

Migration of the Elderly: A Study

in Social Geography

by

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PART III

'... and to depart: whither? To unrevealing
distance, to some warm, unrelated land, that,
back-clothwise, will stay, without all feeling,
behind all action: garden, sea or sand;
and to depart: why? Impulse, generation,
impatience, obscure hope, and desperation
not to be understood or understand:

To take on all this, and, in vain persistence,
let fall, perhaps, what you have held, to die
alone and destitute, not knowing why -

Is this the way into some new existence?'

R. M. Rilke

The departure of the prodigal son
(trans: J. B. Leishman)

CHAPTER 5. THE STUDY AREAS: CHARACTERISTICS OF WORTHING AND LEICESTER

I. Introduction

Part II of this study has examined the general spatial patterns associated with the elderly population in England and Wales between 1921 and 1971. At the centre of the discussion has been the role of migration as an agent of demographic change. At a broader level, the growth of the elderly in retirement areas has been related to the general ageing of the population which has characterised the overall national picture during the period. More detailed consideration has also been given to the demographic characteristics of retirement areas themselves. Certain themes have been recurrent throughout the discussion. First, it has been possible to identify the increasing polarisation in age structure between coastal retirement areas and the conurbations from which migration was generated. This has been emphasised at a local level where the rate of growth of the elderly in many retirement areas has proceeded at a faster pace than the growth of the elderly in the population as a whole. At a county level, the geographical centre of the country has been experiencing a growth in the proportion of younger age groups, while the elderly increasingly have been concentrated in the coastal peripheries.

Second, the expansion of coastal retirement areas has proceeded through a series of phases. These phases of growth have occurred at different times in different regions of the country, with the South East region generally leading the trend. Furthermore, there has been an element of spatial diffusion to the process where the retirement function has annexed districts adjacent to the primary retirement areas as their own capacity for growth reached saturation level.

This study now turns from a consideration of these issues at a macro-scale to examine the migration of the elderly at a more individual, behavioural level. The data for this part of the study was mostly drawn from a survey of elderly people in two study areas. This chapter has a

twofold aim; first, it describes the study areas in some detail to supply the context within which the study is then developed; second, by focusing on the growth and characteristics of one retirement area in particular it provides a bridge between the essentially different levels of discussion in parts II and III of the study.

II. The Selection of Study Areas

Part II of this study has examined the migration of the elderly within the context of general spatial patterns of ageing. In seeking to discover something of the rationale that lies behind such behaviour, it was necessary to move the study to the level of the individual, at which the responses drawn from a sample survey of the elderly formed the basis of the analysis. The choice of study areas appropriate to this task was, therefore, of primary importance.

The numbers of elderly who actually participate in migration are a minority of the total elderly population of England and Wales. In 1971, of a total of 7,813,350 elderly people, 453,670 or 5.8% had migrated during the preceding year compared with 11.56% of the population as a whole.¹ The norm among the elderly, therefore, is one of stability and non-migration and the mover-stayer context is thus a valuable one in which to explore the characteristics of migration behaviour.² Linking the mover-stayer context with the actual migration structure of source and destination areas, it became possible to define the study areas and sample populations required for survey. Two areas were specified, one a destination area subject to intensive in-migration of the elderly, the second a source area generating net out-migration of the elderly. Within these study areas, if the

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1. Census 1971 (Great Britain): Migration Tables, Part I, Table 2A, p.8. Unless stated otherwise, population and migration statistics quoted in this chapter are drawn from those census sources used in Chapters 3 & 4.
 2. See Chapter 2, note 87, for discussion of the mover-stayer context.

characteristics observed in part II of the study were generally correct, one sample population would consist predominantly of elderly people who had participated in migration, the other predominantly of those who had not migrated to a retirement area and would thus be characterised by their stability. (It would be possible, of course, for individuals to have migrated into the 'source' area.)

Worthing was chosen as the major (destination) study area. A retirement area of over 88,000 people, the percentage of elderly in the town in 1971 was 38.78%, more than double the national average. With an index value of 241.2, it ranked eighth in the league of retirement centres and had the largest population among the ten highest ranked centres (see Table 3 (5)). The town has been characterised by heavy in-migration of the elderly and, during the period 1966 - 1971, 36.98% of the total in-migration of 48,410 people were elderly. Furthermore, 50.75% of the net gain in population through migration (total: 17,260) were elderly persons. An additional reason for the choice of Worthing was provided by its location on the Sussex coast. As indicated in Chapter 3, it was one of the first towns to develop as a centre for retirement and had, by 1971, reached a threshold of saturation, having passed through the major phases of growth. During the inter-censal period 1961 - 1971, it continued to increase its proportion of the elderly (from 36.32% to 38.78%), but at a slower rate than previously, and during the period the index actually fell slightly from 244.2 to 241.2.

Leicester was chosen as the comparative study area. With a population of nearly 300,000 in 1971, it possessed a proportion of the elderly of 16.88%, less than 1% above the national average. During the period 1966 - 1971, the city experienced a net loss in population of 31,960 through migration, of whom 2,800 (8.76%) were elderly migrants. Elderly migrants formed 8.45% of the total migration stream and 7.64% of the total out-migration stream. The town was characterised, therefore, more by migration

of the elderly within its boundaries rather than by out-migration, although the proportions of all elderly moving were higher than in England and Wales as a whole. The dominant pattern, therefore, was one of local stability.

The nature and comparability of the sample populations within the study areas will be considered in Chapter 6. This chapter proceeds with a comparison of the two study areas as a whole. In following through some of the themes discussed in Part II of the thesis, Worthing, as the retirement area, receives the more intensive treatment.

III. The Study Areas

a. Growth Profiles

WORTHING: Worthing (Figure 5 (1)), with a population in 1971 of over 88,000, is the largest town in West Sussex situated on the Sussex coast plain some ten miles west of Brighton. Formerly a Municipal Borough, at the time of the survey work it had recently been amalgamated with the former Worthing Rural District to become a District authority under the provisions of local government reorganisation in April, 1974. Since census data relating to the area was enumerated prior to reorganisation, the area of the Borough as constituted in 1971 formed the study area. The Borough covers an area of 8,513 acres, bounded on the south by the English Channel, on the north by the South Downs, while the east and western boundaries merge with the residential development which now stretches westwards from Seaford in East Sussex in an almost unbroken belt to Bognor Regis in West Sussex.

There are many coastal resorts of England and Wales which have enjoyed a similar but chequered history from their beginnings as health resorts in the late eighteenth century until achieving their present status as 'retirement areas'. Nearby Brighton prospered under the influence of George IV who, as Prince Regent, made the town his playground. Worthing, too, enjoyed

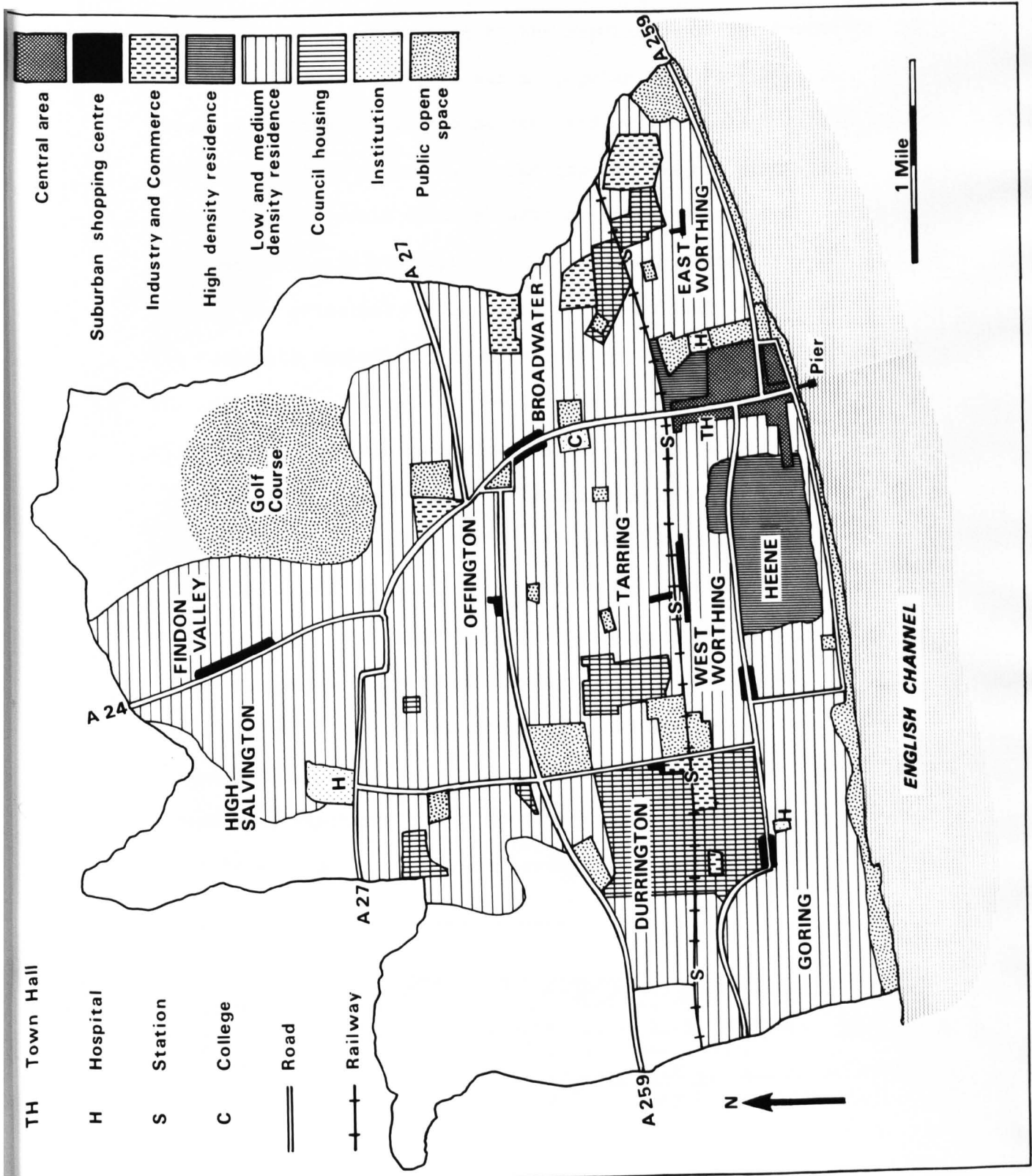


Figure 5 (1)

Worthing 1971. Major Land Use Zones

early royal patronage in the person of Princess Amelia, the sister of the future king, who visited the town in 1798 for the purposes of convalescence. This gave such great impetus to the reputation of the town that visitors flooded in and, by 1805, it was so popular that "families were unable to secure accommodation in the season, and were compelled to fall back upon Brighton for that purpose".³ The impetus was not sustained, however, and during the nineteenth century Worthing failed to maintain its favoured position, although its reputation as a health resort of note continued.

If the principal 'raison d'etre' for holiday resorts during most of the twentieth century has been recreation, then the major 'raison d'etre' for more than a century was the therapeutic value of sea bathing and the properties of certain coastal climates.⁴ Dr. Richard Russel published a book in 1750 after a visit to Brighton on the benefits to health of sea bathing,⁵ and during the early years of this century the function of 'watering places' as health resorts was still dominant. After the turn of the century, the Cambridge County Geography of Sussex still referred to Worthing as a 'considerable watering-place'.⁶ Featured in most of the major guides of the period, Worthing was described as "a bright and breezy watering-place, with an equable climate - miles of sand and no cliffs, backed by a beautiful bit of country without hills, until you get to the South Downs, amongst which are lovely walks and drives; the district

3. H. Clunn: Famous South Coast Pleasure Resorts Past and Present, London, T. Whittingham and Co., 1929, p. 350.

4. See, for example, the discussion in J. A. R. Pimlott: The Englishman's Holiday - a Social History, London, Faber, 1947.

5. E. W. Gilbert: Brighton, Old Ocean's Bauble, London, Methuen, 1954.

6. G. F. Bosworth: Sussex (Cambridge County Geography Series), Cambridge, 1909, p. 139.

forming one of the best exercising grounds in the South of England".⁷

It was during the years immediately after the First World War that the processes sustaining and generating life in the coastal resorts began to change. Several of these changes may be noted in particular. First was the change in transport technology. In 1750 Dr. Russel took two days to travel from London to Brighton by means of a carrier's wagon, a journey which took only one day if in possession of one's own carriage. By 1850 the railway from London to the coast was well established and the journey took little more than one hour. Worthing, 61 miles distant from London, was reached in 80 minutes. After the First World War additional mobility was being gained through the improving technology of the motor car. Before long the coast came within the reach of not only the wealthy but also the middle and poorer classes.

