trends of inter-regional migration of the elderly within the context of total inter-regional migration patterns, the discussion focuses on those regions which experienced substantial net losses or gains of elderly migrants, and were thus classed as 'source' and 'receiving' regions, respectively, of net migration flows of the elderly.

Second, this chapter examines the levels of migration associated with those 'standard sub-divisions'³ of the standard regions which, in 1971, included one or more of the retirement areas identified in Chapter 3. Unfortunately, the boundaries of the sub-divisions and the retirement areas were not co-terminous,⁴ but the sub-divisions were sufficiently local to allow some assessment of the role of migration as an agent of growth in the retirement areas. At both the regional and the sub-divisional scales, the sex characteristics of migration flows provide important information about the different types of migration among the elderly and, in particular, the differences between migration into and within the retirement areas.

Although most of the discussion concerns migration between 1966 and 1971, it goes without saying that this particular movement was a development of what had been happening in earlier years. A preliminary analysis, therefore, concerned the nature of movement in the years immediately preceding those with which this chapter is primarily concerned, and was devised to test the validity of the notion that those areas with greater proportions

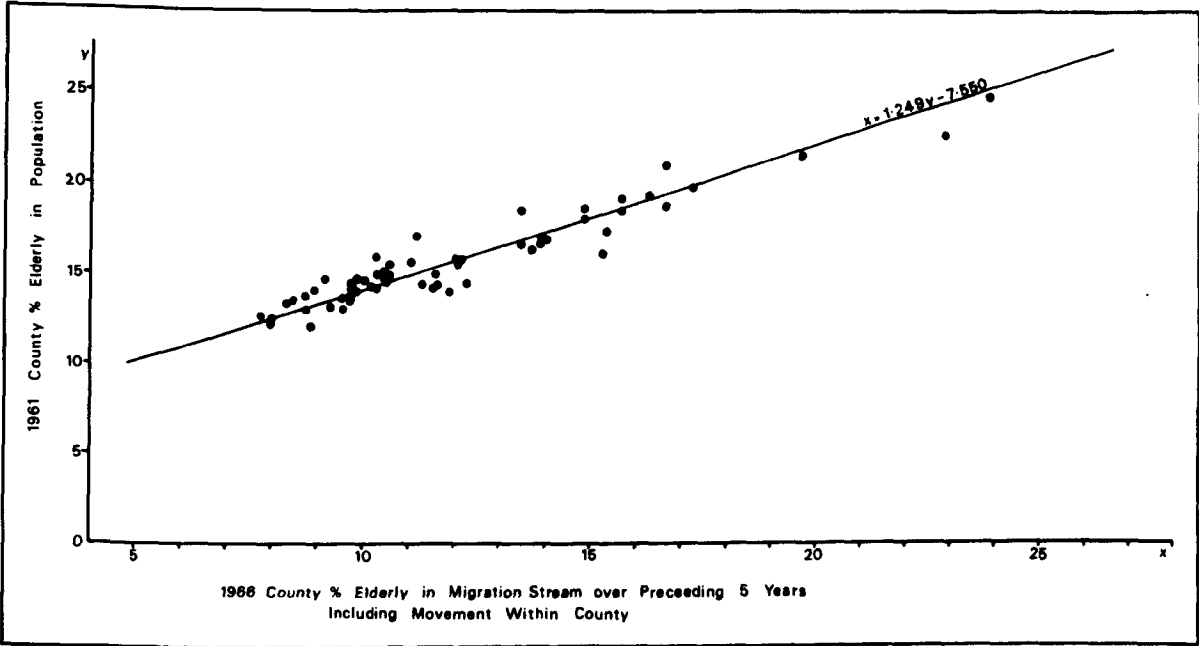
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3. Statistics for the sub-divisions of the standard regions were found within Census 1971, Migration Tables: Regional Reports (10% Sample), London, HMSO, 1974 - 1976, particularly Table 3B.
 4. Each sub-division contained a number of administrative areas: the constitution of those sub-divisions discussed in part III of this chapter are shown in Appendix II.

of the elderly tended to attract greater numbers of elderly migrants than those areas with low proportions of the elderly. The proportions of the elderly in the population of the counties of England and Wales in 1961⁵ were examined in relation to the proportions of the elderly within the migration streams of those counties in the subsequent five-year period, 1961 - 1966.⁶ The analysis examined the density of the elderly in relation to both total migration (Figure 4 (2)) and in-migration only (Figure 4 (3)), and in both cases a high correlation existed between the two measures (0.93 and 0.85 respectively). In respect of the total migration streams, the two counties with the highest proportions of the elderly in both the 1961 population and the migration stream were East Sussex (23.8% in the migration stream) and West Sussex (22.9%). The analysis of in-migration revealed a more dispersed distribution of densities of elderly in the migration stream, rising to over 26% in the case of East and West Sussex. Three counties grouped together with a proportion of elderly migrants in excess of what might have been expected from a general regression of the two measures, namely Denbighshire (20.6% elderly in the migration stream), Flintshire (20.2%) and the 'Holland' sub-division of Lincolnshire (19.4%).

The general hypothesis that areas of high density of the elderly are those with the highest proportional migration flows of the elderly thus appeared to be valid for the county level of analysis for the period 1961 to 1966. The three major exceptions from the expected pattern were all fairly rural and coastal areas which deviated in respect of in-migration only, perhaps reflective of the restricted migration opportunities that each area possessed in terms of attracting other types of migrants. If this relationship between density and migration has generally been true of other periods during this century, and also characterises future migratory

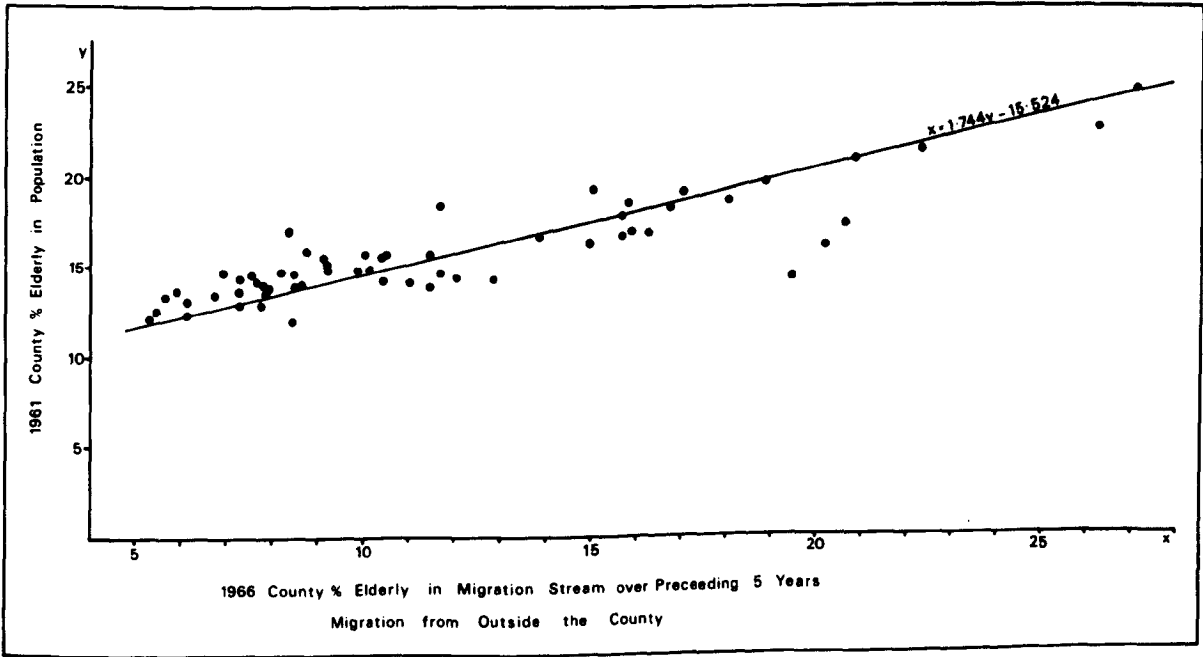
5. Statistics were abstracted from the Census 1961, County Reports.

6. Abstracted from the Sample Census 1966, Summary Migration Tables, (10% Sample), London, HMSO.



Regression of Total Elderly Migration on Density in Counties of England and Wales

Figure 4 (2)



Regression of Elderly In-Migration on Density in Counties of England and Wales

Figure 4 (3)

Table 4 (1). Regression Statistics: County migration 1961 - 1966

	<u>Total migration</u>	<u>In-migration</u>
Coefficient of correlation	0.933	0.848
Regression	$x = 1.249y - 7.550$	$x = 1.744y - 15.524$
t	19.56	11.66
Significance	0.1	0.1

movements, then the increasing spatial concentration and polarisation of the elderly may also continue to develop in the future. One mitigating factor, as evidenced from the analysis of the growth of retirement areas in Sussex,⁷ seems to be that individual areas do not have an unlimited capacity for expansion and, sooner or later, reach a threshold of 'saturation', after which migration tends to become directed towards adjacent areas. Having examined the general relationship between migration and the density of the elderly, this chapter now turns to a detailed examination of the regional and sub-regional migration patterns of the elderly between 1966 and 1971.

II. Inter-Regional Migration of the Elderly, 1966 - 1971

a. Inter-regional Migration

According to the 1971 Census, a total of 5,634,920 people in England and Wales moved within one year preceding the date of the census.⁸ Of this total, 5,217,870 (92.5%) had moved from places within England and Wales, 60,100 (1.07%) from Scotland and 357,050 from elsewhere in the British Isles and overseas. Of this movement, elderly migrants constituted a total of

7. Discussed in Chapter 3, part VI.

8. Census 1971 (Great Britain) Migration Tables, Part I, 10% Sample, Table 2A.

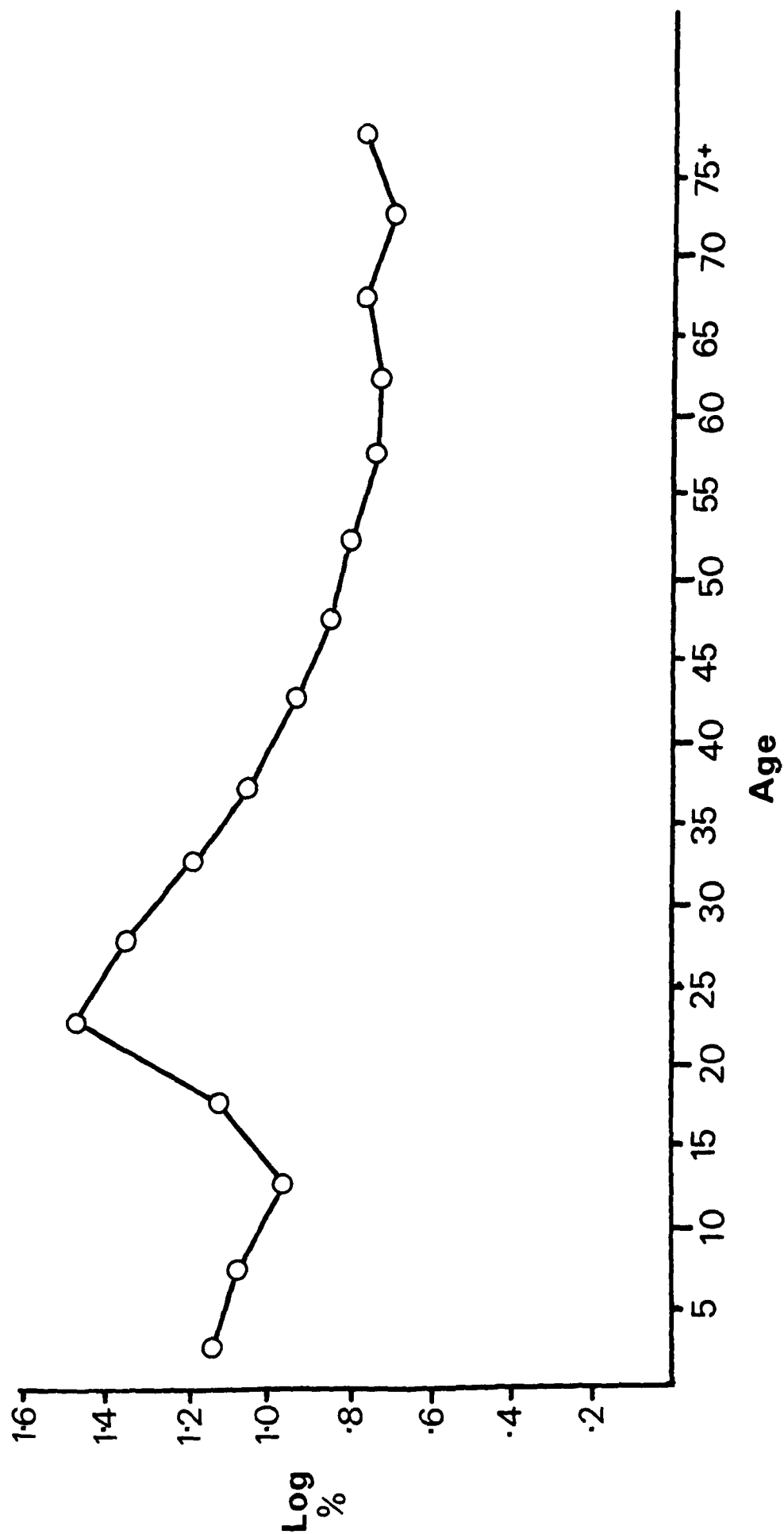
- 453,670 (8.051%) of the total flow, 443,970 (97.9%) having moved from within England and Wales, 1,980 from Scotland and 5,700 from elsewhere in the British Isles and overseas. As would be expected, the majority of migratory movements were among younger people. The pattern of mobility in relation to age, as expressed in Figure 4 (4) showing migrants as a percentage of each quinquennial age group,⁹ was that of a peak in mobility in the age groups 15 to 34, with a declining rate of mobility in each subsequent age group with the exception of ages 60 to 64, in which there was a slight increase in mobility rates. The proportion of all elderly migrants within the total migration flow was 8.05%, almost exactly half the proportion of the elderly within the total population of England and Wales in 1971 (16.08%).

Migration data for the five-year period 1966 to 1971 revealed a slightly different pattern to that described above. Of a total of 16,649,870 migrants in England and Wales, similar proportions had moved within England and Wales (93.15%), from Scotland (1.00%) and from elsewhere in the British Isles and overseas, as shown by the one-year statistics for 1970 to 1971. Elderly migrants, however, contributed 1,730,040, or 10.39% of the total migration flow between 1966 and 1971, indicating that there was a greater presence of elderly migrants within the total flow over the five-year period. As has been indicated, the discussion in this chapter is based on the five-year statistics which give a broader perspective to the subject than the one-year statistics which may be subject to particular anomalies.

The pattern of all inter-regional migration, 1966 to 1971, is continued within Figure 4 (5), a matrix of regional migration flows within England and Wales and of flows from Scotland and elsewhere.¹⁰ It reveals a pattern of flow and counterflow in which each region absorbed the majority

9. *ibid*: p. 8.