Second, the development of the public holiday and later the annual holiday of several days duration brought about changes in the relationship between work and leisure and gave the opportunity to travel from London to the coast.⁸

Third, increasing mobility, wealth and the acceptance of an annual

7. Seaside Watering Places - Seasons 1906 - 1907, London, L. Upcott Gill: see entry for Worthing. Not all guides were so tempered in their praise; the following extract is taken from N. Wood: Health Resorts of the British Islands, University of London Press, 1919, p. 161, and is characteristic of many effusive entries of the period. "Worthing has a mild, fairly dry, and comparatively equable climate. The most prevalent winds are from the south-west, west and south. The annual temperature averages 50°F. The sunshine record is usually 1700 hours in the year. A low rainfall, an absence of land fogs, an average relative humidity of 83 per cent, plus many constant marine influences, all combine to make its climate a suitable one for invalids, while in it thrive fig trees, myrtles, magnolias, fuchsias, heliotropes, and roses, as well as some exotic plants. There are fine sands and good sea bathing. A winter residence at Worthing is beneficial in chronic bronchial catarrh, in some forms of spasmodic asthma, in chronic renal disease, in chronic rheumatism, and for children, especially for those suffering from whooping cough; as well as for old people and Anglo-Indian invalids whose health has been injured in a hot climate."

8. See, for example, J. A. R. Pimlott: op cit.

vacation brought conflicts between these changing expectations of work and leisure. "The busy City man is confronted with the problem of where to send his growing family for their summer vacation. His business may preclude him from taking his holidays at the same time as his children. It then frequently becomes a question of choosing some place easily accessible, enabling father to undertake the daily journey to and from his place of business to the seaside; so that he can leave his office about 5 p.m. and join his family to dinner at 7 p.m. Thus the comforts and travelling facilities afforded to the City man who resides at Worthing are second only to those of Brighton. If Brighton has earned the title of 'London by the sea', Worthing can also claim to be a dormitory of the great Metropolis, and to embody the features of a pleasant suburb like Ealing or Putney, coupled with all the advantages of a very nice seaside resort."⁹

It was not long, therefore, before the holiday by the sea for some became a home by the sea, and the newly adopted residential function began to supplant the health appeal of the resorts. If, by 1929, when the above quotation was published, the matter for concern was vacation residence for the summer period, then within a few years the emphasis was on permanent residence in the resorts. Speculators began to build in the Worthing area, emphasising the garden city character of residential development¹⁰ and the environmental and climatic benefits. "Worthing is situated on the system of the Southern Railway which has brought it within the description of a residential suburb of London, and what a suburb! Where the breadwinner is within easy access of his office in the city, while leaving his family

9. H. Clunn: *op cit.*, p. 347 - 8.

10. A brochure published by Jeffrey Houses Estates during the 1930s posed the rhetorical question, 'Why not live at Sunny Worthing between Sea and Downs?' and supplied its answer in the following fashion: 'Worthing consists largely of wide and tree-shaded highways; the roads are level and their surfaces maintained in splendid condition. The appearance of the town is in every way notable and bears ample testimony to the care bestowed on the planning and development of the building schemes adopted ... in the business thoroughfares, commodious and well-equipped shops are to be found, comparing favourably with the leading emporiums of the metropolis.' (p. 5)

to benefit by a continuous holiday by the sea under ideal climatic conditions, where cheap living and magnificent sporting and other facilities make life a round of pleasure."¹¹ The developer's vision became a reality for many and, during the middle years of this century, Worthing combined an expanding residential role with the more traditional role of health and holiday resort. For some people, what was often the second home on the coast became the only home after retirement, and others moved into the area having sold their homes in the London suburbs.

The last two decades have seen a challenge to the town's role as a holiday and recreational centre through the growth of foreign travel for the annual holiday. In the face of this challenge, Worthing has maintained a relatively prosperous holiday industry with some 55,000 residential visitors a year.¹² The emphasis, however, has changed from residential to day visitors. Many former hotels have been converted into flatlets and bedsits for the elderly, while conferences are sponsored to maintain hotels out of season. As if holding grimly to the past, the slogan 'Sunny Worthing' has been maintained for advertising purposes.¹³ The stability within the town's economy has had to find its emphasis elsewhere, however, and the growth of industry, foreign language courses, and a further expansion of the residential function indicate the directions in which the town is moving. Current inflationary trends, and particularly the impact on commuter traffic, are challenging the role of Worthing as a "residential suburb of London", but the days of the town as a "health resort for Anglo-Indian invalids" are now firmly in the past.

The activities of the local Corporation and Council more than adequately met the needs of a growing holiday and residential resort during the middle years of this century. A number of public parks adjacent to

11. *ibid.*, p. 7.

12. Borough of Worthing: Worthing Town Council. Minutes of Proceedings 1970 - 71, p. 247. (Minutes of the Publicity and Entertainments Committee).

13. *ibid.*, 1972-73, p. 267.

the seafront were acquired by the corporation, and in the central area of the town street-widening took place and new Concert Halls, Band Enclosures and other facilities for the holidaying public were erected.¹⁴ The challenge of a growing elderly residential sector in post war years was slower in being met, however, and specific policies remained quite nebulous.

Public concern over the growing trend towards an ageing population was first expressed in the early 1960s, with the publication of the 1962 Annual Report on the Health of Worthing. The Borough Health Officer identified the trend towards an ageing population and added, "The rise in the numbers of the elderly has not been counter-balanced in the younger age-groups. Indeed there has actually been a decline (1951 -61) in the vital age range 25 - 44 and an accompanying drop in the number of children under the age of 10 ... whatever the reason, be it lack of jobs, lack of housing or lack of amenities, many young adults do not remain in Worthing for very long after school". He continued, "Can this unbalanced trend be reversed? I believe it can. A study of the graph shows a 'hump' reaching its peak in the 10 - 14 age group. This is the remains of the post-war 'bulge'. If these children, some of whom have already left school, can be persuaded to stay and work and live in Worthing, then a very different pattern will be shown for 1971".¹⁵ These observations remained at a level of informal discussion for a period of three years before being brought to debate by the Borough Council in 1966 when the Town Clerk observed that "it now appears that some positive measures to arrest the gradual ageing of the population are desirable".¹⁶ Positive steps were taken in conjunction with the County Council to control the expansion of the elderly population, action being

14. These still remain as a testimony to the priorities of those years.

15. Borough of Worthing: Annual Report on the Health of Worthing, 1962, p.3.

16. Borough of Worthing: Worthing Town Council. Minutes of Proceedings, 1966 - 67, p. 324. (Town Planning Committee).

based on the control of development land by providing adequate allocations for commercial development so that work could be available for the younger age groups. There has been a development of four trading areas, an encouragement to home buyers in the form of a Council-operated 100% mortgage scheme, and a change in emphasis in home-building from bungalows and flats, more suited to the elderly, to houses, more suited to the younger person.¹⁷

Table 5 (1)¹⁸ shows residential development between 1962, the year in which the problems of the elderly population were first stated publicly, and 1971. The major trends are very clear. The rate of building slowed during the decade, partly as a reflection of the general economic climate and partly as a reflection of the near-saturation of land available for building within the Borough. The most distinctive trend lay in the proportion of houses built in ratio to bungalows and flats. In 1962 the ratio was under 1:2 in favour of flats, but in 1971 the ratio was better than 1:1 in favour of houses. If the G.L.C. flats are excluded from the figures for 1968, then three out of the last four years had an excess of houses over bungalows and flats being built, in contrast with only one of the previous five years.

With regard to Industrial and Commercial development, one of the major problems has been the national policy which militates against the granting of industrial development certificates (I.D.C.s) and office development permits (O.D.P.s) in the South East. The West Sussex County Council, on behalf of themselves and Worthing Borough Council, made representations to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government "concerning the need to serve a more balanced age grouping in the coastal towns".¹⁹ The view of the

17. Borough of Worthing: Annual Report on the Health of Worthing, 1966. In his introductory comments the Borough Health Officer welcomed these measures as a response to his 1962 plea for action.
18. Compiled from the Borough of Worthing: Worthing Town Council. Minutes of Proceedings, Town Planning Committee, 1963 to 1972.
19. Borough of Worthing: Worthing Town Council. Minutes of Proceedings, 1966 - 67, p. 475. (Town Planning Committee)

Table 5 (1) Residential Development in Worthing 1962 - 1971

<u>Year</u>	<u>Under Construction</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Bungalows</u>	<u>Flats</u>	<u>Total</u>
1962	577	200	145	300	645
1963	611	209	178	294	681
1964	447	362	165	345	872
1965	455	321	145	152	618
1966	304	320	165	176	631
1967	700	229	97	175	501
1968	710	173	136	151 *	460
1969	340	311	107	140	558
1970	546	159	92	183	434
1971	399	290	90	144	524

* 1968. Including 30 flats being built for G.L.C.

Ministry was that it could "hold out no hope of relaxation for the benefit of any one locality of the restrictive policy in the South East on the issue of industrial development certificates and office development permits".²⁰ Furthermore, it was indicated that, in the Ministry's view, the number of certificates and permits granted would have to be very substantial before they could have any effect on the age structure of a town, that there would be problems of availability of land for development, the right kind of labour and houses for immigrant population to be decided, and that "the problem seemed impracticable of solution in the short term".²¹ Though National Policy has militated against the substantial growth of commerce and light industry in Worthing, some steps have been taken in recent years to rectify the situation.

In his annual report for 1966, the Borough Officer of Health again had occasion to refer to the age structure of Worthing. "The Council has done much to encourage young people to stay and to attract the young as well as the retired to come and live here. In particular the Council's 100%

20. ibid., 1966-7, p. 475.

21. ibid., 1966-7, p. 475.

mortgage scheme for young couples and the additional work which has resulted from the active encouragement to business firms and insurance companies to come to Worthing has undoubtedly had a beneficial effect ... It does appear that Worthing's unbalanced age structure is beginning to right itself."²²

As has been seen in Part II, the rate of expansion of the elderly slowed down in Worthing after 1961, as indeed it did in the whole of the South East. This was not solely the consequence of changing local policies, but was also a reflection of regional trends in retirement patterns. During the period 1961 - 1971 the South West became the major receiving region of retirement migration and in the South East, although proportions of the elderly in local areas continued to rise, their relative increase declined. Indeed, the standing conference on London and regional planning predicted in 1965 that during the 1970s the above-average proportion of old people in the South East area "will continue to decrease as opportunities for retirement in the South West and abroad increase ... This is not to say that particular coastal areas will not continue to experience a further substantial rise in the numbers of retired persons".²³ Their prediction was proved correct with the publication of the 1971 Census (see Table 3 (8)).

The foregoing discussion has been little more than a thumbnail sketch of the historical development of Worthing and the identification of the recent conflicts between desirable local policies and national directives. It is not the purpose of this study to analyse in depth the causes and the reasons for the historical growth of the town into a major retirement centre today. Yet it has been necessary to examine the growth of the area

22. Borough of Worthing: Annual Report on the Health of Worthing, 1966, p. 3. and, in 1971, p.3. the Borough Health Officer saw the results of the 1971 Census as evidence that the policies were working.

23. Quoted by J. Barr: For Old People Only, New Society, November 25th, 1965.

since in many respects the social and spatial processes within the town, and its elderly population, have taken the form of a natural, almost evolutionary, progression from earlier developments and functions. The discussion has indicated that the many factors, influences, causes and reasons for the growth and changing function of the area may be interpreted in terms of two major themes.

First, there have been dynamic changes that have affected society as a whole at every level. Changes in technology and communications such as the development of the railways, the car, electronic communication, and so on have brought radical changes in the levels of spatial interaction within society in little more than a century. Social reforms in work, leisure and opportunity have fundamentally changed the expectations of the individual within society as to what is his due, his right and his norm for living. These changes have permeated the social and technological fabric of society until their realities today bear little resemblance to the realities of a century ago, and they have permeated through nearly all social groups within society.

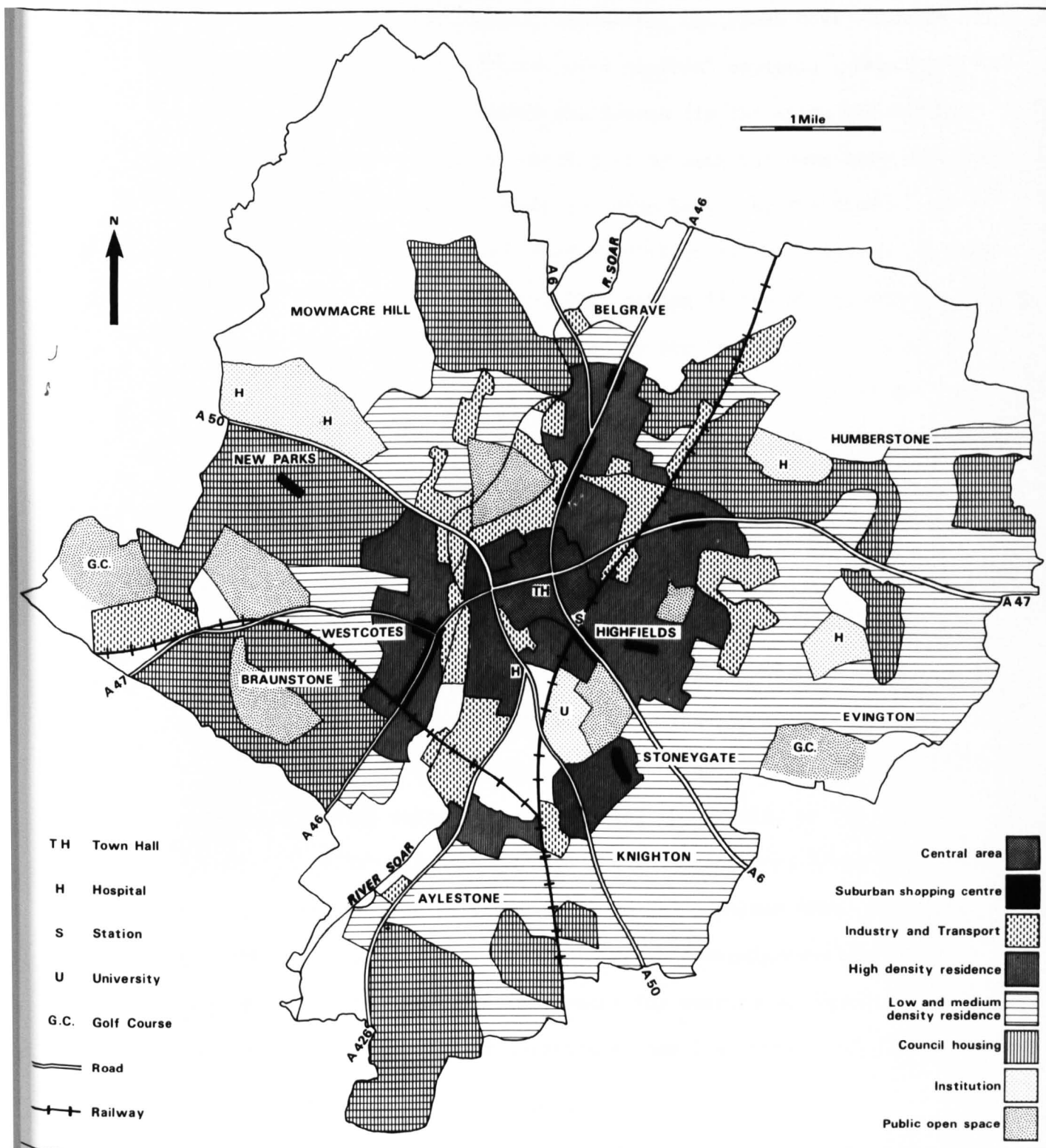
Second, there have been essentially static factors within society, the tendency of which has been to resist change. These are not only factors of conservatism but factors of inertia. In the case of Worthing, the beneficial effects of the local climate and sea-bathing were discovered during the eighteenth century. Immediately, a new role (and what was to prove a more important function in the light of future dynamic changes within society) was allotted to the poor fishing village on the Sussex coast. That role has been a factor of inertia ever since.

The historical development and changing functions of the town over the past two centuries may be interpreted as an attempt by the town to maintain its central role under the influence of the fundamental and total dynamic social and technological changes within society as a whole. The progression of function, from watering place to health resort, to winter residence, to

summer holiday residence, to resort, to residential and retirement centre has been a natural progression in the light of dynamic societal changes bringing about a response from essentially change-resistant local factors of inertia.

For almost two centuries the town of Worthing was able to respond to the changing dynamic pressures within society. The residential function grew out of the resort function not only because of the factors of inertia in relation to the environmental desirability of the area, but also because, functionally, the town could be classed as a 'residential suburb' of London at a time when suburbanisation from the capital was occurring at an explosive rate. The resort function has more recently been maintained at a lesser extent than was once the case, in spite of and because of threats from the development of extensive foreign travel. The residential function of the town is now supreme, and the recent efforts to stimulate light industry have been a response to the observed need to maintain a balanced age structure within the local community. In the process, the area is perhaps realising that the traditional functions of the area relating to its location on the coast are now proving inadequate in maintaining a balanced and prosperous community, and that the adoption of a new light industrial and commercial function is necessary to this end.

LEICESTER: Leicester (Figure 5 (2)), a city of some 300,000 people in 1971, is a focus for the county life of Leicestershire while, at a broader level, it is integrated into the economy and structure of the East Midlands. The urban area today extends beyond the formal city limits to form a city region, with a population of over 500,000 living within fifteen miles of the centre. At the time of the survey it had recently shed its status as a County Borough to become a District Authority within the new county of Leicestershire. As with Worthing, the census data studied derived from 1971, prior to local government reorganisation, and the Borough administrative area as constituted in 1971 formed the study area.



Leicester 1971. Major Land Use-Zones

Figure 5 (2)

The origins of Leicester pre-date the Roman settlement which was established at the point where the Fosse Way ran close to a ford crossing of the River Soar.²⁴ As *Ratae Coritanorum*, the Roman town extended over 100 acres and possessed the status of a cantonal capital. Continuity of settlement was assured when first the Saxons (in the sixth and seventh centuries) and later the Danes settled on or near the same site, the town being one of five 'boroughs' under the Dane Law. By the time of the Domesday survey (1086), the recorded population of the city was 414 people (a total population of, perhaps, 2,000) making it one of the largest towns in the Midlands. The size was matched by the importance of it being chosen as a Norman centre, a castle being built just to the south of the old Roman fortress. Two markets were developed and, during the twelfth century, the town became more important as a meeting place for some parliaments. During Tudor times the city was largely confined to the limits of the city wall and, in 1670, hearth tax returns showed a population of about 4,400. The introduction of the hosiery industry to the East Midlands signalled the beginning of Leicester's expansion.²⁵ The population grew to about 6,000 in 1712 and 8,000 in 1730. The effect of this expansion was to fill the core of the city until it was quite densely populated, as expansion on to and beyond the surrounding open fields at the time was impossible. After his travels throughout the country, Defoe observed in 1724 that "Leicester is an ancient, large and populous town, containing about five parishes ... They have considerable manufacture carried on here, and in several of the market towns round for weaving of stockings by frames; and one would scarce think it possible so small an article of trade could

24. Much of the general information in this section was acquired by the present writer during six years residence in Leicester, and thus is not attributable to any specific sources.

25. P. R. Mounfield: 'The Foundations of the Modern Industrial Pattern', in N. Pye (Ed.), Leicester and its Region, Leicester, 1972, pp.363-74.

employ such multitudes of people as it does".²⁶

The spatial growth of Leicester through the remainder of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was facilitated by the enclosure of the surrounding open fields. One great field to the east and north east of the town was enclosed in 1764 and the town expanded in that direction.²⁷ The other fields followed up to 1811 after the enclosure act of 1804. An additional impetus to growth came from the canalisation of the Soar in 1794, which came into the northern part of the city, bringing coal cheaply from the coal-fields to the north. Consequently, industry developed and the building of a working class district proceeded on nearby land. Development of the east field in the hands of individual proprietors provided mainly low status terraced housing and thus the north and east of the town were characterised by low status housing.²⁸

The south field had a very different history after enclosure, as instead of passing into individual hands it was passed into the care of the Corporation.²⁹ Resisting the sale of the land for industrial purposes, the Corporation preserved much for public purposes (and in later years provided the land for the building of public facilities, e.g. the jail, the lunatic asylum, schools, the university and the fire station). Part of the south field was sold to the highest bidder, and purchase by wealthy merchants ensured "not only the maintenance but the extension of the high status character to the south-east fringe of the city".³⁰ The attraction of this sector was affected, however, after the railway reached Leicester in the 1840s. The lower end of London Road, close to the station, was made

26. D. Defoe: A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, Penguin English Library Edition, 1971, p. 408.

27. W. G. Hoskins: The Making of the English Landscape, Pelican, 1970, p. 287.

28. G. J. Lewis and W. K. Davies: 'The Social Patterning of a British City', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, Vol. 65, No. 3, 1974, p. 196.

29. ibid., p. 196

30. ibid., p. 196

more undesirable by the railway and many wealthy people moved out along a south-east axis to Stoneygate.

After the 'golden years' of the hosiery industry between 1781 and 1811, the prosperity of Leicester waned as the character of the industry became outdated. After the end of the Napoleonic wars there was over capacity in the industry, so bringing unemployment to the town.³¹ National depression in the 1840s aggravated the problem and caused as many as one third of the population to seek poor relief.³² At the height of this depression, the basis of a new prosperity was being laid with the hosiery industry introducing steam-powered looms in the 1850s and 1860s.³³ Parallel developments in the footwear industry associated with the hand-riveting methods of Thomas Crick were to make Leicester into one of the most important footwear centres in the country, while out of the needs of the two major industries grew local engineering works.³⁴ With the expansion of industry came the need for new housing, and the western side of the town was opened up for development with the sale of the Westcotes area to private speculators, resulting in another area of workingclass housing.³⁵

With the development of tramways during the late nineteenth century and, later, the introduction of the motor car, the spatial development of the city became more feasible and, with the Corporation entering the housing market directly, the past century has seen unprecedented growth. In the Stoneygate and Knighton areas to the south east of the city, development was guided by the outward movement of the upper and upper middle class

31. P. R. Mounfield: *The Footwear Industry of the East Midlands*, IV, *East Midlands Geographer*, Vol. 25, June 1966, pp.8-23, and V, *East Midlands Geographer*, Vol. 27, June 1967, pp. 154-75.

32. B. G. Chamberlain: Report on the administration of the Poor Law: Leicester Union, 1861; quoted by R. M. Pritchard: Housing and the Spatial Structure of the City, Cambridge, University Press, 1976, p.33.

33. R. M. Pritchard: op cit., p. 34.

34. P. R. Mounfield: op cit.

35. G. J. Lewis and W. K. Davies: op cit., p. 196.

residential areas. This process continued in modified form to the present day, with more recent developments of extensive owner-occupied suburban estates taking place beyond the city boundary in Oadby and Wigston.

The public sector of the housing market developed only in response to the Housing of the Working Classes Act (1919) and when no further land was available for development near the centre of the city. Land was purchased, therefore, on the periphery of the built-up area, particularly in the Braunstone, Aylestone and Humberstone areas, and by 1940 over 9,000 council houses in these areas were occupied by lower status groups.³⁶ The influence of the public sector on the housing market of the city was increased after the Second World War with new estates being developed in the north (Mowmacre Hill) and west (New Parks) of the city, and to the south in Aylestone.

Post-war development was also guided by the need to redevelop large areas of the city centre, and demolition of much older housing stock and a concentration of the commercial function in the centre has occurred. Between 1945 and 1966 the local authority built over 16,000 new dwellings in replacement of 8,000 sub-standard properties that were demolished in the central areas.³⁷ Consequently, little residential property is now situated in the city centre. Some older properties, particularly in the nineteenth century south-eastern suburban sector, have passed from landlord and tenant to owner-occupiers as improvement schemes in post-1880 housing have guaranteed the status of such housing for some years to come.

The social patterns of contemporary Leicester broadly reflect this historic pattern of growth.³⁸ The high status areas predominate in a wedge in the south-east quadrant of the city, while a series of council estates are located at intervals on the city periphery from the south through

36. *ibid.*, p. 196

37. R. M. Pritchard: *op cit.*, p. 129

38. G. J. Lewis and W. K. Davies: *op cit.*

those on the west and north-west to the Humberstone areas of the east, a ring broken only by the high status areas. The specific detail of social characteristics find their context within this broad general pattern, especially when taken in conjunction with the evolution of the pattern over time. With a population characterised by residential stability (see next section), Leicester possesses forces of inertia which are reflected by both the spatial and, as we shall see, by the social characteristics of the city and its residents.

b. Demographic Profiles

Age structure.³⁹ The population of Worthing MB in 1971 was 88,405, of whom 34,280 (38.78%) were of pensionable age (see Table 5 (2)). Over a period of fifty years, the total population grew by some 151% from 35,215 in 1921, while the elderly population grew by 573% from 5,073 in 1921. The index rating⁴⁰ relating the proportion of elderly to the changing national average (100) rose by 60 points between 1921 and 1961 from 184 to 244 and then fell slightly by 3 points to 241 between 1961 and 1971 (see Table 5 (3)), further evidence that the rate of growth of the elderly population was falling as retirement opportunities expanded into adjacent areas.