10. Abstracted from *ibid*: Table 28, pp. 34 - 60.



England and Wales 1970-71. Percentage in each age group migrating. Figure 4 (4)

Figure 4 (5) Migration in England and Wales, 1966 - 1971 (10%)

Migration from:	Area of usual residence at Census																Total migration to England and Wales
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1. NORTH:																	
Tyneside Cb	22890	3938	144	386	31	163	242	297	66	215	151	489	528	301	244	88	30173
2. Remainder	1767	66140	649	2067	167	488	1097	1149	253	791	497	1198	1191	1046	822	297	79619
3. YORKS & HUMBER- SIDE:																	
W. Yorks Cb	104	827	49626	4087	105	559	1001	609	235	353	233	775	638	607	564	227	60550
4. Remainder	222	2477	2763	79824	187	784	1386	3437	368	920	848	1305	1506	1426	1172	476	99101
5. NORTH WEST:																	
Merseyside Cb	32	200	142	245	30540	368	9240	236	154	333	109	591	544	510	375	1091	44710
6. S.E.Lancs Cb	87	479	419	1072	334	63852	7481	714	274	651	300	1051	1057	1006	1162	921	80860
7. Remainder	119	957	589	1018	2207	3295	69196	956	358	1188	445	1108	1347	1213	1173	1350	86519
8. EAST MIDLANDS	143	814	499	3002	145	494	989	82174	561	2024	1618	1563	2057	2117	1932	604	100736
9. WEST MIDLANDS:																	
W. Midlands Cb	66	256	217	402	112	321	519	1096	61854	12402	265	955	915	1052	1681	743	82856
10. Remainder	103	598	232	672	221	509	1529	2470	3612	62185	589	1224	1650	1839	2391	1369	81193
11. EAST ANGLIA	61	278	152	630	61	198	263	1282	159	392	37436	1437	1896	2004	1002	312	47563
12. SOUTH EAST:																	
G. London	268	1040	660	1174	448	880	1279	2907	778	1472	5261	186599	38958	19992	6689	1556	269961
13. O.M.A.	228	941	386	1170	345	660	1283	2447	555	1544	3453	12898	111284	16290	6274	1179	160937
14. O.S.E.	154	741	413	957	259	463	872	1989	571	1355	2278	5891	10470	100583	6436	919	134351
15. SOUTH WEST	134	667	262	763	206	485	802	1224	634	1650	917	3148	3944	6303	93115	1429	115683
16. WALES	50	311	124	435	394	419	966	674	506	1339	347	1490	1425	1364	2040	64253	76137
17. SCOTLAND	317	1294	449	911	214	799	1151	1415	390	992	587	2574	2189	1652	1326	399	16659
18. Elsewhere in G.B.	50	231	295	263	300	759	542	422	640	317	246	3491	1129	777	676	223	10441
19. Commonwealth	278	1215	2247	1480	571	2268	1751	3233	3489	1786	1560	15307	5997	4744	3447	1172	50545
20. Foreign Countries	226	932	467	1281	421	868	1031	1535	506	983	3300	10782	5163	5129	2984	795	36403
TOTAL	27299	84336	60735	101839	37268	78632	102620	110266	75963	92972	60440	253876	193888	169955	135505	79403	
TOTAL from England & Wales (1 - 16)	26428	80664	57277	97904	35676	73938	98145	103661	70938	88814	54747	221722	179410	157653	127072	76814	

of migrants which it, itself, generated, and in which the conurbations generated and absorbed the majority of all migrants. Within the general pattern certain regions and conurbations were subject to a net gain of migrants at the expense of others which experienced a net loss.

The pattern of inter-regional migration of the elderly between 1966 and 1971 is expressed in Figure 4 (6), a matrix which reveals similar features to those described above.¹¹ Short distance moves within the regions and the conurbations accounted for the majority of all moves for, of a total of 1,697,820 moves within England and Wales, 76.95% (1,306,440) did not cross regional or conurbation boundaries. The remaining 23.05% (391,380), however, largely represent the substantial minority of the elderly who are contributing to the changing spatial patterns of ageing in England and Wales.¹²

Gross gains of population in individual areas through total migration varied considerably. The smallest gains were in Tyneside (264,260), Merseyside (356,760), both of them conurbations, and East Anglia (547,470). The largest gross gains, however, were in the South East, with 1,576,530 people moving into the Outer South East (O.S.E.), 179,410 to the Outer Metropolitan Area (O.M.A.), and 2,217,220 to Greater London. The South West, with 1,270,720, and the East Midlands, with 1,036,610, were the only other regions with gross inflows of more than one million.

With regard to elderly migrants, Figure 4 (6) indicates that the four areas with the lowest gross gains were Tyneside (27,000), Merseyside (34,440), West Midlands Cb (62,560) and the West Yorkshire Cb (64,790). This pattern was similar to that of total migrants but it should be noted that East Anglia had a higher gross gain, in ranking, for elderly migrants

11. Also from *ibid*: Table 2B.

12. This is not to ignore the fact that some movement within the boundaries of the regions is also contributing to a changing geography of the elderly, particularly at a local rather than regional scale.

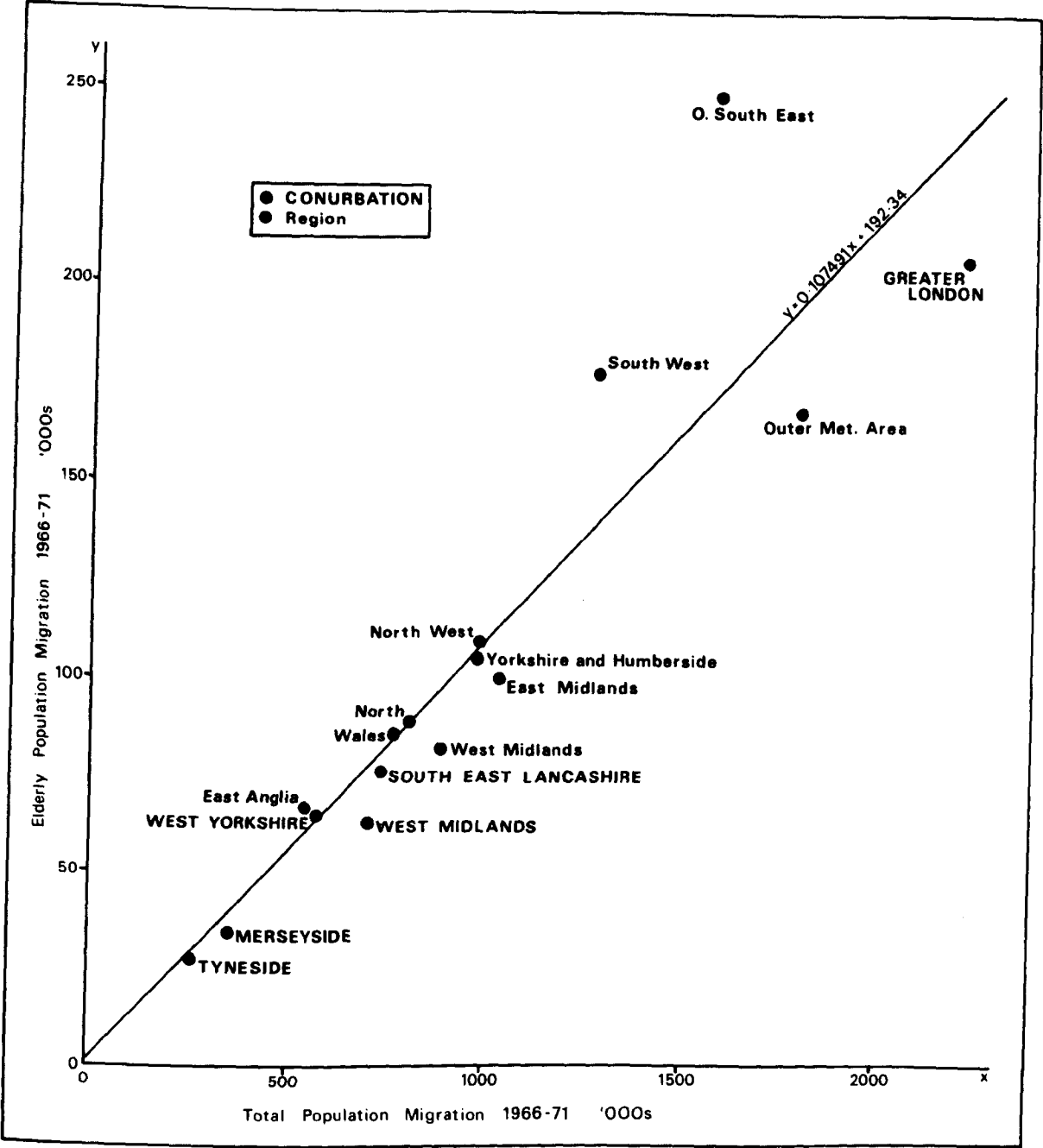
Figure 4 (6) Migration of the Elderly in England and Wales, 1966 - 1971 (10%)

Migration from:	Area of usual residence at Census																Total migration to England and Wales
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1. NORTH:																	
Tyneside Cb	2428	315	9	18	1	9	12	16	1	14	16	21	32	27	33	5	2957
2. Remainder	156	7521	37	180	13	18	98	46	13	32	24	47	67	87	66	24	8429
3. YORKS & HUMBER- SIDE:																	
W. Yorks Cb	3	97	5931	443	13	33	146	39	11	20	26	18	28	64	72	21	6965
4. Remainder	12	269	212	8802	11	31	125	246	14	56	45	49	55	119	114	31	10191
5. NORTH WEST:																	
Merseyside Cb	0	17	12	30	3076	30	639	21	7	45	7	23	35	51	43	184	4220
6. S.E.Lancs Cb	6	58	27	85	26	6967	962	39	8	66	45	39	56	108	140	203	8835
7. Remainder	7	116	66	107	146	268	8090	86	25	79	45	37	73	137	149	171	9602
8. EAST MIDLANDS	4	41	20	325	9	20	71	8416	32	125	126	50	112	219	242	63	9875
9. WEST MIDLANDS:																	
W. Midlands Cb	3	27	5	33	9	13	45	77	5733	976	26	34	45	202	399	138	7765
10. Remainder	11	34	13	54	13	24	120	135	219	6084	46	26	78	207	347	170	7581
11. EAST ANGLIA	6	19	16	37	2	7	20	67	3	32	4567	90	107	231	80	25	5309
12. SOUTH EAST:																	
G. London	36	144	47	118	33	48	168	325	34	136	933	18533	3919	5469	1563	246	31752
13. O.M.A.	9	94	24	84	21	27	94	131	21	98	427	747	10609	2399	978	96	15859
14. O.S.E.	15	60	32	93	16	28	109	190	41	127	248	571	1136	14665	935	125	18391
15. SOUTH WEST	4	36	20	51	14	29	78	78	57	132	75	160	288	690	12322	129	14163
16. WALES	0	17	8	30	41	39	90	44	37	144	19	67	79	156	247	6900	7888
17. SCOTLAND	16	78	17	37	12	22	56	58	18	39	33	60	80	119	99	23	767
18. Elsewhere in G.B.	1	10	10	15	8	24	19	19	16	23	13	81	41	51	49	14	394
19. Commonwealth	8	34	48	50	17	53	50	47	75	38	28	306	136	207	128	30	1255
20. Foreign Countries	5	13	9	16	11	28	28	33	11	19	28	239	102	135	94	35	806
TOTAL	2730	9000	6563	10608	3492	7718	11020	10113	6376	8285	6777	21198	17078	25313	18100	8633	
TOTAL from England & Wales (1 - 16)	2700	8865	6479	10490	3444	7591	10867	9956	6256	8166	6675	20512	16719	24801	17730	8531	

than for total migrants. The largest gross gains of the elderly were in the O.M.A. (167,190), the South West (177,300), Greater London (205,120) and the Outer South East (248,010). It may also be noted that, in contrast to the pattern for total migrants, elderly migrants were more significant at the regional scale in the Outer South East than in Greater London, and in the South West than in the Outer Metropolitan Area.

Gross losses of population through migration also showed great variation between the regions. From Figure 4 (5) it can be seen that Tyneside, Merseyside, East Anglia and the West Yorkshire Cb had the lowest totals, while the South East as a whole, the South West and the East Midlands again shared the same ranking, as in gross gain, for the highest gross loss. Figure 4 (6) shows the characteristics for retired migrants. In ascending rank order, the regions with the lowest losses were Tyneside Cb, Merseyside Cb, East Anglia and the West Yorkshire Cb, while the highest losses were in the South West, O.M.A., Outer South East and Greater London. It may be noted that, in contrast to their ranking for gross gains of retired migrants, East Anglia, the South West and the Outer South East held lower rankings with respect to losses, indicating that proportionately they were also gaining elderly population through migration. The relationship between the gross flows of total migration and elderly migration is summarised in Figure 4 (7). It may be noted that the Outer South East and the South West in particular were marked out by their high gross flows and their high proportion of elderly in the flow, whereas Greater London and the O.M.A. were characterised by a lower proportion of elderly migrants in a high gross flow. Of the other regions, the East and West Midlands and the West Midlands Cb showed most deviation from the average proportion of elderly within the migration flow.

A more detailed pattern of gain and loss within the regions may be observed by calculating net migration flows, that is, the difference between gross gain and gross loss. Table 4 (2) shows the net change in each region



Migration Flows to Regions and Conurbations of England and Wales

Figure 4 (7)

Table 4 (2) Net Change in Population through Migration:
Regions and Conurbations of England and Wales 1966 - 1971
 (10%)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total Migration</u> <u>Net Change</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Elderly Migration</u> <u>Net Change</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Outer South East	+23302	1	+ 6410	1
South West	+11389	4	+ 3567	2
East Anglia	+ 7184	7	+ 1366	3
North West (Rem.)	+11626	3	+ 1265	4
Outer Met. Area	+18473	2	+ 860	5
Wales	+ 677	9	+ 643	6
W. Midlands (R)	+ 7651	6	+ 585	7
North (R)	+ 1045	5	+ 436	8
Yorks & Humberside (R)	+ 1197	10	+ 299	9
East Midlands	+ 2925	8	+ 81	10
Tyneside Cb	- 3745	12	- 257	11
West Yorkshire Cb	- 3273	11	- 486	12
Merseyside Cb	- 9034	14	- 776	13
S. E. Lancashire Cb	- 6922	13	- 1244	14
W. Midlands Cb	-11918	15	- 1509	15
Greater London	-48239	16	-11240	16

Source: 1971 Census: Migration
Tables

for both total and elderly migrants, and the regions are ranked according to absolute net change of elderly migrants. Although there was considerable variation in ranking between total and elderly migrants, a common feature in both types was the clustering of conurbations as having suffered the largest net losses. The greatest losses were from Merseyside (90,340), West Midlands Cb (119,180) and Greater London (482,390), as might be expected from a general process of decentralisation from the cities. Of the regions having the greatest net increase, the most significant feature was the confirmation that the South West, East Anglia and Wales had a more