The population of Leicester CB in 1971 was 284,210, of whom 47,970 (16.88%) were of pensionable age (see Table 5 (4)). This proportion was only 0.8% in excess of the national average of 16.07%, thus giving an index rating for the city of 104.9. This general comparability between the age structure of Leicester with that of England and Wales was also reflected

39. General population statistics for the study areas were abstracted from the Census 1971 (England and Wales): County Report for West Sussex and Leicestershire, Part I, particularly Tables 8 and 11.

40. Chapter 3, Part III, p. 82 describes the calculation of the elderly index.

Table 5 (2) Population of Worthing 1971

<u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single, Widowed, Divorced</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single, Widowed, Divorced</u>	
0- 4		2330		2150	4475
5- 9		2520		2370	4890
10-14		2205		2195	4400
15-19	35	1885	155	1825	3900
20-24	840	1405	1320	955	4520
25-29	1365	550	1640	400	3955
30-34	1480	280	1470	245	3470
35-39	1385	245	1525	275	3430
40-44	1580	215	1635	420	3850
45-49	1670	250	1865	550	4340
50-54	1760	245	1920	725	4650
55-59	1990	265	2175	1170	5595
60-64	2370	275	2450	1875	6970
65-69	2570	415	2465	2830	8280
70-74	2255	495	1995	3395	8140
75-79	1455	475	1090	3395	6415
80-84	750	400	450	2620	4220
85-89	270	220	135	1430	2055
90-94	50	80	25	525	680
95+	5	25	-	135	165
Total	21835	14775	22310	29485	88405

Source: Census 1971: County Reports

Table 5 (3) Population Change in Worthing 1921 - 1971

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Elderly Population</u>	<u>% Elderly</u>	<u>'Index' Value</u>
1921	35215	5093	14.463	184.4
1931	46224	8626	18.661	194.0
1951	69431	20587	29.651	215.2
1961	80329	29178	36.323	244.2
1971	88405	34280	38.776	241.2

Source: Census 1921 to 1971, County Reports

Table 5 (4) Population of Leicester 1971

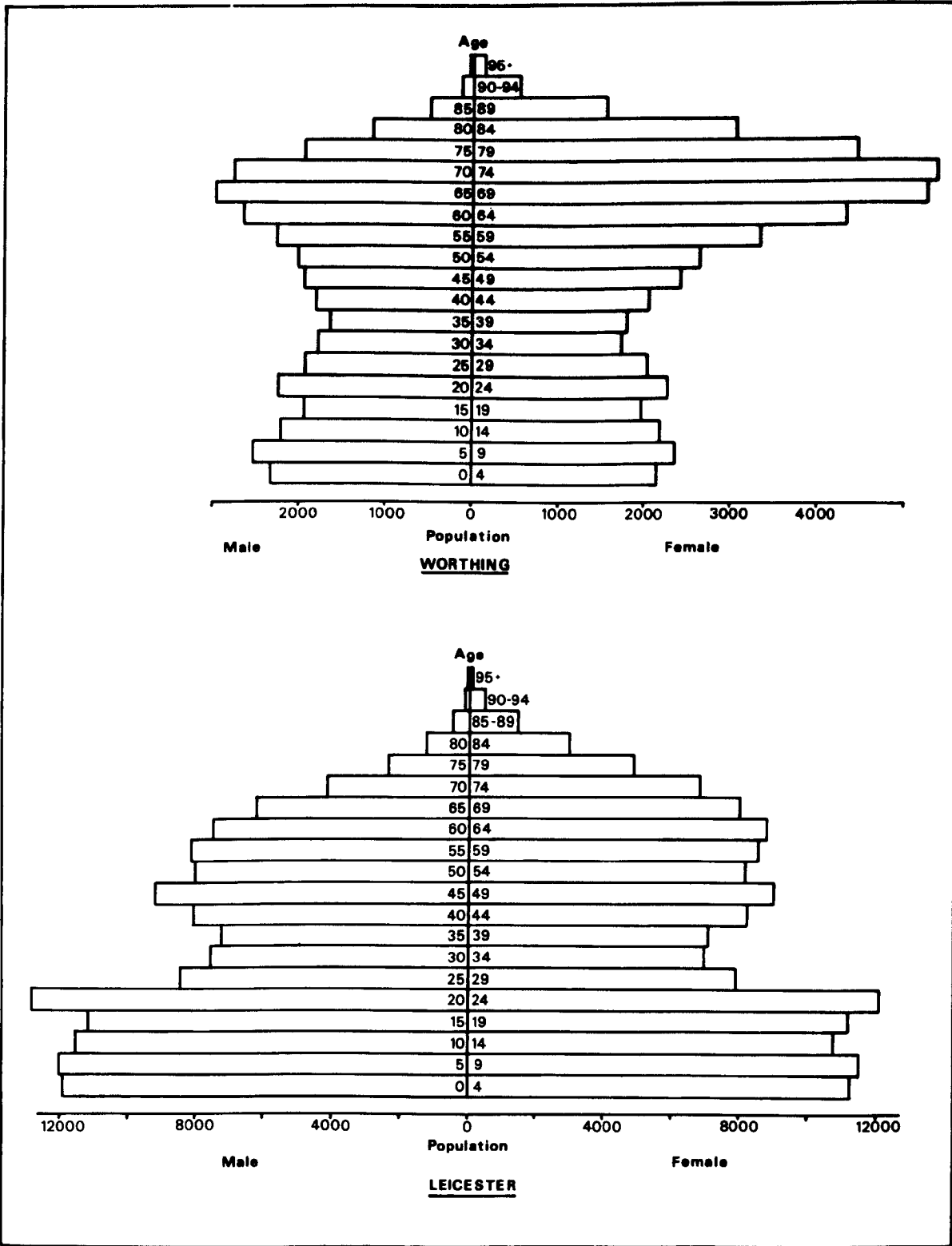
<u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
0- 4	11910	11240	23150
5- 9	12015	11530	23545
10-14	11560	10710	22270
15-19	11190	11165	22355
20-24	12885	12085	24970
25-29	8485	7895	16380
30-34	7595	6940	14530
35-39	7260	7020	14280
40-44	8075	8190	16265
45-49	9225	8965	18190
50-54	8010	8140	16150
55-59	8115	8505	16620
60-64	7525	8735	16265
65-69	6275	7980	14255
70-74	4165	6755	10920
75-79	2380	4895	7275
80-84	1235	2960	4195
85-89	450	1450	1900
90-94	130	460	585
95+	15	80	100
Total	138495	145710	284210

Source: Census 1971: County report

by the age-sex pyramid for the city (see Figure 5 (3)). When compared with the pyramid for England and Wales (Figure 3 (3)), the major exception was seen to be in the lower age range, 0 - 24, where the modal age group for Leicester was 20 - 24 in contrast to the 0 - 4 modal age group within the national population structure. This feature aside, the two structures were generally comparable.

The age structure of Worthing in 1971 was such that the age-sex pyramid for the Borough (see Figure 5 (3)) showed gross distortion in the upper age groups when compared to the national age structure. It retained many of the characteristics of the national pyramid up to the age group 45 - 49, including the two peaks for age groups 20 - 29 and 0 - 9. In the upper age categories, however, the trend was one of complete distortion from national patterns, as might be expected with over 53% of the population over 50 years of age. Two features were of particular note; first, that the 65 - 69 age group for males and 70 - 74 age group for females were the modal age categories compared to a 0 - 4 modal age category on the national age pyramid. Second, that there was an overwhelming bias towards the female side of the pyramid in the upper age categories only, the lower half of the pyramid retaining the sex balance in line with national trends, a reflection of the greater life-expectancy of females in an area of longevity.

Table 5 (5) further analyses the elderly population of Worthing in 1971 by age and residence in private or non-private households, according to marital status. In the non-private establishments, the majority of both males and females were single, widowed or divorced (SWD). Of particular note was the remarkably high number of SWD females in age category 75+, a total of 1,609, equal to 57% of all elderly persons in non-private households. That the majority of all elderly in non-private households should be single is a reflection that the institutions concerned comprised Hotels and Boarding Houses, Old People's Homes and Hospitals. The residents of the latter institutions in particular have normally reached a



Population Profiles of the Study Areas 1971

Figure 5 (3)

Table 5 (5) Worthing. Population 55+ in 1971 by Household Type

	<u>NOT IN PRIVATE H-H.</u>				<u>PRIVATE H-H.</u>			
	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>Single,</u> <u>Widowed,</u> <u>Divorced</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single,</u> <u>Widowed,</u> <u>Divorced</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single,</u> <u>Widowed,</u> <u>Divorced</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single,</u> <u>Widowed,</u> <u>Divorced</u>	<u>Married</u>
55-59	18	36	64	45	246	1955	1102	2132
60-64	18	50	81	36	258	2318	1792	2416
65-69	35	63	112	37	380	2510	2719	2425
70-74	58	49	204	49	437	2207	3190	1946
75+	285	119	1609	103	914	2410	6603	1594
Total	414	317	2070	270	2235	11400	15406	10513

Source: Census 1971: Unpublished Ward Library for
Worthing.

condition of being incapable of self-care in the home and represent the point at which social services may feel under acute pressure due to the real institutional geriatric problems which exist.

In the private households, which comprised the majority of dwellings in the area, there was a marked difference between the trends for the male and female populations. Among the male population there was a predominance of married members (as against SWD) in all age categories, the ratio being 6.1:1 in the 65 - 69 age group and falling to 2.6:1 in the 75+ age group. Among the female population there was a general dominance of SWD over marrieds among the elderly; the ratio of 1.35:1 in favour of the marrieds in the 60 - 64 age group gave way to ratios of 1:0.89 in the subsequent age group, 65 - 69, and 1:0.24 in the final age category, 75+.

No population structure is normal, in the sense that it varies through time and between cultures as an expression of changes in the birth and death rates, and migration. The national structure is perhaps the most suitable norm for any specific period against which peculiarities may be

measured. In 1971, the age structure of Leicester was broadly similar to that of England and Wales as a whole, but figures for Worthing revealed the extent to which it was dominated by the elderly, the majority, both in private and non-private households, being single females. Of the 9,467 elderly males in the town (in both private and non-private households) 77.7% were married, and 93.57% were resident in private households. While the area may be termed a retirement area, the major imbalance within the elderly population concerned the very high proportions and total numbers of single females. Indeed, of all persons in one-person households in Worthing in 1971, 3.5% were males aged 65+ and 31.4% were females aged 60+ (compared with national figures of 5.5% and 27.7% respectively). Whatever criteria are used for measurement, the pattern was consistent.

Occupational Classifications:⁴¹ In the 1971 Census, a total of 140,640, 49.48% of the total population, were enumerated in Leicester as being 'economically active'. Of this total, 84,780 were males and 55,860 were females. There were 17,650 males and 54,950 females classed as 'economically inactive' and, of this total of 72,600, 39.15% (28,400) were classed as 'retired'.

In Worthing in 1971 there were enumerated 19,405 'economically active' males and 13,575 females, a total of 32,980. There were 10,155 males and 31,510 females classed as 'economically inactive' and, of this total of 41,665, 92.96% (38,735) were classed as 'retired'. Of the retired, 8,635 (22.29%) were male while the vast majority of 30,100 (77.71%) were female. Clearly, the character of a retirement area distorts not only the age structure but the economic structure of the area and, as a consequence, (the Borough of) Worthing well justifies its label as a residential area in contrast to being a community of relatively balanced economic activity.

The classification of occupations may be broken down according to the seventeen divisions of the Registrar General (see Appendix III). In interpreting these divisions within the study areas, certain factors must

41. Statistics abstracted from Census 1971: Economic Activity, County leaflet for West Sussex and Leicestershire, HMSO, 1975, particularly Table 4.

be considered. In the first instance, the classifications were applied to individuals in their residential situation and thus bear no immediate relation to the types of economic activity carried on within the given area. Thus, in Worthing, the high cost of housing requires many workers to travel into the town each day from surrounding districts and a relatively large number commute out to places such as London and Brighton. In Leicester, similarly, a number of major suburban developments are outside the (1971 County Borough) city limits and residents of such estates are not included within the figures for the city. What follows, therefore, is an analysis of the classifications of resident economically active males within each study area.

Table 5 (6) and Figure 5 (4) indicate the proportion of economically active males in each (occupational) socio-economic group in Worthing, Leicester and England and Wales as a whole. When compared to the average for England and Wales, the proportions in classes 1 to 7 in Worthing were over-represented while all other classes were under-represented, with the exception of Class 12 (own account workers other than professional). The proportion by which classes 1 to 7 exceeded the national average varied from 22% (Class 1) to 90% (Class 3). In England and Wales as a whole, classes 1 to 7 represented 34.68% of the total active male population, whereas in Worthing they represented 51.33% of the active male population. It is with some justification that Worthing has been classed as a middle-class residential town.

In contrast, by comparison with the national characteristics, Leicester maintained a similar distribution throughout the different categories. Groups 1 to 7 represented 29.15% of the active male population in Leicester compared with the 34.68% in England and Wales as a whole. Groups 11 to 16 represented 12.44% in Leicester compared with 16.63% in England and Wales. The greatest over-representation in Leicester was in groups 9 and 10, which represented 36.33% (England and Wales 28.8%) and 16.77% (England and Wales

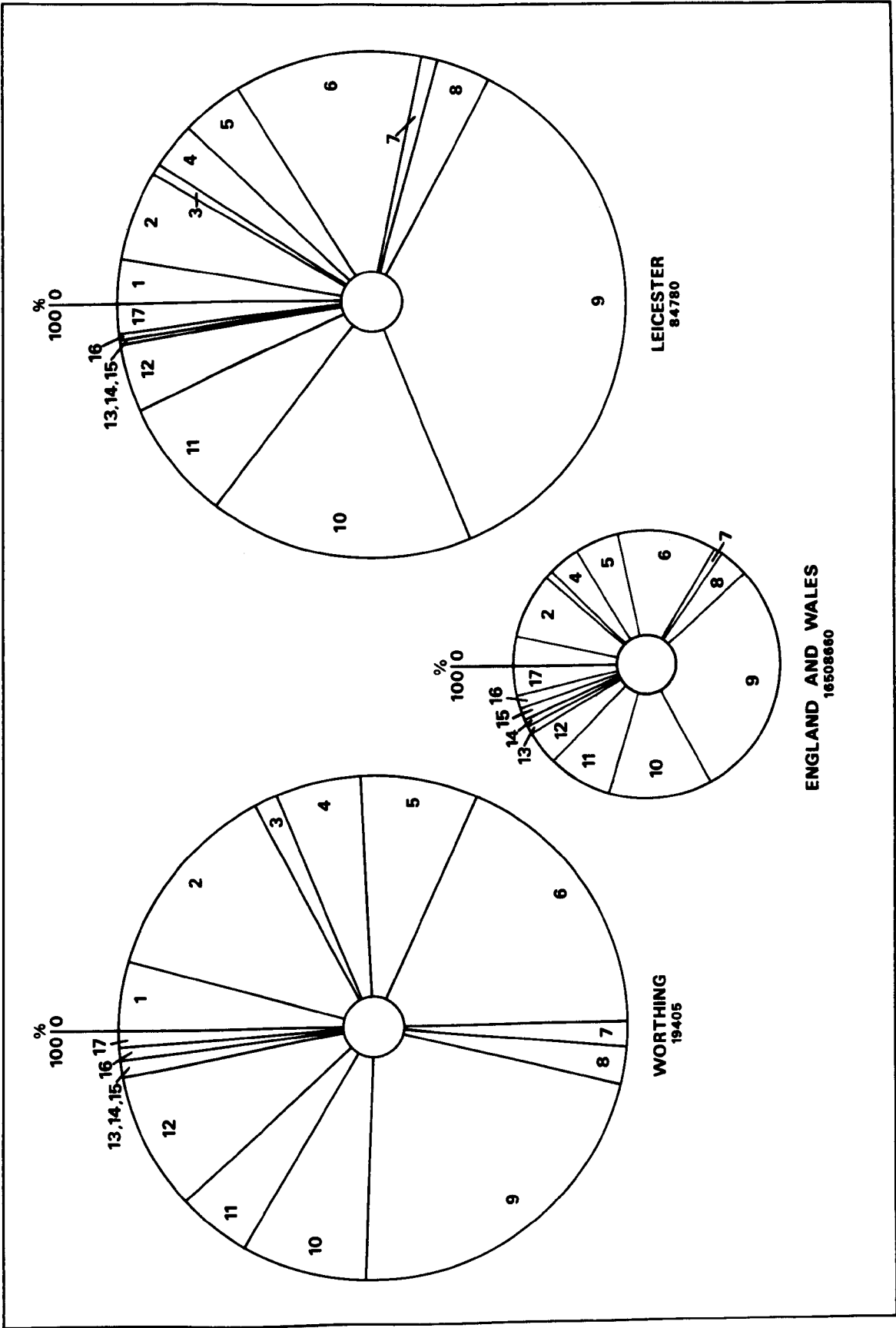
Table 5 (6) Occupational Categories in the Study Areas, 1971.
% of Economically Active Males in Each Class.

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Worthing</u>	<u>Leicester</u>	<u>England and Wales</u>
1	4.330	2.91	3.55
2	12.78	5.70	8.09
3	1.62	0.64	0.85
4	5.43	2.92	3.91
5	7.51	3.99	5.36
6	18.26	11.90	11.96
7	1.41	1.08	0.95
8	2.56	3.37	3.56
9	21.65	36.33	28.81
10	7.98	16.77	12.63
11	4.70	7.71	7.64
12	9.02	4.23	4.44
13	0.21	0.07	0.83
14	0.05	0.04	0.84
15	0.89	0.09	1.45
16	0.63	0.26	1.42
17	0.99	1.97	3.67
<hr/>			
Total numbers:	19,405	84,780	16,508,660

Source: Census 1971: Economic Activity
Tables

12.63%) respectively. The economically active population of Leicester in 1971 can be seen to have maintained a bias in favour of manual workers and their associated supervisors and foremen over and against other groups.

The contrast between the study areas in terms of occupational categories was distinctive, and may indeed reflect one of the mobility differentials apparent in identifying retired migrants, in that they may often have spent their lives within an occupational environment where the mobility rates are above the national average. In identifying the



Economically Active Males 1971 Percentage in each Socio-Economic Class

Figure 5 (4)

distinctive nature of the active Worthing population, the representative nature of Leicester in broadly reflecting national patterns has also been noted.

Migration:⁴² The degree to which the high concentration of the elderly in retirement areas is the direct result of in-migration is a matter of considerable debate. As has been concluded in Part II of this thesis, migration of the elderly is a phenomenon which has seen continued if not accelerating growth during the past few decades. Migration statistics are available from census sources only from 1961 and any attempt to quantify the earlier growth of Worthing's elderly population through migration meets with difficulties. An examination of the data for the study areas in the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, however, revealed particular trends. Leicester, while broadly representative of national averages with respect to its population and occupational structures was chosen as a study area also because of the relative stability of its elderly population when contrasted with the high mobility of an area such as Worthing. Unless otherwise stated, this analysis of the migration patterns of the two study areas utilises the census tabulations which refer to movement in the five years preceding the respective census in the belief that a five-year period is a better guide to long-term trends than the one-year statistics which may be subject to particular anomalies.

1961 Census Analysis: Worthing: From the duration of residence table (Table 5 (7)), the following features emerged. First, that 6.58% of the population had lived in the town since birth; second, that 69.5% had moved within or into the town during the preceding 14 years (i.e. since the end of World War II); and third, that 13.75% had moved during the preceding

42. Statistics abstracted from Census 1961 and 1971: Migration Tables, particularly 1961: Tables 7, 14 and Duration of residence table, and 1971: Tables 5B and 19B.

Table 5 (7) Worthing. 1961 - Duration of Residence.
(corrected 10% data)

Total Population: 80,460

	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1 year	4310	5.36	6750	8.39	11060	13.75
1 year	2230	2.77	3200	3.98	5430	6.75
2 - 4 years	7570	9.41	10840	13.47	18410	22.88
5 - 14 years	8580	10.66	12470	15.50	21050	26.16
15+ years	4750	5.90	7490	9.31	12240	15.21
Since birth	2810	3.49	2490	3.09	5300	6.58
Duration not stated	2730	3.39	424	5.27	6970	8.66

Source: Census 1961. Migration Tables

year. Worthing, in 1961, was an area characterised by extreme mobility. The low proportion of locally born 'indigenous' population, coupled with the fact that almost 70% of the resident population moved into the area or within the area during the post-war years, served to indicate that the social structure of the town in 1961 was the consequence of more than two decades of 'invasion' rather than by demographic changes among the indigenous residents.

Expansion of the analysis allowed consideration of the socio-economic characteristics of migrants. Of 3,650 "wholly moving private households" moving into Worthing between 1960 and 1961, 860 (23.56%) were classed as 'retired' and a further 610 (16.71%) were classed as 'economically inactive', giving a total of 40.27% of in-migrant households who moved predominantly for residential reasons. Of 2,160 'economically active' households moving into Worthing, their division according to socio-economic class was broadly similar to that of the socio-economic structure of the town as a whole. There was an over-representation among migrants of socio-economic classes

1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 (employers, managers, non-manual workers and personal service workers) and an under-representation of all other socio-economic classes. Among the 'economically inactive' migrants, the majority of whom were retired, there was an over-representation of socio-economic classes 3 and 4 (professional workers) and of classes 8 to 16 inclusive, indicating that among retired migrants there was an emphasis in favour of the middle and lower-middle socio-economic groups.

The reasons for the distinctive difference between classes 3 and 4 on the one hand and classes 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 on the other were not clear. One possibility could be that, among those at managerial level (classes 1 and 2), the income level was sufficiently high to allow commuting costs to be incurred prior to retirement, while the income level of professional people (classes 3 and 4) did not allow this. A pattern would emerge, therefore, of managers moving to Worthing during the working life, perhaps anticipating retirement in the area, while the professional moved after retirement. Alternatively, the differences may have been a reflection of the proportionately fewer professional opportunities within the area, or within easy commuting distance.

The slight over-representation of classes 8 to 16 in the economically inactive migration stream would tend to support the suggestion in Part II that, as the idea of retirement migration developed in the immediate post-war years, the diffusion was down through the social classes so that, in the 1950s and early 1960s, the lower socio-economic groups would be adopting the trends previously established by the higher socio-economic groups.

Table 5 (8) summarises the available data for source and destination areas of migrants (1960 - 1961). Total in-migration of 5,660 people occurred of whom 2,200 (38.9%) were male and 3,460 (61.1%) were female. The net gain through migration was 2,070 between all areas of England and Wales.

The majority of migrants into Worthing moved a relatively short distance. 71.4% moved from within the South East Region and 17.7% moved from the county of West Sussex itself. Ranking second was Surrey (14.5%) followed by East

Table 5 (8) Worthing. Immigrants and Emigrants by Area of former usual residence. 1961.
(corrected 10% data)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Immigrants</u>		<u>Emigrants</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Essex	80	140		
Hampshire	30	100		
Kent	160	160	80	130
London	150	250	90	190
Middlesex	250	320	20	90
Surrey	300	520	180	200
East Sussex	210	370	150	230
West Sussex	360	640	390	540
Elsewhere E. & W.	380	630	300	490
Elsewhere in B. I.	70	80		
Abroad	210	250		
<hr/>				
Total	2200	3460	1210	1870

Net gain through migration:

Male	990
Female	<u>1590</u>
Total	2580

Source: Census 1961: Migration Tables

Sussex (10.24%) and Middlesex (10.07%). There was also quite substantial movement into Worthing from more distant parts of England and Wales (17.84%) and from abroad (10.76%). Return migration was generally to the same areas that generated in-migration. The total pattern was one of a net gain in Worthing through each migration flow, with the exception of the local flow between the Borough and Worthing Rural District where there was a net outflow from the town of 140 people.

1961 Census Analysis: Leicester: From the duration of residence table

(Table 5 (9)), the following features emerged. First, that 14.66% of the population had lived in the city since birth; second, that 57.97% had moved within the preceding 14 years; third, that 9.42% had moved within the preceding year; and fourth, that 24.46% had been resident in the same home for more than 15 years. While the population had its due proportion of migrants, the major difference between Leicester and Worthing was that the former maintained a substantial indigenous and stable population. In all categories but one, females represented a higher proportion than males. The exception was with regard to those who had lived 'since birth' in the same place. The dominant pattern, therefore, was one of stability, 24.46% having lived in the same place for 15 or more years.

Table 5 (10) and Figure 5 (5)⁴³ summarise the source and destination areas of migrants to and from Leicester in the year preceding the Census. As might be expected, the majority of migrants were in flows to and from places within the county of Leicestershire, it supplying 27% of all migrants into the city and receiving 60.14% of all migrants from the city. The majority of 'sending' counties were clustered around Leicestershire and in a belt stretching to the north west including Lancashire and West Yorkshire, while several south-eastern counties also sent migrants, in particular Middlesex and London itself. The migrants who moved away from Leicestershire presented a much more dispersed pattern of settlement. Warwickshire, London and Lancashire stood out in particular, complementing the in-migration flows generated in those counties. For the rest, several 'retirement' and 'non-urban' counties figures in the tabulations including Devon and East Sussex.