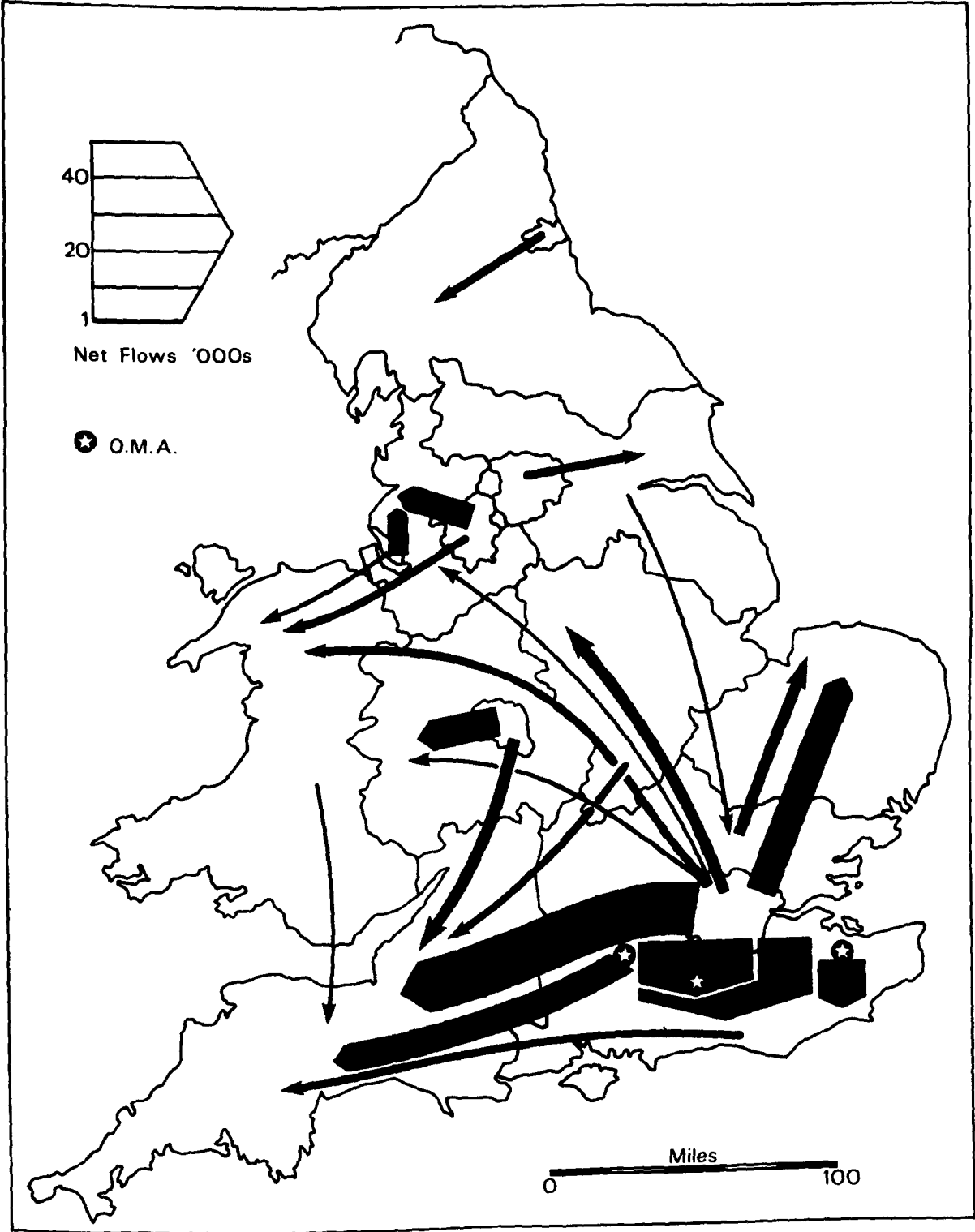
significant net gain of elderly migrants than of total migrants.

The total pattern of net flows of elderly migrants between areas of England and Wales is contained within Figure 4 (8). This complex pattern has been summarised in Figure 4 (9) which shows flows of more than 1,000 flowing to the area of gain. The overwhelming dominance of Greater London and the South East in generating these flows is apparent. The greatest net flows were from Greater London to the Outer South East, O.M.A. and South West respectively. Smaller flows also went from Greater London to East Anglia, the E. Midlands, Wales, the W. Midlands and the North West. The O.M.A. generated two major flows to the Outer South East and the South West, and the Outer South East in turn sent flows to the South West and East Anglia. The only flow of any significance into the South East from elsewhere, however, was a small flow of 1,260 from Yorkshire and Humberside to the O.S.E. The South West, in addition to the flows mentioned above, also received flows from the West Midlands Cb, the East Midlands and Wales. Both conurbations in the North West generated their largest flows to the adjacent region, with smaller flows into North Wales, while the two most northerly conurbations, West Yorkshire and Tyneside, sent net flows into their immediate 'hinterlands' but neither generated any other large flows. The general pattern, then, was one of the conurbations generating major flows into their adjacent regions. In addition, secondary flows may be identified from the conurbations to Wales and to the South West which crossed regional boundaries. One might, perhaps, have expected a significant net flow from the West Midlands to Wales, given the interdependence between the two areas,¹³ and, in fact, the flow was of a net gain of 990 elderly people, a comparatively high flow and, as will be observed later,

13. North Wales, in particular, offers recreational resources which are taken up by many of the city residents of the West Midlands Conurbation and much of the water resources of Wales is consumed within the West Midlands. Birmingham is one of the more important urban centres for residents of N. Wales.

Figure 4 (8) Migration of the Elderly: Net Flows Between Areas, 1966 - 1971 (10%)

Area of Former Residence (Source Area)	Area of Usual Residence at Census (Receiving Areas)															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. NORTH:																
Tyneside Cb	=	+159	+ 6	+ 6	+ 1	+ 3	+ 5	+ 12	- 2	+ 3	+ 10	- 15	+ 23	+ 12	+ 29	+ 5
2. Remainder	-159	=	- 60	- 89	- 4	- 40	+ 18	+ 5	- 14	- 2	+ 5	- 97	- 27	+ 27	+ 30	+ 7
3. YORKS & HUMBER- SIDE:																
W. Yorks Cb	- 6	+ 60	=	+231	+ 1	+ 6	+ 80	+ 19	+ 6	+ 7	+ 2	- 19	+ 4	+ 32	+ 52	+ 13
4. Remainder	- 6	+ 89	-231	=	- 19	- 54	+ 18	- 79	- 19	+ 2	+ 8	- 69	- 29	+ 126	+ 63	+ 1
5. NORTH WEST:																
Merseyside Cb	- 1	+ 4	- 1	+ 9	=	+ 4	+493	+ 12	- 2	+ 32	+ 5	- 10	+ 14	+ 35	+ 29	+143
6. S.E.Lancs Cb	- 3	+ 40	- 6	+ 54	- 4	=	+694	+ 19	- 12	+ 53	+ 21	+ 32	+ 8	+ 29	+ 80	+164
7. Remainder	- 5	+ 18	- 80	- 18	-493	- 694	=	+ 15	- 20	+ 41	+ 25	- 131	- 21	+ 28	+ 71	+ 81
8. EAST MIDLANDS	- 12	- 5	- 19	+ 79	- 12	- 19	- 15	=	- 45	+ 10	+ 58	- 235	- 19	+ 29	+ 164	+ 19
9. WEST MIDLANDS:																
W. Midlands Cb	+ 2	+ 14	- 6	+ 19	+ 2	+ 12	+ 20	+ 45	=	+757	+ 23	=	+ 24	+ 161	+ 342	+ 99
10. Remainder	- 3	+ 2	- 7	- 2	- 32	- 53	- 41	- 10	- 757	=	+ 14	- 110	- 20	+ 80	+ 215	+ 26
11. EAST ANGLIA	- 10	- 5	- 2	- 8	- 5	- 21	- 25	- 58	- 23	- 14	=	- 843	- 320	- 17	+ 5	+ 6
12. SOUTH EAST:																
G. London	+ 15	+ 97	+ 19	+ 69	+ 10	- 32	+131	+275	=	+110	+ 843	=	+3172	+4898	+ 1403	+179
13. O.M.A.	- 23	+ 27	- 4	+ 29	- 14	- 8	+ 21	+ 19	- 24	+ 20	+ 320	-3172	=	+1263	+ 690	+ 17
14. O.S.E.	- 12	- 27	- 32	-126	- 35	- 29	- 28	- 29	- 161	- 80	+ 17	-4898	-1263	=	+ 245	- 31
15. SOUTH WEST	- 29	- 30	- 52	- 63	- 29	- 80	- 71	-164	- 342	-215	- 5	-1403	- 690	- 245	=	-118
16. WALES	- 5	- 7	- 13	- 1	-143	- 164	- 81	- 19	- 99	- 26	- 6	- 179	- 17	+ 31	+ 118	=
NET CHANGE:	-257	+436	-486	+299	-776	-1244	+1265	+ 81	-1509	+585	+1366	-11240	+ 860	+6410	+ 3567	+643



Inter-Regional Net Migration Flows of the Elderly, 1000+. 1966-71

Figure 4 (9)

one in which the proportion of elderly migrants within the total flow was high.

The more significant features of the migration of the elderly have been highlighted by this discussion of the patterns of net migration flows. It has not, however, accounted for these features as proportional trends in relation to total population flows. For example, the overwhelming dominance of the South East Region was not surprising given that it contained 17,230,000 people, or 35.34% of the population, in 1971. Thus, while the foregoing discussion has highlighted the total impact of migration of the elderly over England and Wales, an examination of the proportions involved in the migration flows is required for a more balanced analysis. The figures of proportional change may be calculated either by taking regional net change as a percentage of the total regional population, or by an analysis of the difference between the rate of in-migration per thousand population and the rate of out-migration per thousand population.¹⁴

Table 4 (3) shows the rates of in and out-migration per thousand for each region with regard to total and elderly population, and the relationship between them for total population is summarised in Figure 4(10). The conurbations stand out as having had the greatest proportional out-movement; the rate of loss was highest in Tyneside (over 374 per 1,000), Greater London ranked second highest, while the South East Lancashire Cb had the lowest rate of outflow of all the conurbations. The lowest rate of outflow of any of the regions was from Wales, with the North West and East Anglia also returning low rates. These examples serve to define the extreme rates of out-movement, for the majority of areas were within the range of 295 to 330 per 1,000 outflow.

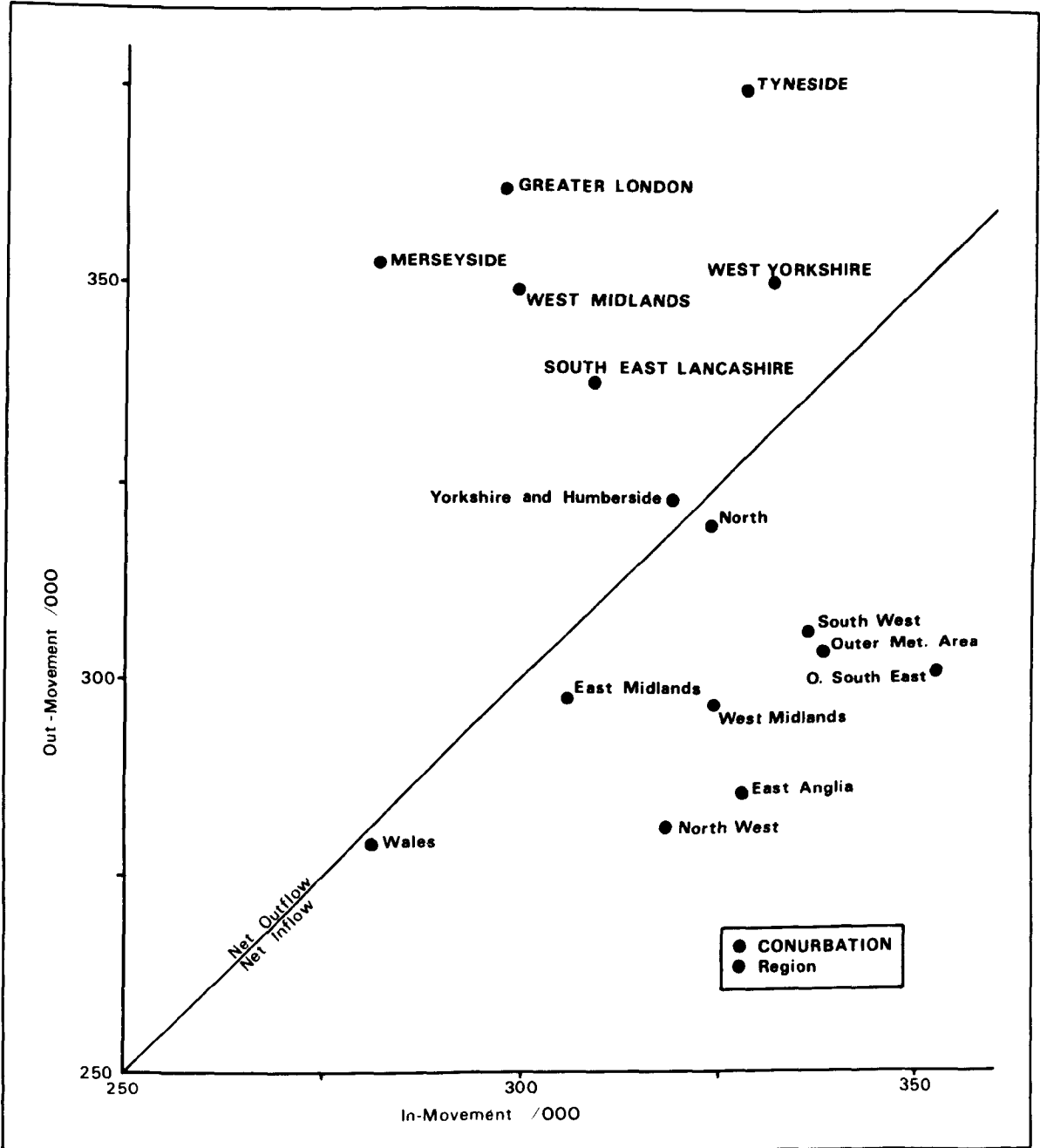
With regard to in-movement per 1,000 the pattern was more confused,

14. Population totals for the regions were abstracted from Census 1971, Age, Marital Condition and General Tables, London, HMSO, 1971, Table 2.