One of the most distinctive patterns to emerge from Figure 5 (5) was that of an apparent bias in favour of in-migrants to Leicester from the

43. Census 1961: Migration Tables, Table 7.

Table 5 (9) Leicester. 1961 - Duration of Residence
(corrected 10% data)

Total Population: 274,250

	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1 year	12890	4.70	12940	4.72	25830	9.42
1 year	6630	2.42	6850	2.50	13480	4.92
2 - 4 years	19410	7.08	21580	7.87	40990	14.95
5 - 14 years	38280	13.96	40370	14.72	78650	28.68
15+	29430	10.73	37640	13.72	67070	24.46
Since birth	20560	7.50	19640	7.16	40200	14.66
Duration not stated	3590	1.31	4440	1.62	8030	2.93

Source: Census 1961. Migration Tables

Table 5 (10) Leicester. Immigrants and Emigrants by Area of former usual residence. 1961.
(corrected 10% data)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Immigrants</u>		<u>Emigrants</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cheshire	60	90		
Bedfordshire			80	40
Derbyshire	50	80	80	20
Devon			90	130
Durham	60	60		
Essex	80	60	110	110
Gloucestershire			50	50
Hampshire	60	60	80	130
Hertfordshire			70	50
Kent	120	70	50	60
Lancashire	160	150	160	220
Leicestershire	1090	1140	3820	3860
Lincolnshire			70	80
London	180	150	180	100
Middlesex	120	170	90	30
Northamptonshire	110	70	90	100
Nottinghamshire	90	120	80	100
Northumberland	100	60		
Staffordshire			100	40
Surrey	70	90	100	100
East Sussex			70	60
Warwickshire	190	90	260	170
Wiltshire			110	100
Worcestershire	60	50	80	70
Yorkshire	80	110	140	80
Glamorgan			60	70
Elsewhere in E. & W.	590	560	500	470
Elsewhere in B.I.	420	350		
Abroad	560	500		
Total	4250	4030	6430	6240
Net loss through migration:		- 4390		

Source: Census 1961. Migration Tables.

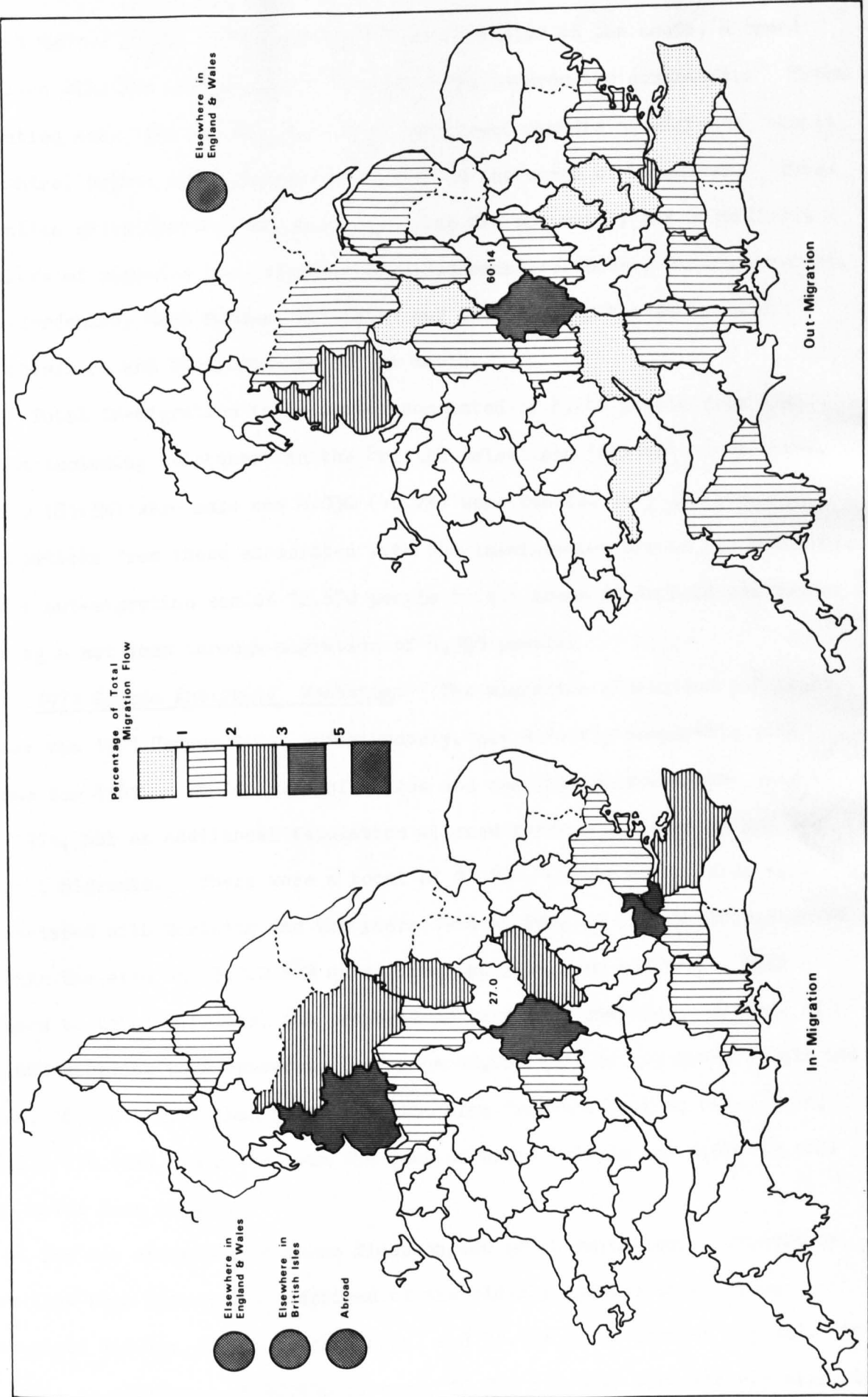


Figure 5 (5)

Leicester 1961 . Source and Destination Areas of Migration

north and in favour of out-migrants from Leicester to the south, a trend in line with the general drift of population towards the south-east. Three counties sent, but did not receive, significant numbers of migrants, namely Cheshire, Durham and Northumberland, all to the north of Leicester. Those counties which received migrants from, but did not supply any significant numbers of migrants to, Leicester were Bedfordshire, Devon, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, East Sussex, Wiltshire and Glamorgan to the south, and Lincolnshire and Staffordshire to the north.

Total in-migration to Leicester consisted of 8,280 people from all areas including 'elsewhere in the British Isles' and 'Abroad'. Of these, 4,250 (51.3%) were male and 4,030 (48.7%) were female, very different proportions from those associated with the in-migration stream for Worthing. Total out-migration was of 12,670 people to all areas of England and Wales, giving a net loss through migration of 4,390 people.

1971 Census Analysis: Worthing: The migration statistics published under the 1971 Census were, unfortunately, not directly comparable with those for 1961. The details of source and destination areas were omitted in 1971, but an additional tabulation allowed further analysis of the age of all migrants. There were a total of 12,020 "wholly moving families" associated with Worthing for the years 1966 - 1971, of whom 3,000 had moved within the area and 9,020 had moved into the area from outside. With regard to total migrants, the proportions were very similar. A total of 50,000 migrants were enumerated, of whom 12,750 (25.5%) had moved within the area, 16,450 (32.9%) had moved into the area from the rest of the region, 19,210 (38.42%) had moved from the rest of Great Britain and 1,590 (3.18%) had moved from abroad.

The age structure of these flows showed great variation. 17.610% of the flow from abroad was comprised of the elderly and the other flows contained between 34.51% (within area) and 38.48% (from rest of region). Of a total in-migration of 48,410 persons, 17,900 (36.98%) were elderly migrants.

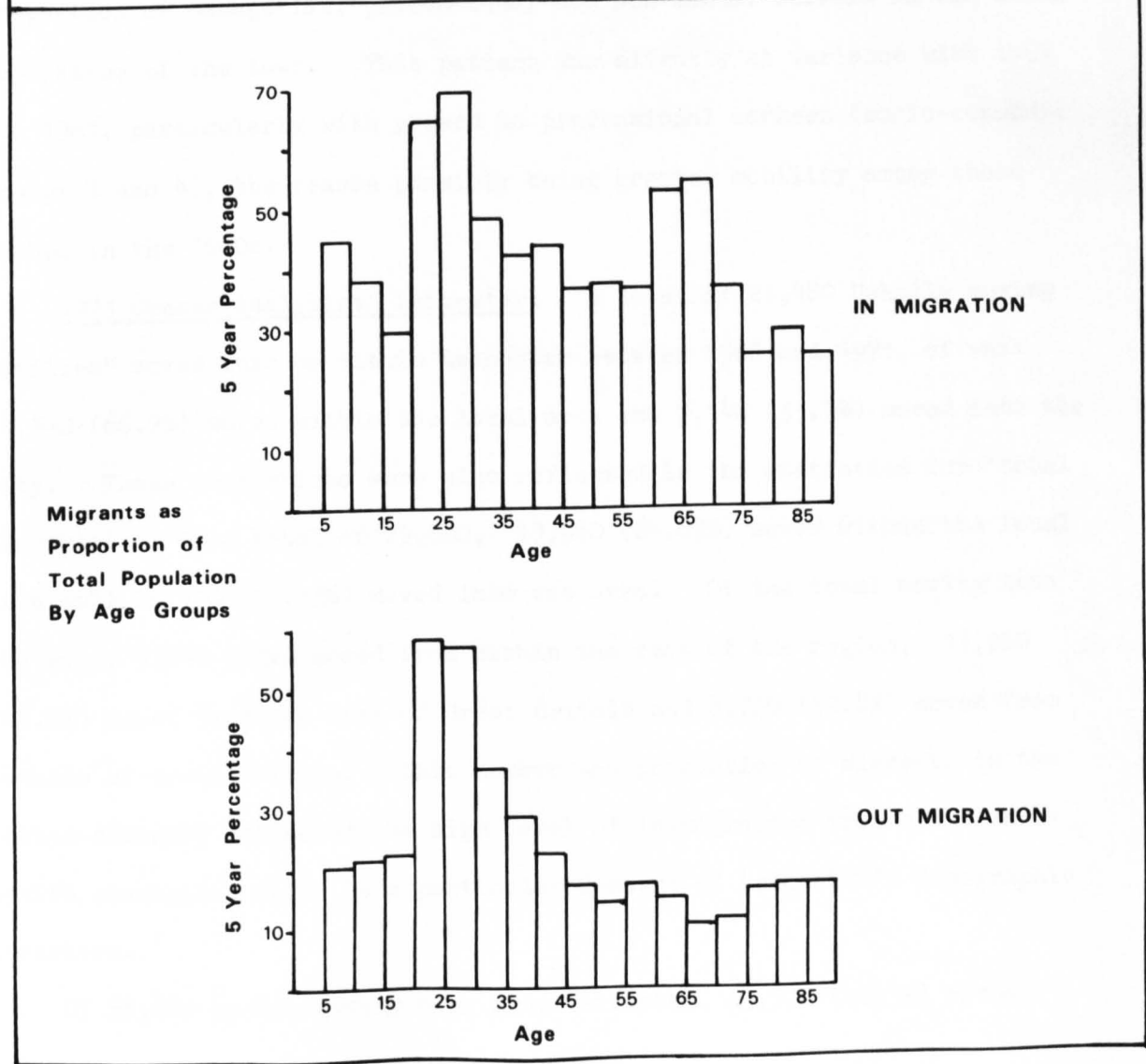
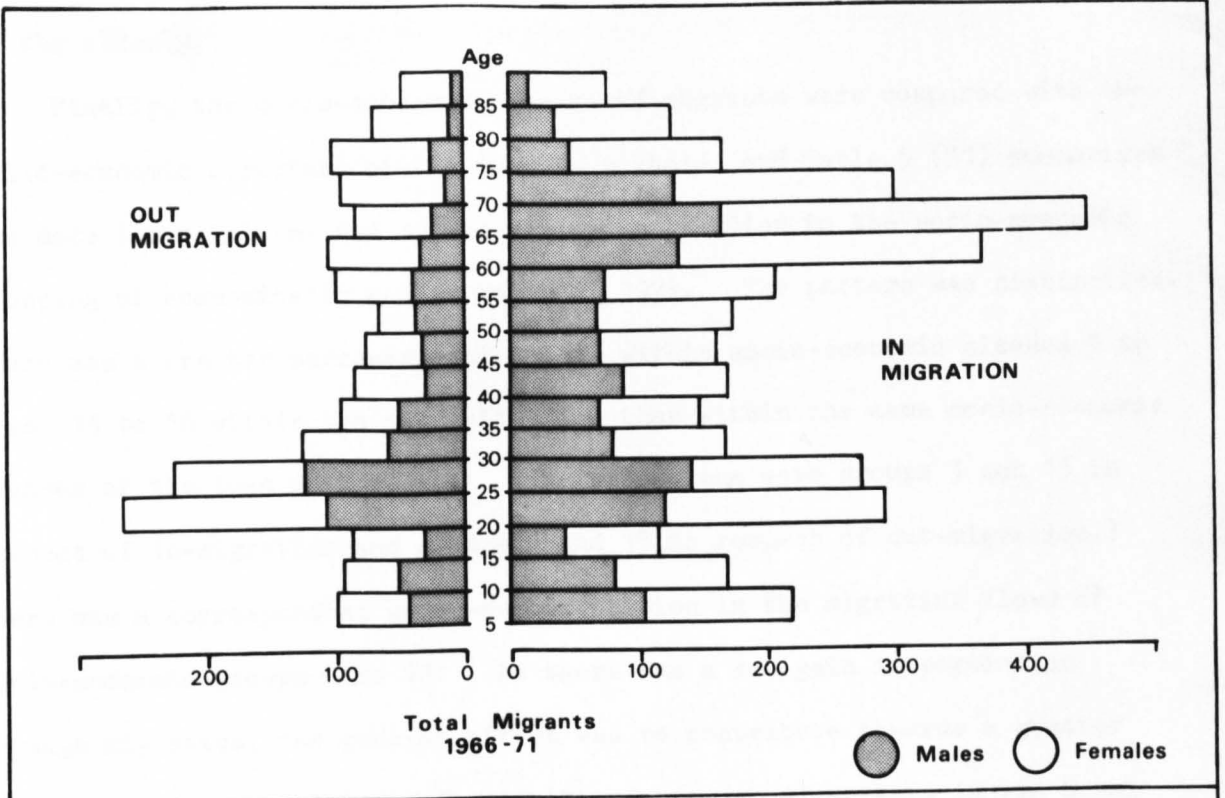
The structure of out-migration also revealed very different age

characteristics. Of 8,210 migrants from the area to the rest of the region, 2,130 (25.94%) were elderly, while in the flow to the rest of Great Britain the proportion was 25.61% (2,610 from 10,190 migrants). It is possible to conclude, therefore, that in-migration of the elderly continued at a pace which consistently added to the density of the elderly in the town. Of the net population gain in Worthing of 17,260 between 1966 and 1971, between areas within Great Britain, 8,760 (50.75%) were elderly people.

A detailed breakdown of in- and out-migration by age is summarised in Figure 5 (6a). As with the total population structure of the town, the greatest distortion occurred in the upper age groups with high in-migration, particularly in the 55 - 74 age group. The potential distortion of the age structure of Worthing was further aggravated by the high numbers of out-migrants in the 20 - 29 age group, though the effect was somewhat mitigated by a correspondingly high in-migration rate for the same age group. Thus, while a certain balance between in- and out-migration was maintained in these younger age groups, the same balance was not characteristic of the upper age groups where return or out-migration at no stage approached the level of in-migration.

Figure 5 (6b)⁴⁴ relates the absolute figures for migration within each age group to the total population of that age group resident in the town. It can be clearly seen that the age group in which there was the highest proportional attraction of in-migrants was the 20 - 30 age group, with the 60 - 70 age group ranking second. In relative terms, therefore, the trend during the late 1960s was for in-migration to be relatively highest among the younger age categories. Out-migration, however, was relatively even higher among the younger age groups in relation to other age categories, and the relative balance of in-migration therefore remained firmly in favour

⁴⁴. Census 1971: Migration Tables, South East Region, Table 5B.



1971 Migration Profiles: WORTHING

Figure 5 (6)

of the elderly.

Finally, the socio-economic classes of migrants were compared with the socio-economic structure of the town as a whole, and Table 5 (11) summarises the data for total in- and out-migration in relation to the socio-economic grouping of economically active males in 1971. The pattern was distinctive. There was a greater percentage of people within socio-economic classes 1 to 7 and 13 to 16 within the migration flow than within the same socio-economic classes of the town as a whole. (The exceptions were groups 3 and 15 in respect of in-migration and groups 6 and 15 in respect of out-migration.) There was a corresponding under-representation in the migration flows of socio-economic groups 8 to 12. As there was a net gain in population through migration, the general effect was to contribute towards a greater proportion of managerial, professional and non-manual workers in the total population of the town. This pattern was slightly at variance with that for 1961, particularly with regard to professional workers (socio-economic groups 3 and 4), the reason possibly being greater mobility among these groups in the 1960s.

1971 Census Analysis: Leicester: A total of 21,480 "wholly moving families" moved into or within Leicester between 1966 and 1971, of whom 14,340 (66.7%) moved within the local area and 7,140 (33.3%) moved into the city. These proportions were also reflected in the statistics for 'total migrants'. Of a total of 75,500, 48,980 (64.87%) moved within the local area while 26,520 (35.13%) moved into the area. Of the total moving into the area, 5,840 (22%) moved from within the rest of the region, 11,960 (45.2%) moved from the rest of Great Britain and 8,720 (32.8%) moved from outside of Great Britain. This number and proportion of migrants in the latter category reflected the high level of in-migration from new commonwealth countries, which is a particular feature of Leicester's demographic structure.

Of 58,480 people moving away from Leicester, 23,570 (40.3%) moved

Table 5 (11) Migrants and Occupational Status. WORTHING 1971.

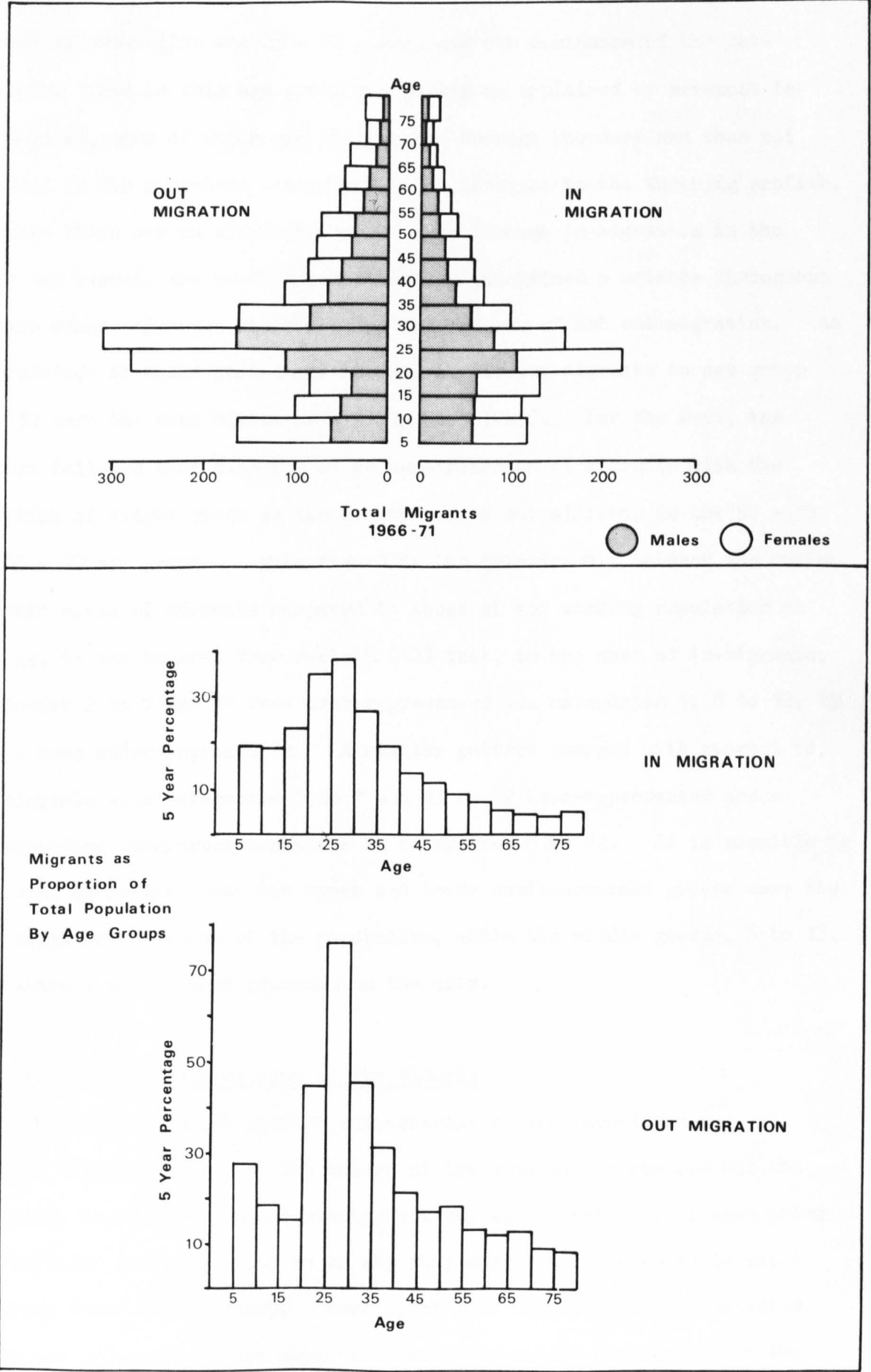
<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Male Active Population %</u>	<u>Percentage of Migrants</u>	
		<u>In-Migrants</u>	<u>Out-Migrants</u>
1	4.330	5.10	7.20
2	12.780	13.09	14.28
3	1.617	1.01	1.92
4	5.425	10.03	7.14
5	7.512	10.18	13.08
6	18.258	21.56	16.38
7	1.408	2.65	3.66
8	2.556	1.38	1.14
9	21.648	9.05	11.94
10	7.981	5.22	2.28
11	4.695	1.90	1.56
12	9.025	6.51	4.32
13	0.209	0.57	0.42
14	0.052	-	0.60
15	0.887	0.37	0.48
16	0.626	0.63	1.74
17	0.990	10.72	11.88

Source: Census 1971, Migration Tables

within the region while the majority of 31,910 (59.7%) moved to other locations in Great Britain. The net loss from the city through migration in the years 1966 - 1971, therefore, was 31,960.

Figure 5 (7a)⁴⁵ summarises the age structure of migrants in which the dominance of the out-migration side of the pyramid, indicating a net loss, has already been noted. The dominant age group with respect to both

⁴⁵. Census 1971: Migration Tables, East Midlands region, Table 58.



1971 Migration Profiles: LEICESTER

Figure 5 (7)

in- and out-migration was 25 - 30 years, and the dominance of the out-migration trend in this age group may partly be explained by movement to the suburbs, some of which are outside the Borough boundary and thus not included in the migration statistics. In contrast to the Worthing profile, in which there was an overwhelming net gain through in-migration in the upper age ranges, the profile for Leicester maintained a balance throughout its age range, although the overall trend was one of net out-migration. As a proportion of their particular age group, the out-migrants in age group 25 - 30 were the most distinctive (Figure 5 (7b)). For the rest, the pattern followed that expected of an age-breakdown of migrants with the exception of slight rises in the proportion of out-migrants in the 50 - 55 and 65 - 70 age groups. With regard to the relationship between the socio-economic class of migrants compared to those of the working population as a whole, it can be seen from Table 5 (12) that, in the case of in-migrants, categories 2 to 7 and 14 were over-represented and categories 1, 8 to 12, 15 and 16 were under-represented. A similar pattern emerged with respect to out-migrants with categories 1 to 7 and 13 to 17 over-represented and a corresponding under-representation in categories 8 to 12. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that the upper and lower socio-economic groups were the more migratory sections of the population, while the middle groups, 8 to 12, maintained a more stable presence in the city.

c. Spatial Segregation of the Elderly

The scale at which spatial characteristics are identified and analysed determine not only the nature of the conclusions reached but the boundaries beyond which those conclusions may not be extended without prior qualification and conditions as to why they may or may not be valid within different terms of reference. Part II of this thesis clearly identified trends and spatial patterns which indicated increasing segregation of the elderly at the scale of region, county and administrative division. The

Table 5 (12) Migrants and Occupational Status. LEICESTER 1971.

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Male Active Population %</u>	<u>Percentage of Migrants in each category</u>	
		<u>In-Migrants</u>	<u>Out-Migrants</u>
1	2.91	2.61	5.99
2	5.70	6.43	10.54
3	0.64	0.72	1.17
4	2.92	4.66	5.93
5	3.99	7.37	9.11
6	11.90	15.12	13.42
7	1.08	2.18	1.55
8	3.37	1.55	3.30
9	36.33	16.33	25.06
10	16.77	13.3	6.799
11	7.71	4.98	1.59
12	4.23	3.65	3.93
13	0.07	-	2.72
14	0.04	.830	.816
15	0.09	0.02	.190
16	0.26	0.20	.611
17	1.97	3.98	2.30

Source: Census 1971, Migration Tables

basis for the definition of segregation lay in the fact of certain areas possessing a very high proportion of elderly people. The factors behind the increasing segregation at this scale were, in general, the internal demographic factors of the particular area and the effect of migration in emphasising these trends, and both these factors were seen to operate against the background of certain amenity values being attached to those places and the general loss of population by the major conurbations of England and Wales.