Table 4 (3) Rates of in- and out-migration per thousand population

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total Population 1971 (thousands)</u>	<u>in / 000</u>	<u>Total Migrants out / 000</u>	<u>Net balance</u>	<u>in / 000</u>	<u>Elderly Migrants out / 000</u>	<u>Net balance</u>
<u>NORTH</u>							
Tyneside Cb	805	328.3	374.8	-46.5	33.5	36.7	- 3.2
North (Remainder)	2491	323.8	319.6	+ 4.2	35.6	33.8	+ 1.8
<u>YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE</u>							
West Yorkshire Cb	1728	331.5	350.4	-18.9	37.5	40.3	- 2.8
Yorks & Humberside (Remainder)	3071	318.8	322.7	- 3.9	34.1	33.2	+ 0.9
<u>NORTH WEST</u>							
Merseyside Cb	1267	281.6	352.9	-71.3	27.2	33.3	- 6.1
S.E.Lancashire Cb	2393	309.0	337.9	-28.9	31.7	36.9	- 5.2
N. West (Remainder)	3083	318.5	280.6	+37.9	35.2	31.1	+ 4.1
EAST MIDLANDS	3390	305.8	297.2	+ 8.6	29.4	29.1	+ 0.3
<u>WEST MIDLANDS</u>							
West Midlands Cb	2372	299.0	349.3	-50.3	26.4	32.7	- 6.3
West Midlands (Remainder)	2738	324.4	296.5	+27.9	29.8	27.7	+ 2.1
EAST ANGLIA	1669	328.0	285.0	+43.0	40.0	31.8	+ 8.2
<u>SOUTH EAST</u>							
Greater London	7452	297.5	362.2	-64.7	27.5	42.6	-15.1
O.M.A.	5307	338.1	303.3	+34.8	31.5	29.9	+ 1.6
O.S.E.	4471	352.6	300.5	+52.1	55.5	41.1	+14.4
SOUTH WEST	3781	336.1	305.9	+30.2	46.9	37.5	+ 9.4
WALES	2731	281.3	278.8	+ 2.5	31.2	28.9	+ 2.3

Source: Derived from Census 1971; Migration Tables

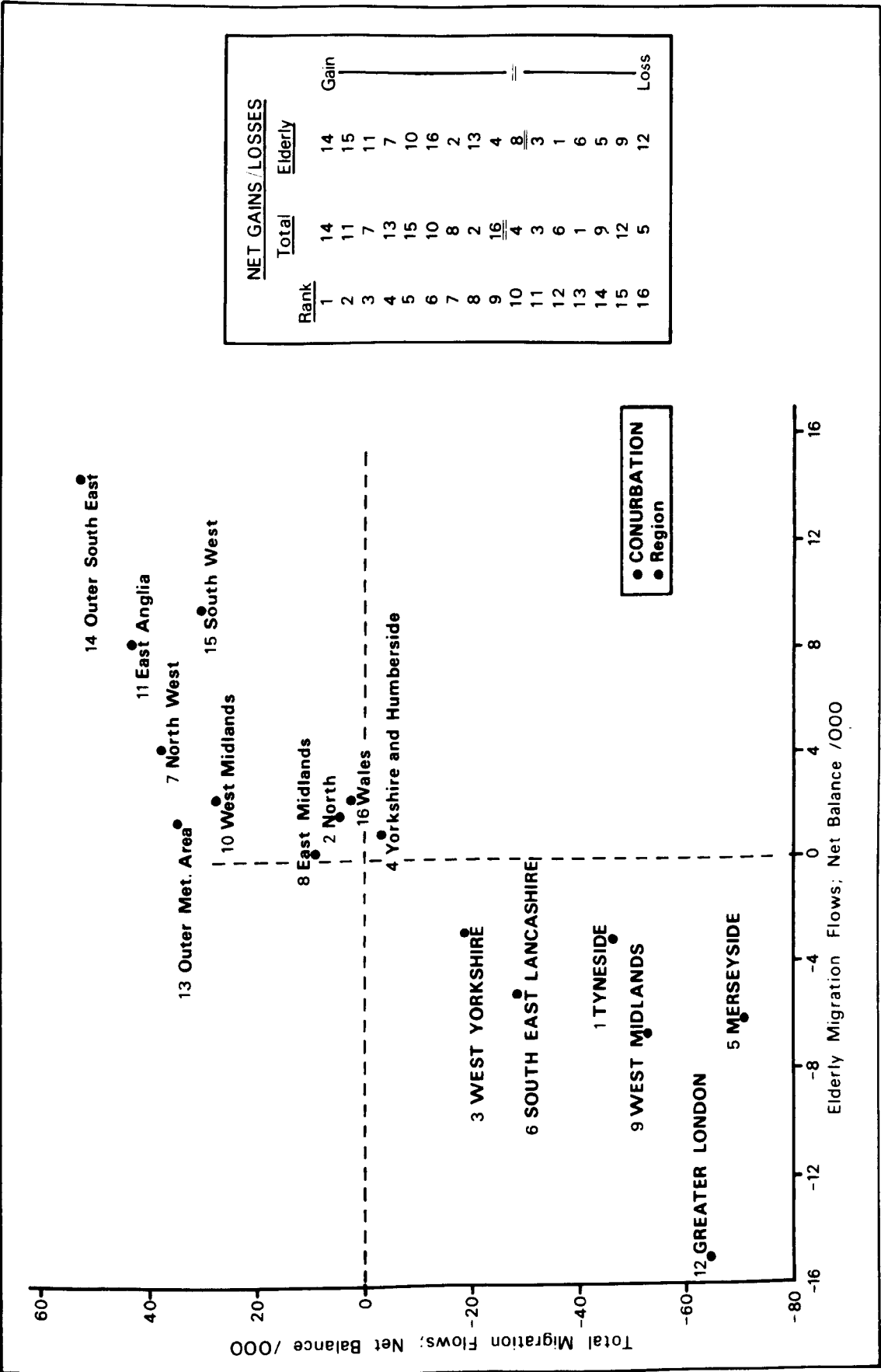


Total Migration 1966-71. Balance of In. Out Flows

Figure 4 (10)

since there was not a polarisation between the rates of the conurbations and those of the regions. The South East region, excluding Greater London, and the South West region had the highest rates of inflow (over 335/1,000), while the lowest rates of inflow were shared by the two dissimilar areas of Wales and Merseyside (rates of just over 281/1,000). All other areas fell within a range similar to those of out-movement, that is, between 295 and 330 per 1,000. On balance, therefore, the conurbations all experienced a net outflow while all other regions, with the exception of Yorkshire and Humberside, experienced a net inflow, the largest net gains being in the Outer South East, East Anglia and the North West.

The relationship between this pattern of change for total migration and that for migration of the elderly is summarised in Figure 4 (11), in which the regions are also ranked for their position with regard to net gain or loss of population. The only two regions which shared the same ranking for both total and elderly migration were the Outer South East, with the greatest rate of increase of both, and the West Yorkshire Cb, which ranked eleventh. Of the other regions and conurbations, all but four were within two places on the ranking of the respective scales. The four exceptions were, first, the South West, which had the fifth highest rate of net-balance in respect of total migrants but the second highest rate in respect of the elderly; second, Wales, ranking ninth on net-balance of total migration but sixth on net-balance of elderly migration; third, the East Midlands, which ranked seventh on total migration net-balance but tenth in respect of elderly migration, and fourth, the Outer Metropolitan Area which had the greatest discrepancy in ranking, being fourth in respect of total net-balance but eighth in respect of the net-balance of elderly migration. These conclusions would seem to confirm the general impression, gained in Chapter 3, that during the 1960s it was the South West region in particular that experienced a growth of its elderly population through migration. In fact, the South West, Wales, East Anglia and the Outer South East all had



Net Balance of Total and Elderly Migration Flows 1966-71

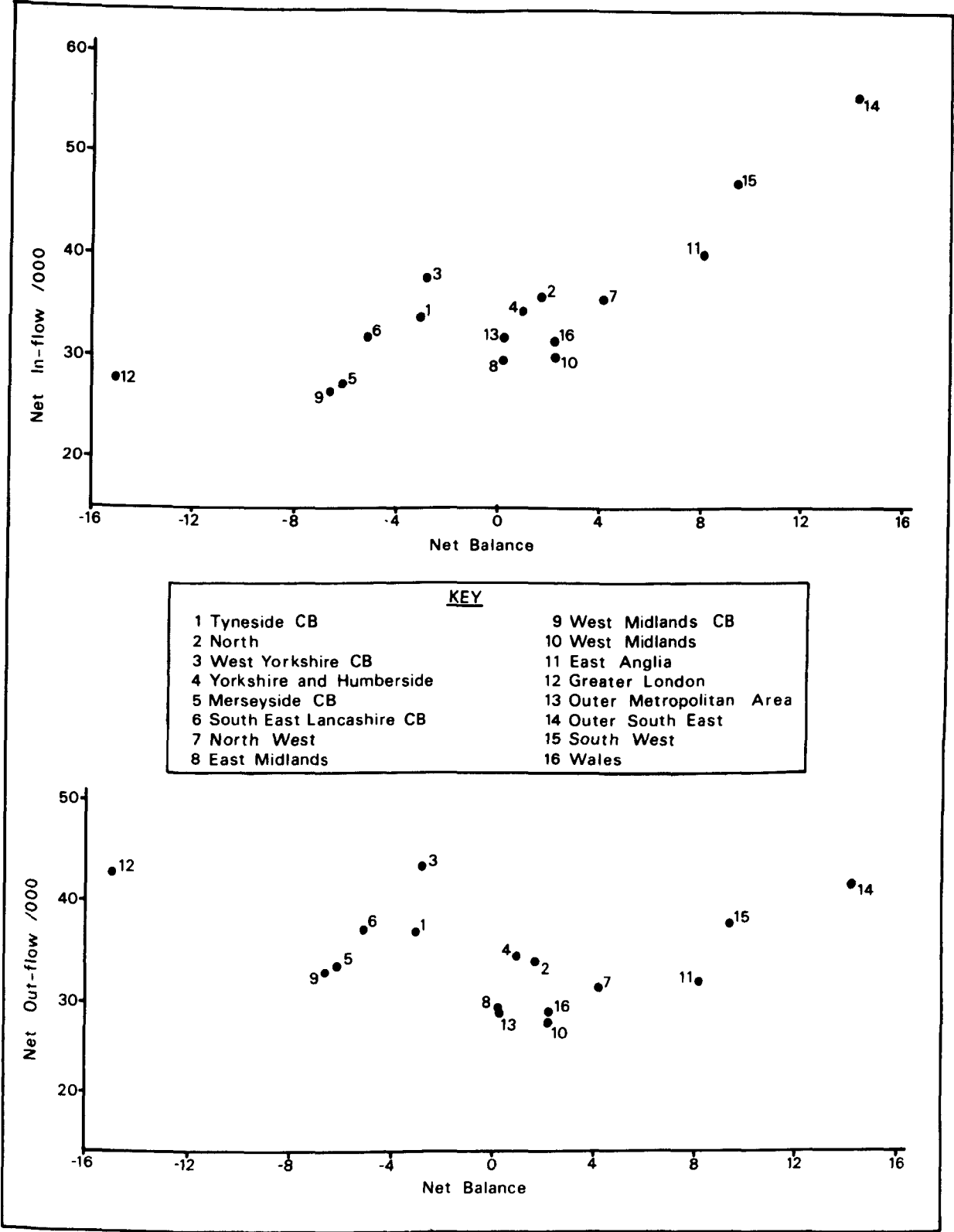
Figure 4 (11)

proportionately much higher rates of increase in respect of elderly migrants than for total migration.

Finally, if one examines the rates of in-movement and out-movement of the elderly in relation to the net balance for elderly migrants (see Figure 4 (12)), the different emphases between certain regions is expressed most clearly. The rate of out-migration was highest from the West Yorkshire Cb, Greater London and the Outer South East and stands out in marked contrast to the rates of in-migration into the Outer South East, the South West and East Anglia. By whatever criteria are used for measurement, therefore, the general patterns of migration of the elderly are clear; absolute and proportional losses between 1966 and 1971 were greatest from the conurbations, particularly Greater London. At one end of the migration system these areas may be defined as 'source' areas, or areas of origin, generating more than the average number of migrants within the total migration stream. At the other end of the migration system are those areas which may be classified as 'receiving', or destination, areas. With respect to elderly migrants, and whether measured in terms of absolute or proportional movement, certain areas identified themselves as receiving regions, namely the Outer South East, the South West, East Anglia, Wales and the North West. It is to the flows from these source areas to the receiving areas that the discussion now turns in more detail.

b. Migration flows from the 'source' areas

The gross outflow of elderly migrants from the six major conurbations to other areas of England and Wales between 1966 and 1971 totalled 198,240 people, of whom 66.28% (132,190) were from Greater London. There was, of course, a return flow into each conurbation but, as has been seen, the overall pattern in each case was one of net loss. The range of loss was extensive, from 2,570 people from Tyneside to 11,240 from Greater London. Similarly, there was considerable variation between the proportions



Regional Balance of Elderly Migration Flows 1966-71

Figure 4 (12)

of elderly migrants within the total migration stream, ranging from a 1.52% representation of elderly migrants in the flow from Tyneside to West Midlands Cb to a massive 27.36% in the flow from Greater London to the Outer South East. In a discussion of these flows of elderly people from the conurbations, three issues are of central importance: first, what was the extent of both gross and net outflow?; second, where were the major areas of destination of the migrants from each area?; and third, what was the variation in the proportion of the elderly between each migration stream? Each conurbation will be examined in turn in respect of these issues.¹⁵

Tyneside: had the smallest net outflow of any of the conurbations between 1966 and 1971, as might be expected from the area with the smallest population (805,000). Of a total of 29,570 elderly migrants, 24,280 (82.1%) moved within the conurbation. The gross outflow was thus 5,290 and, after allowing for some movement back into the area, there was a net outflow of 2,570, representing 48.58% of the gross outflow and 6.862% of the net loss of all migrants from the area. The most favoured destination in terms of gross outflow was the adjacent North Region (Remainder) which drew 3,150 (59.55%) elderly migrants moving outside of the conurbation. The effect of any distance-decay principle was then nil, with the South West and the South Eastern regions, including Greater London, receiving the next highest flows. Taking elderly migrants as a proportion of the total migrants in each migration stream, the dominance of the retirement regions became apparent. The highest proportional flows were to the South West (13.5%), East Anglia (10.60%) and the Outer South East (8.97%). Wales, although closer in terms of distance, received a lower proportion of 5.68%, a figure exceeded by flows into the nearer areas of the North Region (Remainder) with 7.99% and the West Midlands (Remainder) with 6.51%. While

15. For detailed statistics see Figure 4 (6).

it may remain true that the majority of elderly migrants moved a short distance, they also showed a distinct preference for the South West, East Anglia and the Outer South East.

West Yorkshire: The total number of elderly migrants generated by this conurbation was 69,650, of whom 59,310 (85.1%) moved within the area, leaving a gross outflow of 10,340. Net outflow was 4,860 or 47% of gross outflow and 14.85% of the net loss of 32,730 of all migrants from the area. The most favoured areas for those moving out of the area were the adjacent Yorkshire and Humberside region, drawing 42.84% (4,430), and the proximate North West and North regions, drawing 14% (1,460) and 9.38% (970) respectively. Of the other areas, the South West and the Outer South East drew most migrants (720 (6.96%) and 640 (6.19%) respectively). In relation to total migration, the patterns of elderly migration showed a more local effect than in Tyneside, for example the North West drew the highest proportion of any migration stream (14.59%). Although the South West was second in importance (12.766%) both Merseyside Cb (12.38%) and the North region (11.73%) were of greater drawing power for the elderly than East Anglia (11.16%) or any parts of the South East. It is uncertain as to why Merseyside should have ranked so high in receiving a high proportion of elderly migrants from West Yorkshire Cb, and it may be that this anomaly was partly the result of a very low representation of younger age groups selected within the migration stream, rather than through the active choice of elderly migrants. Apart from a preference for the South West, therefore, in both total and proportional terms, migration flows from the West Yorkshire Cb expressed a greater preference for the immediately adjacent regions.

Merseyside: 30,760 of the 42,200 elderly migrants from Merseyside moved within the conurbation. The net outflow was 7,760 elderly migrants, or 67.83% of the gross outflow of 11,440 and 8.59% of the net loss of 90,300 of all migrants from the area. The most favoured areas chosen by the elderly were the North West and Wales, which drew 6390 (55.86%) and 1,840 (16.08%) respectively. The Outer South East drew a larger number of

migrants than the West Midlands region (though the latter is nearer) or the South West. Again, the predominance of moves into adjacent regions was very marked but the effect of the South East in attracting more elderly migrants than intermediate areas was again noticeable. The importance of the adjacent North West region, however, was considerably less when flows of elderly migrants were considered as proportions of the total migration flows. Wales and the West Midlands region stood out as the two most important areas drawing elderly migrant proportions of 16.86% and 13.51% respectively. Flows to the nearby Yorkshire and Humberside region (12.25%) were more important than flows to either the South West (11.46%) or the Outer South East (10.0%). Just as flows into Merseyside Cb from the North Yorkshire Cb were over-represented by the elderly, flows from Merseyside to the adjacent North West region were under-represented, proportionately. The reason may lie in the policies of inner-city renewal which have stimulated the voluntary and planned migration of younger people to surrounding suburbs and new towns, thus giving them an unusually high over-representation in the migration stream.¹⁶

South East Lancashire: Of the northern conurbations, South East Lancashire generated the highest gross flows of elderly migrants (88,350) of whom 78.8% (69,670) resettled within the conurbation. Of a gross outflow of 18,680 people, the net outflow amounted to 12,440 (66.59%). The highest numbers of elderly out-migrants moved to the adjacent North West region (9,620 or 51.49%) followed by, in rank order, Wales (2,030 or 10.86%), the South West (1,400 or 7.49%) and the Outer South East (5.78%). This movement followed the expected pattern of the majority moving to an adjacent area and then the retirement regions attracting more than their share of migrants in relation to the migration distance. The highest proportions of elderly migrants within the total migration stream were

16. New towns of Skelmersdale and Runcorn.

found in the flows into Wales (22.04%), East Anglia (15.0%), the North West region (12.86%), the North region (12.12%) and the South West (12.05%). Within this pattern, the importance of the nearest retirement regions in drawing substantial proportions of the elderly should be noted for they stood out in contrast to the relatively smaller proportions of the elderly moving to, for example, the South West.

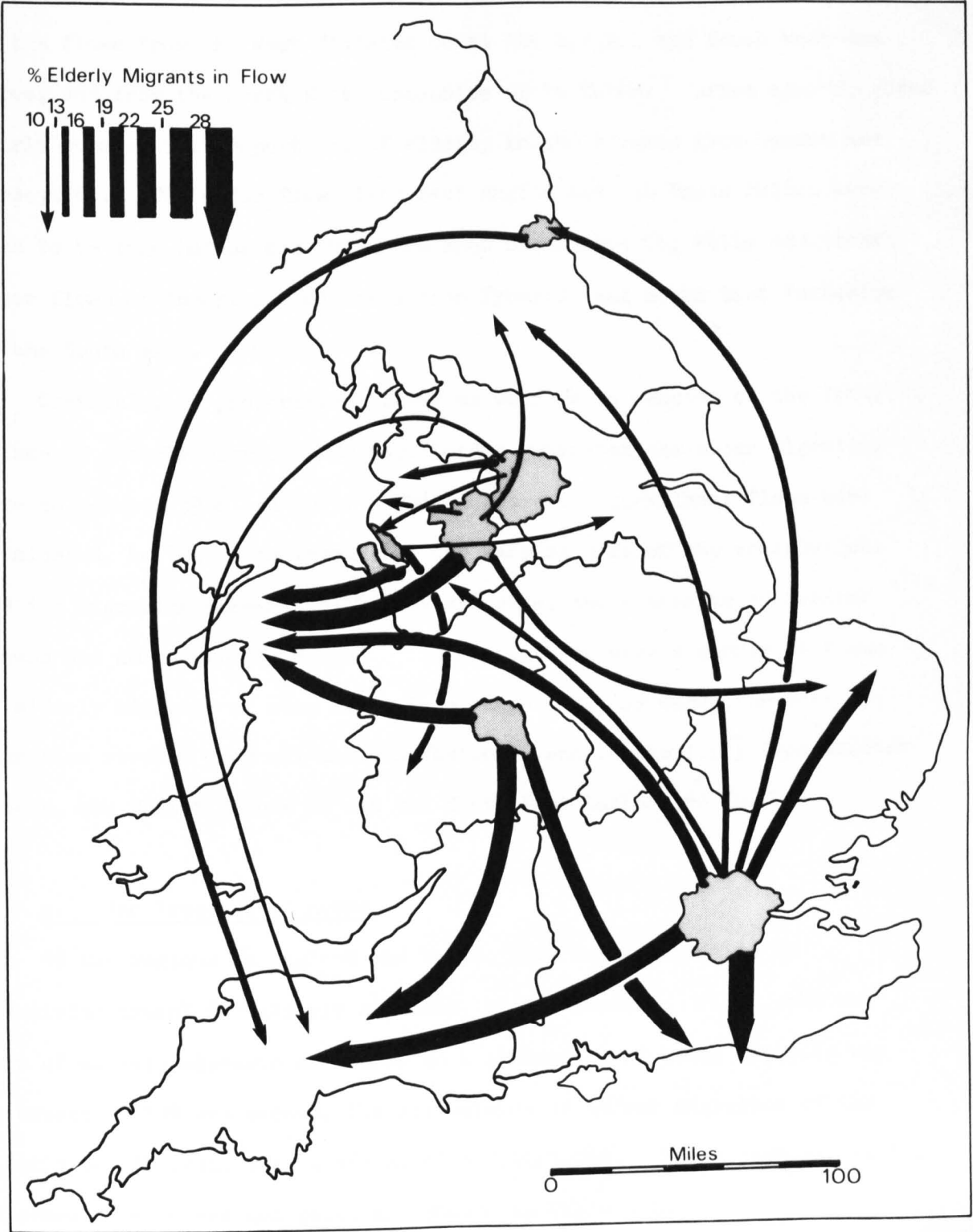
West Midlands: The most centrally located of the conurbations in England and Wales, the West Midlands, generated a flow of 77,650 elderly migrants between 1966 and 1971, of whom 57,330 (73.8%) moved within the conurbation. Of a gross outflow of 20,300 migrants, there was a net outflow of 15,090 (74.33%). Within the patterns of migration associated with the West Midlands Cb there was some variation from the general patterns revealed by those conurbations discussed above. Certainly, the majority of out-migrants (9,760) moved to the adjacent region (the West Midlands) and there were lesser flows to the retirement regions of the South West, the Outer South East and Wales. The stream to the South West, however, was unusually high for the second ranked area of destination, being comprised of 3,990 elderly migrants (19.65% of gross outflow), and the flows to the Outer South East and Wales were also substantially higher than might have been expected (with flows of 2,020 and 1,380 respectively). Also of note was the flow to the adjacent East Midlands region (770 or 3.79% of gross outflow), which was higher than that to East Anglia. As might be expected, the retirement regions received those flows with the highest proportions of elderly migrants, with the South West (23.74%), the Outer South East (19.20%) and Wales (18.57%) the outstanding receiving areas in this respect, ahead of the North region (10.55%) and East Anglia (9.81%). The general pattern of flow from the West Midlands Cb, therefore, was one in which there was a greater selectivity by the out-migrants in favour of the retirement regions than was evident in the more northern conurbations.

Greater London: Dominating the life of England and Wales in so many respects, Greater London generated more elderly migrants between 1966 and

1971 than all the other five conurbations together. Of the total of 317,520 elderly migrants, 18,533 moved within the city region, and of the 132,190 moving to other areas, there was a net outflow of 112,400, or 85.03%. This was the highest ratio of net:gross outflow for any of the conurbations. The Outer South East and the Outer Metropolitan Area absorbed 54,690 (41.37%) and 39,190 (34.87%) of the gross outflow respectively, while the South West (15,630) and East Anglia (9,330) also received high numbers of elderly migrants. Within the flow of total migrants from Greater London, the proportion of the elderly was the highest in the country, with flows to the Outer South East and the South West containing 27.35% and 23.37% elderly respectively. In the migration stream to East Anglia the proportion of elderly migrants was 17.73%, to Wales 15.8%, and there was a long distance flow to the North region with 13.85% elderly.

In many respects the total volume of elderly migrants from Greater London and their distribution through various migration streams gave rise to patterns of in-migration that mirrored the overall hierarchy of retirement regions. The general hierarchy evolved during a number of decades, while the migration patterns associated with London only reflect the trends between 1966 and 1971. As we have seen, however, the south east of the country was the first major area to develop a number of retirement centres, and it is likely that the migration patterns from London prior to 1966 revealed many similar features to those evident between 1966 and 1971. Across England and Wales as a whole, the conurbations, generally, were of fundamental importance in generating the pattern of inter-regional net migration flows of the elderly (Figure 4 (9)).

When, however, the flows of elderly migrants are expressed, not in net or gross terms but as a proportion of the total migration flow from each area, a very different pattern was seen to emerge (Figure 4 (13)). While Greater London continued to generate the greatest number of inter-regional migration streams, the proportional size of these streams,



Major Proportional Flows (10%+) of Elderly Migrants from Source Areas

Figure 4 (13)

particularly to the O.S.E., South West and East Anglia, were almost matched by the flows from the West Midlands Cb to the O.S.E., the South West and Wales, and from the South East Lancashire Cb to Wales. Wales also received fairly substantial proportions of elderly in the streams from London and Merseyside. The major flows into East Anglia and the North region were seen to be from London and the South East Lancashire Cb, while additional major flows of importance occurred from Tyneside and South East Yorkshire to the South West.

Certainly, in proportional terms as well as in respect of the total volume of elderly migrants, Greater London generated the major migration streams between 1966 and 1971. When, however, proportional flows were considered, to take some account of the varying size of the conurbations and the migration streams which they generate, the dominance of Greater London was not so clearly marked. In fact, there were a number of flows of elderly migrants of some major importance (10% or above, presence in migration stream) from all the conurbations, and particularly from Greater London, the West Midlands Cb and the South East Lancashire Cb.

c. The 'receiving' areas

Of the regions in England and Wales, five were identified as 'receiving areas' for elderly migrants, on two counts. First, the net gain of elderly migrants expressed as a percentage of total net gain was in excess of 10% and second, the net balance of in/out migration of the elderly per thousand was in excess of + 2.00/1,000. These regions, ranked in order of size and net gain, are shown in Table 4 (4).

Two further regions identified themselves on one of the two measures; the West Midlands with a net balance/1,000 of 2.14 and the North with a percentage of 41.722 elderly in the total net gain.

In the discussion of these receiving areas three issues are central: first, what was the amount of inflow, both gross and net, into each region?; second, for each flow into the receiving area what was the proportion of

Table 4 (4) The 'Receiving' Areas

<u>Region</u>	<u>Net gain of elderly</u>	<u>Percentage of elderly in net gain</u>	<u>Net balance /1000</u>
Outer South East	6410	27.508	+14.34
South West	3567	31.320	+ 9.43
East Anglia	1366	19.014	+ 8.18
North West	1265	10.880	+ 4.10
Wales	643	94.978	+ 2.55
West Midlands	585	7.676	+ 2.14
North	436	41.722	+ 1.75

elderly migrants in the migration stream?; and third, of the total inflow of retired migrants into each area, which were the dominant source areas? Table 4 (5) shows the essential volume of migration streams, and the migration profiles for each area are summarised in Figure 4 (14) in which each migration stream is expressed as a percentage of the total flow of elderly migrants, in or out, of each area.

Wales. The total number of elderly migrants enumerated for the period 1966 - 1971 was 85,310, of whom 69,000 moved within the boundaries of Wales. Total flows of the elderly into the region numbered 16,310, of whom 6,430 (39.42%) were a net gain. Areas adjacent to, or nearby to, Wales supplied the largest proportions of in-migrants, in particular the nearby conurbations. South East Lancashire Cb supplied a total flow of migrants in which the elderly comprised 22%, and flows from the West Midlands CB and Merseyside CB contained 18.5% and 16.87% elderly respectively. Flows from Greater London and the Outer South East contained 15.8% and 13.6% elderly respectively. Greater London was the most dominant source area in terms of absolute numbers within the migration flow, supplying 2,460 (15.08% of total elderly in-migrants), while South East Lancashire CB supplied 2030 (12.45%), Merseyside 1,840 (11.28%), North West region

Table 4 (5) Receiving Areas: Number of Elderly Migrants, and percentage of total flow (10%)

Migration from:	<u>Receiving Areas</u>					<u>Receiving Areas</u>				
	<u>Number of Elderly Migrants</u>					<u>Elderly Migrants as % of total migration stream</u>				
	<u>N.West (Rem)</u>	<u>E.Anglia</u>	<u>O.S.E.</u>	<u>S.West</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>N.West (Rem)</u>	<u>E.Anglia</u>	<u>O.S.E.</u>	<u>S.West</u>	<u>Wales</u>
Tyneside Cb	12	16	27	33	5	4.96	10.60	8.97	13.53	5.68
North region (Rem)	98	24	87	66	24	8.93	4.83	8.32	8.03	8.08
West Yorkshire Cb	146	26	64	72	21	14.59	11.16	10.54	12.77	9.25
Yorks & Humberside (Rem)	1258	45	119	114	31	9.02	5.31	8.34	9.73	6.51
Merseyside Cb	639	7	51	43	184	6.92	6.42	10.00	11.47	16.87
S. E. Lancashire Cb	962	45	108	140	203	12.86	15.00	10.74	12.05	22.04
North West region (Rem)	8090	45	137	149	171	11.69	10.11	11.29	12.70	12.67
East Midlands	71	126	219	242	63	7.18	7.79	10.34	12.53	10.43
West Midlands Cb	45	26	202	399	138	8.67	9.81	19.20	23.74	18.57
West Midlands (Rem)	120	46	207	347	170	7.85	7.81	11.26	14.51	12.42
East Anglia	20	4567	231	80	25	7.61	12.20	11.53	7.98	8.01
Greater London	168	933	5469	1563	246	13.14	17.73	27.36	23.37	15.81
O.M.A.	94	427	2399	978	96	7.33	12.37	14.73	15.59	8.14
O.S.E.	109	248	14665	935	125	12.50	10.89	14.58	14.53	13.60
South West	78	75	690	12322	129	9.73	8.18	10.95	13.23	9.03
Wales	90	19	156	247	6900	9.32	5.48	11.44	12.12	10.74
Scotland	56	33	119	99	23	4.87	5.62	7.20	7.47	5.76
Elsewhere in G.B.	19	13	51	49	14	3.51	5.28	6.56	7.25	6.28
Commonwealth	50	28	207	128	30	2.86	1.79	4.36	3.71	2.56
Foreign Countries	28	28	135	94	35	2.72	0.85	2.63	3.15	4.40
Total elderly migrants	11020	6777	25313	18100	8633					
Elderly Migrants as % of total migration	10.74	11.21	14.89	13.36	10.87					

Source: Derived from Census 1971: Migration Tables

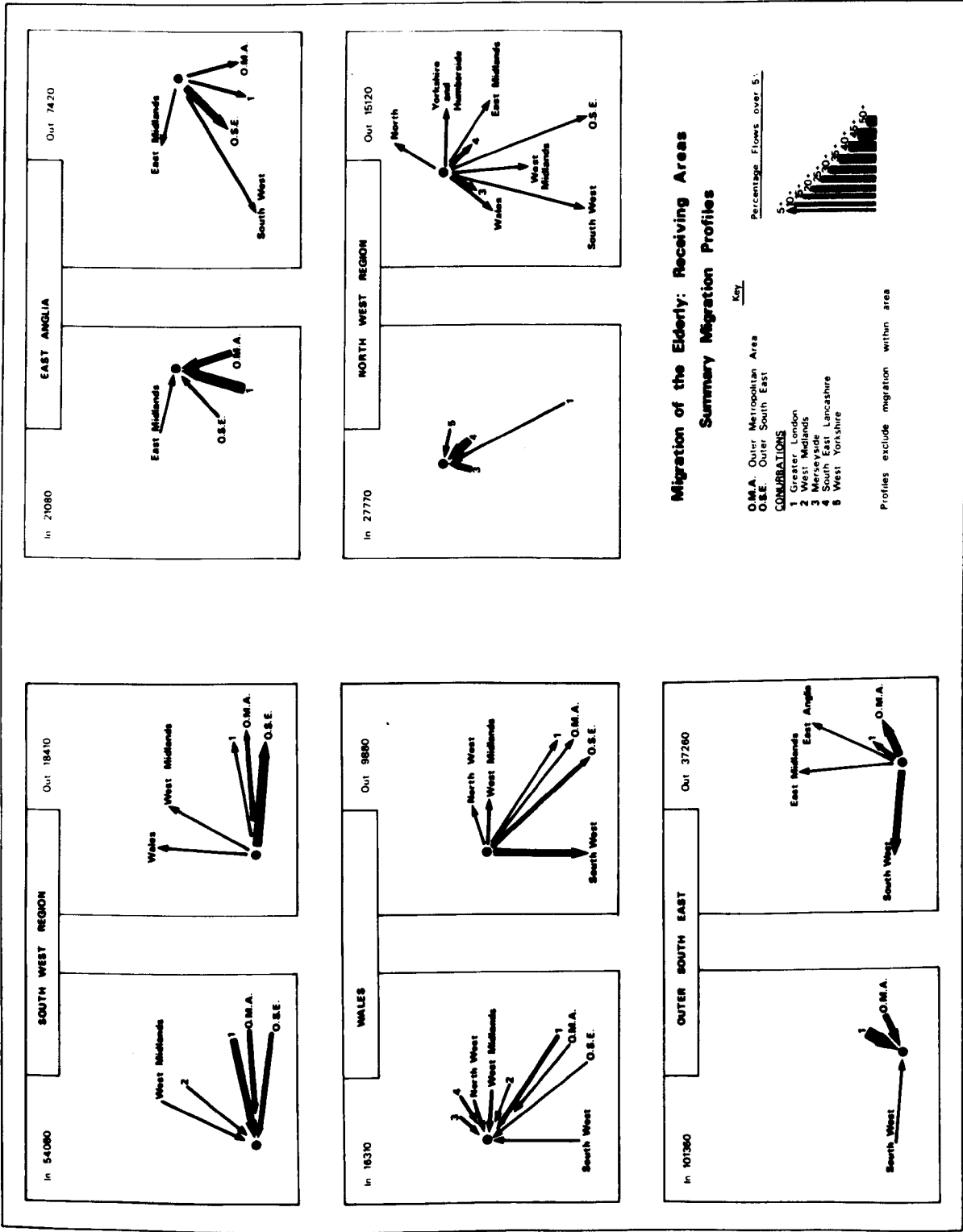


Figure 4 (14)

1,710 (13.05%) and the West Midlands region 1,700 (10.42%).

Migration out from Wales was generally to the areas which generated in-migration, with certain exceptions, and the proportions of elderly to each area showed some variation, for example, while the West Midlands CB, Merseyside CB and South East Lancashire CB each received under 5% of return flows from Wales, Greater London received 6.78%. The regions which received a higher proportion (above 5% of the total) of out-migrants from Wales than they themselves generated in respect of in-migration were the West Midlands region (14.57%), the Outer Metropolitan Area (8.00%), the Outer South East (15.79%) and the South West, which received one quarter of all elderly out-migrants. The emphasis, of course, was on flows from Wales to regions other than the conurbations.

North West Region had a total volume of 108,670 elderly migrants, of whom 80,900 moved within the region and 27,770 from outside the region. Of this inflow 12,650 (45.55%) was net gain. Gross inflow was greatest from the two regional conurbations, 4,620 from South East Lancashire and 6,390 from Merseyside. Greater London and West Yorkshire were the next most generous suppliers of elderly migrants, with 1,680 and 1,460 respectively. Fifth was, not a conurbation, but the Yorkshire and Humberside region, adjacent to the North West, supplying 1,250 elderly migrants.

As a proportion of total flow into the area, the elderly were generally better represented in long distance flows than in those from the immediately adjacent conurbations, for example, the West Yorkshire Cb and Greater London, sending 14.585% and 13.135% respectively. The only adjacent conurbation to send a major proportional flow of elderly migrants was South East Lancashire with 12.85%, closely followed by the two southern regions, the Outer South East (12.5%) and the South West (9.73%). However, as might be expected, the two adjacent conurbations supplied over 57% of total in-migration of the elderly, Greater London ranking third with 6.05%.

The pattern created by out-migration of the elderly was totally different, as Figure 4 (14) shows. While the majority of in-migrants were

drawn from the conurbations, the majority of out-migrants dispersed to almost every major region of England and Wales. The only two conurbations to receive more than 5% of the total out-migration were those within the North West region, Merseyside (9.66%) and South East Lancashire (17.72%). In contrast, the only region to receive less than 5% of the elderly out-migration was East Anglia. The patterns of in and out-migration from the region, therefore, were distinctively contrasted and, more than any of the other regions, highlighted the polarisation between movement out from the conurbations and the continued dispersal of the migrating elderly through the non-metropolitan regions of the country.

East Anglia. Having no major conurbations within its boundaries, and having closer functional links with London than with the Midlands or the North, East Anglia drew the bulk of its elderly migrants in terms of both volume and proportion from the South East. Of 66,750 elderly migrants, 21,080 moved into the region, of whom 13,660 (64.80%) represented a net gain. As expected, Greater London, the Outer Metropolitan Area and the Outer South East supplied the bulk of elderly migrants, sending 9,330 (44.26%), 4,270 (20.26%) and 2,480 (11.78%) respectively. The adjacent East Midlands region ranked fourth in sending 1,260 elderly migrants. Rather surprisingly, the more distant South West ranked fifth, above the conurbations of the Midlands and the North West, sending 750 elderly migrants.

The pattern was very different, however, with regard to elderly migrants as a proportion of total migration flows. Greater London, O.M.A. and O.S.E. continued to dominate the pattern with 17.73%, 12.366% and 10.88% respectively, but the South East Lancashire Cb and West Yorkshire Cb both sent high proportions of elderly within their total flows (15.00% and 11.159% respectively). Perhaps the most noticeable absence among the major 'suppliers' was the West Midlands Cb, perhaps reflecting its orientation towards the West and the South West rather than the East.

The flows of elderly migrants generated by East Anglia had a heavy

southern emphasis in their destinations with the Outer South East absorbing 31.13% of the total flow, and the O.M.A. and the South West 14.42% and 10.78% respectively. Otherwise, the only flows of note were to Greater London (12.13%) and the only 'non-southern' region, the East Midlands (9.03%). These results serve to emphasise the interdependence between East Anglia and the South East Region. In particular, it is of note that contact with regions outside the south east was minimal.

South West. Of a total migration of 177,300 elderly, 123,220 (69.5%) moved within the region. 65.9% (35,670) of the total gross inflow of 54,080 elderly people to the South West constituted a net gain. The highest proportions of in-migrants moved from five major source regions located exclusively within the South East and the West Midlands, and were ranked as in Table 4 (6).

The major flows into the South West, then, originated in a few particular regions and conurbations. A similar pattern was evident with regard to the proportions of elderly migrants within the total migration stream, with one noticeable exception provided by the flow from the West Midlands Cb, which contained the highest proportion of elderly of any flow into the South West, some 23.736%. Greater London ranked second (23.367%), followed by the O.M.A. (15.58%), O.S.E. (14.528%) and the West Midlands region (14.513%).

Absolute flows out from the South West followed a similar pattern to those of inflow, but whereas the flow from Greater London was the dominant inflow, that to O.S.E. was the dominant outflow, accounting for 37.48% total.

Outer South East. As with the South West Region, the Outer South East drew its highest numbers and proportions of elderly migrants from immediately adjacent regions and conurbations. Of the total elderly migration of 248,010 associated with the area, 101,360 were migrants into the region, of whom 63.24% (64,100) represented a net gain. The majority of elderly migrants into the region were supplied by Greater London (53.96%),

Table 4 (6) Major source areas for migration into the South West

	<u>Gross inflow from region</u>	<u>% of total elderly in-migration</u>
1. Greater London	15630	28.9
2. O.M.A.	19780	18.08
3. O.S.E.	9350	17.29
4. West Midlands Cb	3990	7.38
5. West Midlands region	3470	6.42

the O.M.A. (23.67%) and the South West (6.81%). As a proportion of total migration, the elderly were a significant component of the flow from the West Midlands CB (19.202%), a proportional flow which was second only to that from Greater London of 27.356%. This particular flow from Greater London was the largest single proportional flow of elderly migrants within England and Wales between 1966 and 1971.

Out-migration from the Outer South East was predominantly to the same three supplying areas, but whereas Greater London generated the majority of in-migrants, it only received some 15.32% of out-migration, for the two dominant destination regions were the O.M.A. (30.49% total out-flow) and the South West (25.09%), while the East Midlands and East Anglia also received substantial flows (5.10% and 6.66% respectively).

In summary, therefore, it can be seen that there was great variation in the origins of flows into the receiving regions. It is probably inappropriate to identify the receiving regions as 'retirement' regions since they are large and only contain pockets where heavy in-migration of the elderly took place. However, on balance, they are the regions which received an increase of elderly on net balance through migration. In the south the pattern of a dominant supply of elderly migrants from adjacent regions and conurbations was confirmed, while in the north and in Wales, where the majority of flows were also from proximate areas, the influence

of London and the South East was still very great. The largest single flows of elderly migrants were from Greater London to the O.S.E., to the O.M.A., and to the South West (see Figure 4 (9)). As a proportion of the total migration flow, the elderly were represented most in the flows from London to the O.S.E., (over 25%), from the West Midlands Cb to the South West and from the West Midlands Cb to the Outer South East. In terms of net inflow, the most dominant receiving region was the Outer South East (64,100), followed by the South West (35,670) and East Anglia (13,660). Certainly, in terms of total flows, London was dominant in supplying elderly migrants but the importance of the West Midlands Cb in generating high proportional flows of elderly migrants should not be obscured. It is indeed tempting to suggest that the 'migration idea' for the elderly had its roots in the South East and is diffusing in a north-westerly direction,¹⁷ affecting in particular the conurbations and urban areas. This idea, taken together with the fact that the majority of elderly migrants do move short distances in preference to longer distances, is further evidence to the suggestion that there has been differential growth among retirement areas throughout the century.

By virtue of the scale with which this analysis has been concerned, this discussion has emphasised the flows of elderly migrants from the conurbations to the surrounding regions, and at the regional scale much in the way of detail concerning local-area differentials may be obscured. The general pattern of movement, however, stands, and Part III of this chapter will examine the migration patterns associated with local areas. While the dominant pattern was one of flows between the conurbations and the regions, it is also possible to note that numerous migrations between the wider regions occurred, flows that were not governed by the conurbations. (Table 4 (7) lists those flows between regions which accounted for 5% or more of the total outflow from the respective regions.) The total of

17. See chapter 3, part IV, 'Stages in the Growth of Retirement Areas', for further evidence of this pattern.

Table 4 (7) Major inter-regional migration flows of the elderly
1966 - 1971

<u>Source Region</u>	<u>Receiving Region</u>	<u>Size of flow</u>
Outer South East	South West	9350
	East Anglia	2480
South West	Outer South East	6900
	Wales	1290
East Anglia	Outer South East	2310
	South West	800
Wales	South West	2470
North West	Wales	1710

Source: Census 1971: Migration Tables.

27,310 elderly migrants represented by the flows in Table 4 (7) reflects a sizeable interchange of elderly people between the regions and, while the total pattern of regional inter-relationships was, of course, more complex, the general conclusion remains.

d. Sex-characteristics of migration flows

The foregoing discussion has examined migration flows of the elderly in terms of both gross flows into and net gains by the receiving regions. The term 'the elderly' embraces all those of retirement age and, as such, is a term within which there are great variances of characteristics. One of the greatest distinctions to be drawn is that between the elderly who move as married couples and those (mostly female) single elderly who participate in migration. Some idea of this distinction can be gained by examining the sex component of migration flows expressed as a ratio of female to male, the male component of any individual flow being standardised

at one (see Table 4 (8)).¹⁸

The mean ratios of female to male in net and gross in-migration flows of the elderly to individual regions varied from 1.97:1 in flows to the South West, to 2.2:1 in flows to the North West. Highest individual ratios varied from 4.3:1 (West Yorkshire Cb to O.S.E.) and 4.0:1 (Tyneside Cb to Wales) to lowest ratios of 1.3:1 (Yorkshire and Humberside to South West) and 1:0 (Tyneside Cb to East Anglia). Closer examination of these statistics revealed that many of the extreme ratios were in flows of small gross size, for example, a flow of 640 from the West Yorkshire Cb to O.S.E., 50 from Tyneside Cb to Wales, 190 from Wales to East Anglia (ratio 3.7:1) and 200 from East Anglia to the North West (ratio 3:1). With regard to low ratios, a similar pattern emerged, for example there was a flow of 160 from Tyneside Cb to East Anglia (ratio 1:1), and of 720 from West Yorkshire Cb to the South West (ratio 1.3:1). The smaller the individual flow, it seems, the greater is the possibility that a small variation within the total may have distorted the overall pattern of female-male ratios.

The general pattern, however, was of a ratio of just over 2.0:1 in the migration flows. It was significant, therefore, that when the large flows from several of the conurbations to the dominant receiving regions were examined in closer detail, the ratios were seen to be considerably lower than the average for all flows. For example, flows from the West Midlands Cb to the five receiving regions had a mean ratio of 1.6:1, and from Greater London 1.96:1. The two conurbations within the North West Region, on the other hand, had contrasting means with South East Lancashire Cb at 1.8:1 and Merseyside Cb at 2.38:1. The conclusions to be drawn from

18. Statistics derived from Census 1971, Migration Tables, Part I, Table 2B. Of course, a balanced sex ratio does not necessarily mean that the migrants are all married couples, as both single males and females may be among the migrants. A balanced ratio, however, does mean that there is not a bias towards single migrants of one sex, and the likelihood is that the majority are married, as evidenced from Table 3B, pp. 88 - 114.

Table 4 (8) Receiving Regions: Ratio of Female:Male (1) in Elderly migration flows

N.B. Male score standardised at 1.0.

<u>In-migration from</u>	<u>Receiving regions</u>				
	<u>Wales</u>	<u>O.S.E.</u>	<u>N. West</u>	<u>E. Anglia</u>	<u>S. West</u>
Tyneside Cb	4.0:1	2.4:1	2.0:1	1.0:1	2.7:1
North region (Rem)	3.0	1.6	2.3	3.0	2.5
West Yorkshire Cb	1.6	4.3	2.2	2.2	1.3
Yorks & Humberside (Rem)	1.8	2.1	2.0	2.5	1.3
Merseyside Cb	1.7	2.9	2.9	2.5	1.9
S. E. Lancashire Cb	1.9	1.7	2.1	1.6	1.7
N. West region (Rem)	1.8	2.3	2.5	1.8	2.3
E. Midlands	1.9	1.7	2.1	2.0	1.9
W. Midlands Cb	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7
W. Midlands region (Rem)	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.8	1.8
East Anglia	1.8	2.0	3.0	2.1	2.1
Greater London	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.9	1.9
O. M. A.	1.8	2.0	1.7	1.8	2.0
O. S. E.	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.1
South West	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.3
Wales	2.3	1.5	2.2	3.7	2.1
Mean ratios	2.07:1	2.16:1	2.20:1	2.17:1	1.97:1

Source: Census 1971, Migration Tables

the
these findings are that the lower the ratio, the greater/possibility that it is elderly couples rather than elderly individuals making the move and, therefore, that the proportional flow of retired couples from Greater London, the West Midlands and South East Lancashire Cb was considerably greater than from Merseyside Cb, Tyneside Cb (2.42:1) or the West Yorkshire CB (2.28:1).

There were, therefore, considerable variations to be seen in the sex components of migration flows between the regions. The implicit explanation, that greater numbers of elderly married couples within certain

flows account for a lower ratio of female to male, is important in further highlighting the nature of migration flows and, in particular, those from the conurbations most associated with the 'source' of elderly migration to the dominant receiving regions. Having examined the nature and extent of inter-regional migration of the elderly between 1966 and 1971, this chapter now moves on to consider the role of migration in contributing to the growth of retirement areas at a local scale for the same period.

III. Retirement Areas: The role of migration as an agent of growth, 1966 - 1971

Chapter 3 identified those areas which, in 1971, could be classed as retirement areas on the basis of their demographic characteristics. The growth of these areas has undoubtedly been assisted by the process of immigration of elderly people, and an important question concerns the extent to which this migration has contributed to growth. Unfortunately, accurate and detailed statistics of migration are available only for the more recent years and so the details of movements during earlier decades must remain a matter of speculation.

Part I of this chapter made reference to the extent of migration into the counties of England and Wales between 1961 and 1966. By the 1971 Census the basis of enumeration had been changed and migration statistics were published in the context of 'standard sub-divisions' (SSD) of the standard regions.¹⁹ This analysis will, therefore, be concerned with identifying the major characteristics of the migration flows of the elderly into and within those SSDs which, in 1971, embraced one or more of the defined retirement areas.²⁰ The statistics refer to migrants moving "within 5 years preceding the census", that is, 1966 to 1971. They were published on the

19. Statistics derived from Census 1971, Migration Tables: Regional Reports, Table 3B.

20. See Appendix II for a listing of administrative areas within those sub-divisions discussed.

basis of a 10% sample and in the discussion that follows, unless otherwise stated, have been adjusted to represent a 100% statistic. Three issues are central to an understanding of the migration trends of the elderly at this scale: first, of the total migration flows into and within the areas in question, what numbers and proportions of the total flows were composed of elderly migrants?; second, what were the major source areas of those elderly migrants who moved into the areas in question?; and third, in view of the household structure of retirement areas, what was the sex composition of the migration flows and were there any variations between inter and intra area flows?

The proportions of the elderly within the total migration flows ranged from 23.9% on the Sussex Coast to 9.4% on Merseyside (Table 4 (9)). The regional groupings of SSDs with high proportional flows aligned themselves with what one would expect from having identified the major retirement areas in Chapter 3. The Outer South East, the North West region, the South West region and Wales included the ten highest ranked retirement areas. In view of the regional patterns revealed in Chapter 3, the South West might have been expected to rank fairly highly in terms of the proportion of the elderly within the migration stream, and in fact the Southern SSD, which includes places such as Torbay, Seaton and Sidmouth, ranked as high as sixth. However, the importance of retirement migration in the South West region can be identified even more clearly from the absolute volume of elderly migrants since, apart from the SSDs of the South East region, the four SSDs of the South West received the highest individual flows (e.g. Southern SSD: 50,710 elderly and Western SSD: 27,480 elderly). Not surprisingly, it was the Sussex Coast SSD which dominated the pattern in terms of both numbers of elderly migrants (88,790) and proportions of elderly migrants within the total flow (23.9%).

The total flow of migrants includes both those who moved within the boundaries of each SSD and those who moved into the SSD from elsewhere.

Table 4 (9) Migration of the elderly 1966 - 1971: total flows
to and within regional sub-divisions (10%)

<u>Standard Sub-division</u>	<u>Total Migration</u>	<u>Elderly Migration</u>	<u>% Elderly</u>	<u>Rank</u>
<u>Outer South East</u>				
Solent	63405	7936	12.5	17
Sussex Coast	37093	8879	23.9	1
Kent	22708	3745	16.5	5
Essex	15500	2162	13.9	9=
<u>South West</u>				
Bristol-Severnside	30429	3463	11.4	20=
Central	27339	3723	13.6	12
Southern	30879	5071	16.4	6
Western	17455	2748	15.7	8
<u>Wales</u>				
North West - North Coast	4319	1015	23.5	2
North West - Remainder	6784	945	13.9	9=
Central Wales	2503	396	15.8	7
South West	6412	862	13.4	14=
<u>East Anglia</u>				
South East	13315	1512	11.4	20=
North East	21145	2902	13.7	11
North West	11459	1111	9.7	24
<u>North West</u>				
Lancaster	3992	708	17.7	4
Fylde	11039	2047	18.5	3
Furness	3521	365	10.3	23
North East Lancashire	15586	1724	11.1	22
Merseyside	54416	5124	9.4	25
<u>North Region</u>				
Cumberland & Westmorland	10786	1302	12.1	18=
Rural North East - North	4540	564	12.1	18=
Rural North East - South	10703	1448	13.5	13
<u>Yorkshire & Humberside</u>				
Mid Yorkshire	14618	1864	12.7	16
South Lindsey	5730	765	13.4	14=

Source: Census 1971: Migration Tables, Regional Reports

The proportion of all elderly migrants moving into, as against within, each area varied from 59.4% in the case of Essex to only 16.4% in Merseyside, and in all but three areas (Essex, N.W.Wales - N. Coast and Yorkshire and Humberside - South Lindsey) there were more migrants moving within the

SSD than into it (see Table 4 (12)). The exact relationship between the two types of flow will be examined shortly; what is of initial concern are the characteristics associated with each of these flows.

Movements within the SSD accounted for between 45.1% of all migrants in Essex and 83.6% in Merseyside. The proportion of elderly within these intra-area flows varied widely from 21.5% of the flows within the Sussex Coast to 9.8% of flows within Merseyside (see Table 4 (10)), whilst the most substantial absolute flows of the elderly were within the Solent (48,150), Merseyside (44,710), the Sussex Coast (44,650) and the Southern SSD of the South West region (29,480). A ranking of the highest proportional flows revealed that six of the seven regions represented had at least one major stream of the top ten streams, the exception being East Anglia, indicating a diverse pattern among the more significant intra-area flows.

Migratory movements into the SSDs revealed somewhat different characteristics. The proportion of the elderly within the total in-migration streams were of a wider range than for intra-area migration streams. The highest proportional flow was that into the North Coast SSD of North West Wales where 27.2% of the total stream were elderly. At the opposite end of the range was the 7.3% flow into Merseyside. A ranking of these flows (see Table 4 (11)) revealed that only five of the seven regions received one of the top ten streams, one of the five being East Anglia (the North East SSD with 14.5% elderly). The two regions missing from these rankings were the North and Yorkshire and Humberside. There was also considerable variation in the absolute numbers of the elderly involved in migration into the areas. The largest flows were of 44,150 into the Sussex coast, 31,210 into Solent, 21,230 into the South West region Southern SSD, 18,470 into Kent, 17,210 into the South West region Central SSD and about 11,600 into each of Essex and the South West region Western SSD. All other areas received total flows of less than 10,000.

A comparison of intra-area and inter-area migration of the elderly identified the differences between areas since not all areas ranked equally

Table 4 (10) Intra-regional migration 1966 - 1971 (10%)

	<u>Total Migration</u>	<u>Elderly Migration</u>	<u>% Elderly</u>	<u>Rank</u>
<u>Outer South East</u>				
Solent	38081	4815	12.6	19
Sussex Coast	20721	4465	21.5	1
Kent	13021	1898	14.6	10
Essex	6996	1001	14.3	12=
<u>South West</u>				
Bristol-Severnside	21508	2602	12.1	21=
Central	14937	2002	13.4	14=
Southern	19185	2948	15.4	6=
Western	10287	1584	15.4	6=
<u>Wales</u>				
North West - North Coast	2160	429	19.9	2
North West - Remainder	4404	588	13.4	14=
Central Wales	1677	280	16.7	4
South West	4166	600	14.4	11
<u>East Anglia</u>				
South East	7484	955	12.8	19
North East	13412	1777	13.2	17
North West	6712	755	11.2	23
<u>North West</u>				
Lancaster	2490	376	15.1	8
Fylde	6254	1080	17.3	3
Furness	2464	255	10.3	24
North East Lancashire	12141	1464	12.1	21=
Merseyside	45487	4471	9.8	25
<u>North Region</u>				
Cumberland & Westmorland	8096	1007	12.4	20
Rural North East - North	2798	374	13.4	14=
Rural North East - South	5404	844	15.6	5
<u>Yorkshire & Humberside</u>				
Mid Yorkshire	8027	1180	14.7	9
South Lindsey	2603	371	14.3	12=

Source: Census 1971: Migration Tables, Regional Reports

Table 4 (11) Regional in-migration 1966 - 1971 (10%)

	<u>Total</u> <u>Migration</u>	<u>Elderly</u> <u>Migration</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Elderly</u>	<u>Rank</u>
<u>Outer South East</u>				
Solent	25324	3121	12.3	14
Sussex Coast	16372	4415	27.0	2
Kent	9687	1847	19.1	5
Essex	8504	1161	13.7	12
<u>South West</u>				
Bristol-Severnside	8921	861	9.7	21
Central	12402	1721	13.9	11
Southern	11694	2123	18.2	6
Western	7168	1164	16.2	7
<u>Wales</u>				
North West - North Coast	2156	586	27.2	1
North West - Remainder	2380	357	15.0	8
Central Wales	826	116	14.0	10
South West	2246	262	11.7	15
<u>East Anglia</u>				
South East	5831	557	9.6	22
North East	7733	1125	14.5	9
North West	4747	356	7.5	24
<u>North West</u>				
Lancaster	1502	332	22.1	3
Fylde	4785	967	20.2	4
Furness	1057	110	10.4	19
North East Lancashire	3445	260	7.6	23
Merseyside	8929	653	7.3	25
<u>North Region</u>				
Cumberland & Westmorland	2690	295	11.0	17
Rural North East - North	1742	190	10.9	18
Rural North East - South	5299	604	11.4	16
<u>Yorkshire & Humberside</u>				
Mid Yorkshire	6591	684	10.4	19=
South Lindsey	3127	394	12.6	13

Source: Census 1971: Migration Tables, Regional Reports

in respect of each type of migration. For example, Kent, in the Outer South East, and Lancaster, a SSD of the North West region, ranked highly in receiving elderly migrants but not in the extent of movement within their boundaries. In contrast, the reverse pattern was true of other areas (e.g. the Rural North East SSD of the North region, and Mid Yorkshire SSD in the Yorkshire and Humberside region), whilst some areas maintained a high ranking in terms of both types of movement, for example the Sussex Coast and the North Coast of North West Wales.

The threshold at which in-migration becomes significant in the growth of the 'retirement function' of an area is a matter of some debate. In the first instance it must relate to the point at which there is a net gain of elderly through migration but, as complete out-migration statistics for SSDs are not available within published migration data, the specific areas which rise above this threshold cannot accurately be identified. A second approach is to examine the percentage of all in-migration within the total migration pattern of the standard sub-divisions and the percentage of elderly in-migrants in relation to it; where the proportion of elderly in-migrants in the total elderly migration stream is in excess of the proportion of all in-migrants within the total migration stream, there is a statistical basis on which to infer that the elderly are increasing in an area through migration. Of the 25 SSDs under study, 12 were characterised on this basis (asterisked in Table 4 (12)) and came from within five of the regions under study. These twelve areas would seem to be those which, between 1966 and 1971, were most susceptible to an increase in their elderly population through migration. Thus, for example, the high numbers of elderly migrants associated with the Solent SSD (Outer South East) were seen to be moving mostly within the region (60.7%), and a higher proportion of total migrants moved into the area than did elderly migrants. In contrast, although the migration of elderly associated with the Sussex Coast was fairly evenly divided between intra-area migration (50.3%) and in-migration (49.7%), a higher proportion of elderly migrants (49.7%) than total migrants

Table 4 (12) Migrants within and into the standard
sub-divisions (10%)

	<u>Total</u> <u>migration.</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>elderly.</u>	<u>Migration within SSD.</u> <u>% total.</u>	<u>Migration within SSD.</u> <u>% elderly.</u>	<u>Migration into SSD.</u> <u>% total.</u>	<u>Migration into SSD.</u> <u>% elderly.</u>
<u>Outer South East</u>						
Solent	63405	7936	60.1	60.7	39.9	39.3
Sussex Coast *	37093	8879	55.9	50.3	44.1	49.7
Kent *	22708	3745	57.3	50.7	42.7	49.3
Essex	15500	2162	45.1	46.3	54.9	53.7
<u>South West</u>						
Bristol S/side	30429	3463	70.7	75.2	29.3	24.8
Central *	27339	3723	54.6	53.8	45.4	46.2
Southern *	30879	5071	62.1	58.1	37.9	41.9
Western *	17455	2748	58.9	57.6	41.1	42.4
<u>Wales</u>						
N.W.-N.Coast *	4319	1015	50.0	42.3	50.0	57.7
N.W.-Rem. *	6784	945	64.9	62.2	35.1	37.8
Central Wales	2503	396	67.0	70.7	33.0	29.3
South West	6412	862	65.0	69.6	35.0	30.4
<u>East Anglia</u>						
South East	13315	1512	56.2	63.1	43.8	36.9
North East *	21145	2902	63.4	61.2	36.6	38.8
North West *	11459	1111	58.6	67.9	31.4	32.1
<u>North West</u>						
Lancaster *	3992	708	62.4	53.1	37.6	46.9
Fylde *	11039	2047	56.6	52.8	33.4	47.2
Furness *	3521	365	70.0	69.9	30.0	30.1
N.E.Lancs	15586	1724	77.9	84.9	22.1	15.1
Merseyside	54416	5124	83.6	87.3	16.4	12.7
<u>North Region</u>						
Cumb. & W/Land	10786	1302	75.1	77.3	24.9	22.7
Rural N.E./N.	4540	564	61.6	66.3	38.4	33.7
Rural N.E./S.	10703	1448	50.5	58.3	49.5	41.7
<u>Yorks & Humberside</u>						
Mid Yorks	14618	1864	54.9	63.3	45.1	36.7
S. Lindsey	5730	765	45.4	48.5	54.6	51.5

Source: Census 1971: Migration Tables, Regional Reports

(44.1%) moved into the area. This, again, was in contrast to the pattern in Essex where the high percentage of elderly moving into the area (53.7%) was part of a total pattern of high levels of in-migration (54.7%). On this basis, the areas which received a higher proportion of elderly migrants than total migrants in the in-migration stream were, in rank order, the Sussex Coast (O.S.E.), Kent (O.S.E.), Central (S.W.), Southern (S.W.), Western (S.W.), the 'Coast' and the 'Remainder' of N.W.Wales, the North East and North West SSDs of East Anglia, and the Lancaster, Fylde and Furness sub-divisions of the North West region.

Having identified twelve areas of special note in receiving streams of elderly migrants, the second major question refers to the source areas of this, the most intensive series of elderly migration streams. As with the discussion in part II of this chapter, in which the major regional levels of source and destination were identified, the analysis must include consideration of those migration streams which accounted for the greatest volume of movement, and those streams in which the proportions of elderly migrants were particularly high. In identifying these migration streams, the discussion focuses only upon those individual flows which occupied 2% or more of the total migration flow into an area. Detailed statistics for each of the twelve areas are provided in Appendix II.

The Outer South East: Sussex Coast and Kent. The largest individual flows into both areas were from standard sub-divisions of Greater London and the Outer Metropolitan Area, (O.M.A.): 'Outer London' SSD was the primary sender to both areas, with the 'Inner London- Remainder' SSD also important in generating flows. The third ranking area sending to the Sussex Coast was the 'Central Boroughs' SSD of Greater London, whereas to Kent it was the suburban area of the 'South East' SSD of the O.M.A.

Thirteen areas sent migration streams to the Sussex Coast in which the proportion of the elderly was greater than 22.6%, and there were four such flows to Kent. All these flows were from sub-divisions within the South East region with the exception of two from the West Midlands Cb to the

Sussex Coast (26.3%) and Kent (23.1%), and one each from the West Yorkshire Cb (24.7%) and East Anglia (23.3%) to the Sussex Coast. Within this pattern, there were four flows into the South Coast and one into Kent in which the proportion of the elderly exceeded 30%. Clearly, a distinctive regional pattern was evident in most of the migration into these areas, broken only by the flows from two more distant conurbations.

South West region: Central, Southern and Western. The largest individual flows of elderly migrants into the sub-divisions of the South West were drawn predominantly from three areas; first, there were a number of migration streams into all three areas from the immediately adjacent sub-divisions, representing primarily local movement; second, Greater London, the O.M.A. and the O.S.E. supplied the highest absolute numbers of elderly migrants (e.g. 5,170 from Greater London to the Southern SSD, 4,180 to the Central SSD and 273 to the Western SSD) giving a south-eastern orientation to the dominant source areas; and third, the West Midlands regional 'remainder' supplied 4.6% of the total flow into the Southern SSD, and the East Midlands 2.0% into the Western SSD, representing another regional clustering of source areas.

However, this pattern of migration was only partially supported by the evidence for proportional flows into the South West. Greater London, as was the case in Sussex and Kent, supplied the highest proportional flows of the elderly to each of the South Western SSDs (25.8% to Central, 30.7% to Southern and 25.9% to Western). The West Midlands also generated high proportional flows, particularly to the Southern and Western SSDs, but Tyneside and the North West region (Remainder), while not sending large numbers of migrants, sent high proportional flows to the Central and Southern SSDs respectively.

Within the patterns of migration into both the Outer South East and the South West region there were a number of migration flows which were anomalous from the general trends. Generally, high flows from London

(Greater London and the O.M.A.) and the West Midlands dominated the pattern but, for example, the high proportional flow from Essex to the Sussex Coast (38.3%) was also distinctive, as were those of 23.1% from Tyneside Cb to the Central SSD of the South West region and that of 20.0% from the North West region to the Western SSD of the South West region. There were also anomalies in respect of certain differences between adjacent areas. There was, for example, a major flow of elderly migrants to the Southern SSD of the South West region from the West Midlands, whereas the adjacent, Western SSD of the South West received a relatively major flow not from the West Midlands but from the East Midlands. These anomalies within the general patterns of migration suggest that the channels of information between the source and receiving areas were, in some cases, quite acutely defined and contained, forming distinctive links between specific areas, to the exclusion of adjacent areas.²¹

Wales: North Coast and North West Remainder. In contrast to the fairly specific nature of dominant flows into the South East and South West regions, the flows into the SSDs of North Wales revealed a much more diverse pattern. In terms of absolute numbers, the majority of elderly migrants were drawn from four principal areas - the adjacent SSDs, the conurbations and general area of the North West region, the area and conurbation of the West Midlands, and London. Examined in terms of proportional flows, no less than fifteen individual flows to the North Wales Coast contained significant proportions of the elderly. Of these flows, twelve possessed in excess of 30% elderly migrants and three were in excess of 40%, the highest proportion being that of 47.8% from the West Midlands Cb to the North Coast. The range of areas supplying these flows was extensive for,

21. For a discussion of theoretical issues see, for example, D. F. Marble and J. D. Nystuen: 'Community Mean Information Fields', Papers of the Regional Science Association, Vol. 11, 1963, pp. 99 - 109, also the references to 'information space' in J. Wolpert: 'Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate', Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, Vol. 15, 1966, p. 159 - 172.

in addition to Greater London, five conurbations generated flows to the North Coast, namely the West Midlands, Merseyside, Tyneside, S. E. Lancashire and W. Yorkshire, together with many of their regional 'remainders'. Flows from the 'Industrial South Wales' SSD and the South West region also passed the critical threshold.

On the other hand, flows to the N.W.Wales 'Remainder' were more clearly defined with just three flows being of importance; from London and from the two proximate conurbations of Merseyside and South East Lancashire. Thus, Wales, together with the Sussex Coast and the Southern SSD of the South West region, appeared as a major area of in-migration but drawing its migrants from a much more dispersed pattern of source areas than elsewhere.

East Anglia: North East and North West. Both areas received their heaviest in-flows of elderly migrants from Greater London and the Outer Metropolitan Area. The North East sub-division also drew heavily from the Outer South East. Apart from local flows into the areas, the other largest flows were from the East Midlands (600 to North East and 420 to North West). This pattern of major inflow was only partially reflected in the proportional flows into the area, specifically by the flow from Greater London (23.1%), but even this was exceeded by the flow from the South East Lancashire Cb (24.7%). Curiously, there were no major proportional flows into the North West SSD, indicating that migration to the area was diffused from numerous source areas rather than being concentrated in any specific migration streams.

North West Region: Lancaster, Fylde and Furness. The three North-western sub-divisions drew their major inflows of elderly migrants from a wide range of different areas, and within the general pattern, flows from N. E. Lancashire SSD were common to all three areas. The Yorkshire and Humberside regional 'Remainder' and Greater London supplied major flows to the Lancaster SSD and the Fylde SSD, while Lancaster and Furness SSDs also received large flows from the North region 'Remainder'. Certain individual

flows were also noted, mainly from the South West region to Furness SSD (80 people; 2.2% of total inflow) and from the West Yorkshire Cb to Lancaster SSD (660; 9.3%), which, although fairly small in numbers, were significant flows into the respective sub-divisions. With regard to proportional flows, Lancaster SSD received the highest flows with three in excess of 40% and another four in excess of 30%, indicative of certain very intensive migration streams of the elderly. Generally, these flows were all from sub-divisions of the North West region, with the exception of flows from two conurbations (West Yorkshire Cb, 39.5%, and Greater London, 32.9%). Fylde and Furness SSDs each drew four major proportional flows (in excess of 22.6%) of which two were from within the region, the others including those from the O.S.E. to Fylde (25.0%) and from East Anglia to Furness (25.0%).

Examination of migration statistics at the level of the standard regional sub-division allows the major receiving areas of migration of the elderly to be localised fairly definitively within the general regions that were discussed in part II of this chapter. Generally, the migration flows of the elderly into the receiving areas followed an expected pattern, that of movement from adjacent areas and from the conurbations. In fact, the influence of flows from the conurbations, particularly from Greater London, was felt in local areas throughout the country. The major exceptions to the general pattern seem to have been with regard to a certain number of flows that took place between the various retirement areas, for example, there were important migration flows from East Anglia and Essex to the Sussex Coast, from the South West region to the North Coast of Wales, and from the Outer South East to the Lancaster and Fylde sub-divisions of the North West region. These flows between retirement areas seem to be the exceptions to the general pattern, which was one in which both specific and general trends could be identified.

Sex composition of migration streams: Finally, one must note the

sex composition of the migration flows.²² Throughout this study a trend has been identified and inferred, namely that the migration streams of the elderly into retirement areas were composed of an above-average number of elderly couples and that the subsequent intra-area flows and out-migration flows contained large numbers of single, mostly female, elderly who have been widowed. By an examination of the differences in the sex composition of intra-area and inter-area migration streams, a greater understanding of their process may be achieved. As in the discussion of this issue in part II, the relationship between the male and female composition of migration streams is expressed as a ratio, the male component standardised at 1. (Table 4 (13)).

The overall ratios for in-migration streams varied from 1.73:1 (into N.W.Wales 'Remainder') to 2.57:1 (into Merseyside). Among the twelve areas of most significant in-migration, the ratios clustered at the bottom of the range, from 1.73:1 to 2.18:1 (N.W.Region - Furness SSE). The average ratio of all SSDs under study was 2.01:1, so it is clear that the areas most clearly defined as retirement areas received the most sex-balanced flows of in-migrants.

With regard to intra-area migration flows, a very different range of sex ratios was revealed, from 1.80:1 ('Central Wales' SSD) to 3.12:1 ('North Coast' SSD of Wales), with an average of 2.31:1. The twelve most significant areas of in-migration were evenly spread around the average, but it was the five areas of most significance in terms of in-migration (namely the 'North Coast' of Wales, the 'Sussex Coast', 'Lancaster' and 'Fylde' in the North West region, and 'Kent') which had the highest sex ratios in respect of intra-area migration flows. This remarkably consistent trend substantiates the notion that secondary migration of the widowed (mostly female) elderly was a characteristic of migration flows within the retirement areas. It is suggested that examination of the unpublished statistics of out-migration from these primary areas of

22. Statistics derived from Census 1971, Migration Tables; Regional Reports, Table 3B.

Table 4 (13) Sex-composition of elderly migration streams 1966 - 1971 (10%)

	<u>Total Migration</u>		<u>Intra-regional Migration</u>		<u>Regional In-migration</u>		<u>Total Migration</u>	<u>Ratio male:female</u>		<u>Difference</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Intra-regional Migration(a)</u>	<u>In-migration (b)</u>	<u>(a)</u>	<u>(b)</u>
<u>Outer South East</u>											
Solent	2460	5476	1416	3399	1044	2077	1:2.23	1:2.40	1:1.99	0.41	
Sussex Coast	2630	6249	1172	3293	1458	2956	2.38	2.81	2.03	0.78	
Kent	1197	2548	556	1342	641	1206	2.13	2.41	1.88	0.53	
Essex	744	1418	325	676	419	742	1.91	2.08	1.77	0.31	
<u>South West</u>											
Bristol-Severnside	1015	2448	740	1862	275	586	2.41	2.52	2.13	0.39	
Central	1234	2489	635	1367	599	1113	2.45	2.15	1.86	0.29	
Southern	1674	3397	910	2038	764	1359	2.03	2.24	1.78	0.46	
Western	903	1845	494	1090	409	755	2.04	2.21	1.85	0.36	
<u>Wales</u>											
North West - North Coast	315	700	104	325	211	375	2.22	3.12	1.78	1.34	
North West - Remainder	317	628	186	402	131	226	1.98	2.16	1.73	0.43	
Central Wales	142	254	100	180	42	74	1.79	1.80	1.76	0.04	
South West	279	583	199	401	80	182	2.09	2.02	2.27	-0.25	
<u>East Anglia</u>											
South East	497	1033	311	644	186	389	2.08	2.07	2.09	-0.02	
North East	956	1946	547	1230	409	716	2.04	2.25	1.75	0.50	
North West	372	739	252	503	120	236	1.99	2.00	1.97	0.03	
<u>North West</u>											
Lancaster	225	483	107	269	118	214	2.15	2.51	1.81	0.70	
Fylde	625	1422	305	775	320	647	2.27	2.54	2.02	0.52	
Furness	113	250	79	176	34	74	2.21	2.23	2.18	0.05	
North East Lancashire	486	1238	408	1056	78	182	2.55	2.59	2.33	0.26	
Merseyside	1404	3720	1221	3250	183	470	2.65	2.66	2.57	0.09	
<u>North</u>											
Cumberland & Westmorland	396	906	301	706	95	200	2.29	2.35	2.11	0.24	
Rural North East - North	173	373	124	250	49	123	2.16	2.02	2.51	-0.49	
Rural North East - South	475	973	266	578	209	395	2.05	2.17	1.89	0.28	
<u>Yorkshire & Humberside</u>											
Mid Yorkshire	554	1310	351	829	203	481	2.36	2.36	2.37	-0.01	
South Lindsey	262	503	117	254	145	249	1.92	2.17	1.72	0.45	

Source: Census 1971, Migration Tables, Regional Reports.

retirement would reveal a similar trend, together with a certain amount of return migration.

A final measure which substantiates this conclusion is the difference between the inter- and intra-area ratios (Table 4 (13)). Of the total of twenty-five areas in question, only four possessed a 'negative' ratio, that is, a greater sex imbalance among in-migrants than among intra-area migrants. Of the other twenty-one areas, the seven greatest differences, ranging from 1.34 (North West Wales - Coast SSD) to 0.46 (South West region - Southern SSD) were within the dozen areas specified as being of particular note. Furthermore, the 'top five' retirement sub-divisions also ranked one to five on the 'difference in ratios' measure, although with slight variations in ordering. These findings serve only to confirm the initial conclusions.

IV. Conclusions

The rise of the elderly as an increasingly important sector of the population of England and Wales has been one of the major demographic trends of the twentieth century, and numerous factors, including the changes in birth and death rates and the development of a 'post-industrial' society, have contributed to this phenomenon. It was the purpose of Chapter 3 to examine the changing spatial patterns associated with the elderly during the years 1921 to 1971, and of this chapter to examine the role of migration during the 1960s in contributing to these changing patterns. These changing patterns have been examined not only in terms of changes in the absolute proportions of the elderly, but also in terms of the relative changes between areas. A measure of the latter gave a perspective in which local and regional changes were seen not in isolation but against changing national patterns and, in this context, it was noted that an absolute growth in the proportions of the elderly in particular areas did not necessarily infer any change in their relative position within the

country as a whole. In fact, some areas with an absolute growth of the elderly ranked lower, nationally, in 1971 than in 1921. The dominant trend within the shifting spatial patterns of ageing was that the growth of areas of the greatest density took place within an increasingly coastal orientation. Two themes emerged in association with this trend, the first that of increasing spatial polarisation between the young and the elderly, the second that of the development of areas of 'segregation' in which high proportions of the elderly were a dominant characteristic.

Part of the dynamic of these changing spatial patterns has been seen to be supplied by the effects of inter-regional migration of the elderly. Migration, of course, has not been the only dynamic involved since changing demographic characteristics within an area contribute to the changing overall patterns, for example, the increasing age-density of some Welsh counties was caused by the decline in total population (with some young members of the population moving away) as well as by the in-migration of elderly people. Population gains and losses, therefore, were part of the total dynamic underlying changing spatial patterns.

Migration flows of the elderly between regions of England and Wales were examined on two levels. First, studies of gross and net flows between regions revealed that certain areas were dominant in receiving elderly migrants, namely, the South East, the South West and the North West. The area generating the greatest number of elderly migrants was Greater London. When, however, the elderly were examined as proportions of the total migration flows, a more diverse pattern was revealed, and other conurbations, in particular the West Midlands Cb and South East Lancashire Cb, were seen to supply high proportions of elderly migrants to the South West and Wales. The conurbations were seen to dominate the pattern of inter-regional migration of the elderly, but there were also major exceptions to the general pattern, notably in respect of certain flows between the regions, by-passing, as it were, the major conurbations. Within the overall

pattern of migration, the most dominant migration flows of the elderly were marked out as possessing the most balanced sex-ratios of all elderly migration streams.

These general conclusions were confirmed in an analysis of migration at a, second, more local scale, that of the regional sub-division. Again, in-migration flows from the major conurbations and from adjacent areas were seen to dominate but anomalies appeared in the pattern, generally associated with fairly specific flows between two well-defined local areas, suggesting that information flows between the source and receiving areas of migration took place within well-defined channels. In analysing the migration streams into the receiving areas, a contrast emerged between the fairly specific source areas of, for example, the flows into the Outer South East area (Kent, Essex and the Sussex Coast) which were dominated by Greater London and, for example, the case of some sub-divisions in East Anglia where the in-migrants were seen to move from a diffused number of source areas rather than from a few well defined areas. In examining the sex composition of these sub-divisional migration streams, the former conclusions were confirmed, that the most concentrated migration flows of the elderly possessed the most balanced sex-ratios, and that these were the flows into (rather than within, or between) the major retirement areas.

Having examined the broad spatial demographic characteristics associated with the migration of the elderly, there now exists a series of contextual issues within which more detailed and specific work may proceed. Part III of this study turns to consider the more individual characteristics implied by these spatial patterns, the 'who' and 'why' of the migration of the elderly, and thus seeks to achieve a greater understanding of the processes which are contributing to the spatial patterns of ageing and migration which have here, in Part II, been identified and discussed.