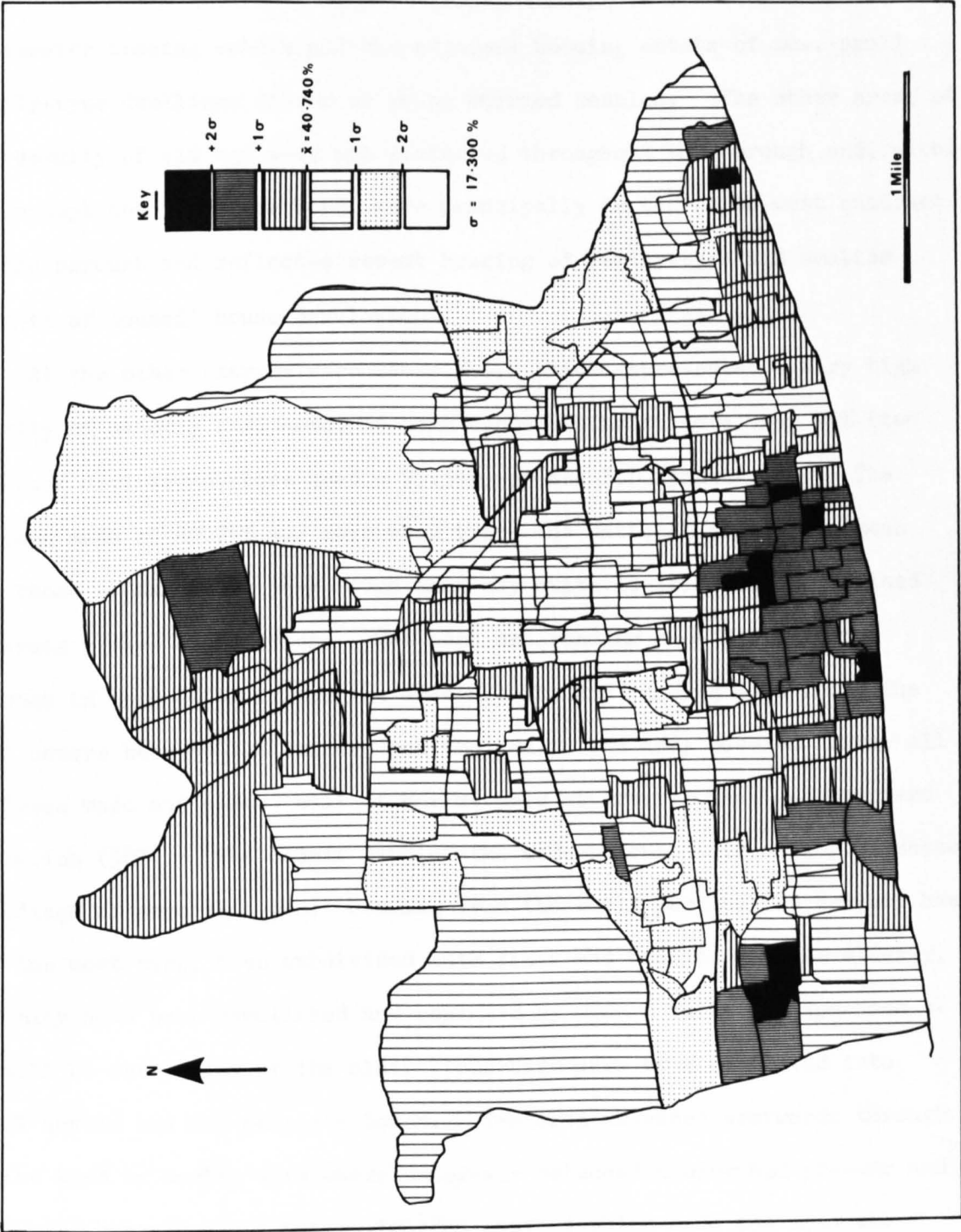
No attention has yet been given to the nature of spatial segregation within the local area, and this section represents a preliminary

investigation of this subject within the study areas, particularly within the retirement area, Worthing. Certain questions present themselves in relation to this exploration of age-segregation, the most obvious being with regard to the variations in density of the elderly population across the whole of the local area. Subsidiary questions concern the nature of household-type in determining segregation or, at least, particular densities.

Figure 5 (8) shows the density of elderly persons in Worthing by enumeration district (E.D.) for 1971.⁴⁶ To show the variation within Worthing, the standard deviation (17.3%) from the mean (40.74%) of E.D. scores was adopted as the unit of measurement. The greatest source of error for the impression created by the map lies in the relatively few E.D.s which, although large in area, contained few enumerated persons. The administrative area of Worthing was relatively contiguous with the built-up area of the Borough in 1971, but four E.D.s in particular were exceptions to the general pattern; the two largest adjacent E.D.s in the north-east sector of Offington Ward covered the area of a municipal and a private golf course, the largest E.D. at the extreme west of Durrington Ward was mostly farmland, while the E.D. in the extreme north of Durrington Ward was mostly farmland or open downland.

The lowest proportions of the elderly, and thus the highest proportions of young and middle-aged, were found in the contiguous area within Castle Ward and the northern part of Goring Ward. Within this area was the only part of Worthing (at E.D. level) where the proportions of elderly were below two standard deviations from the mean (6.14%). The whole of the area below one standard deviation was almost contiguous with council housing development of the 1950s and private estate development of a family house type (generally three or four bedrooms). Within this area lay one of the developments

46. Census 1971: Unpublished Ward Library, held by West Sussex County Council Planning Office, Chichester, West Sussex. Ward boundaries are shown in Figure 6 (1), p. 245.



Worthing 1971. Proportion of Elderly People at E.D. Level.

Figure 5 (8)

which was the specific result of council policy during the 1960s in building homes appropriate to the needs of young families. The second major area (of below one standard deviation) dominated by youth was the large contiguous area in the east of Broadwater Ward, representing the area of the Broadwater trading estate and the adjacent housing estate of new, small family-type dwellings suited to young married couples. The other areas of low density of old age were not scattered throughout the Borough and, with two exceptions in Selden Ward, were principally in the north-west quadrant of the Borough and reflected recent housing of family-type and smaller pockets of council house development.

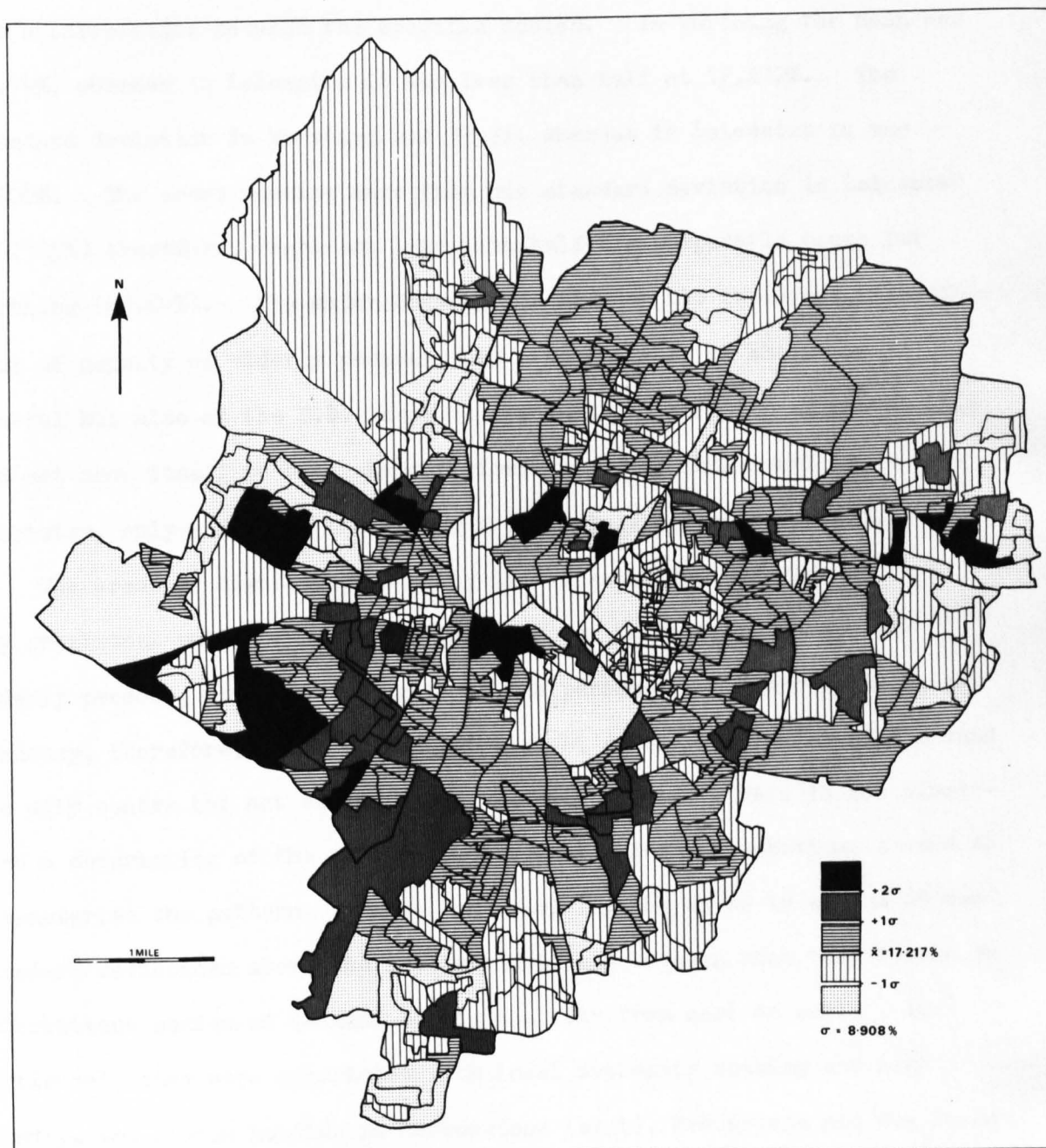
At the other extreme were those E.D.s which represented a very high density of elderly residents, in some cases rising to more than 75% (two standard deviations above mean = 75.34%) of the E.D. population. The Borough mean of 40.74% was more than twice the national population mean and those areas above the Borough mean may quite legitimately be defined as areas of age segregation. The most outstanding sector within the Borough in this category was the area around, and running west from, the town centre between the railway and the sea. The area covered almost all of Heene Ward and almost half of Marine Ward at greater than one standard deviation (58%). The oldest part of the modern town, this sector possessed buildings of several types; housing from the early part of the century has, for the most part, been subdivided into flats and bedsits for the elderly, and many have been demolished and replaced by modern flats and apartments. As will be seen, many of the older properties have been converted into small hotels and old people's homes. The area extended westwards through Marine Ward to Goring Ward where inter-war detached housing and pre-war and post-war bungalows set out in 'garden city' fashion made the area the most expensive for housing in the town. The area also extended eastwards, after a short break within the town centre, through Central Ward to Selden Ward, where inter-war semi-detached housing and more recent flats and bungalows made up the poor relation to the western sector.

The other major area of high density of the elderly was in the north of the Borough in the Offington and Durrington Wards, an area which occupied either side of the Findon Road (A 24 to London) and encroached on the slopes of the South Downs. Development in this area, for the most part, occurred after the 1930s and was almost exclusively of bungalows of varying status. Though part of the administrative area of the Borough, the area is known as Findon Valley and the residents regard themselves as having an emotional attachment to 'the Valley' rather than to Worthing.

It is difficult to attach any definite social status to each of these areas of segregation but it is generally true that Goring Ward contained the housing of 'highest' status, Selden and Central Wards the housing of 'lowest' status, while the housing of Findon Valley bridged the status gap. The high density areas of Heene and Marine Wards were so qualitatively different in housing styles from the three major areas identified above that it is difficult to discuss them in conjunction with one another. The Goring, Findon and East Worthing areas represented variations around a theme. The theme was that of secluded houses and bungalows in quiet residential streets. A variation has been introduced with the building of some flats in more recent years although, as has been noted, council policy now militates against unlimited development of this type. The development of the theme was to be found in several generations of relatively active elderly persons seeking a secluded leisurely retirement, and a combination of this 'dynamic' force in conjunction with a largely static housing market contributed to the growing age segregation of these areas.

The central areas of Heene and Marine Wards represented a rather different theme. The structure of the housing market was qualitatively different, in favour of modern flats and large older houses which had been converted into flats or institutions. In such an area, the elderly population, much of it female, was at its most concentrated.

Figure 5 (9) shows the density of elderly persons in Leicester for



Leicester 1971. Proportion of Elderly People at E.D. Level.

Figure 5 (9)

1971 by enumeration district.⁴⁷ As with Worthing, the area mean and standard deviation were adopted as the unit of measurement. Thus, while there is a comparability between the areas in terms of techniques, there is not a correlation between the specific scales. In Worthing the mean was 40.74%, whereas in Leicester it was less than half at 17.217%. The standard deviation in Worthing was 17.3%, whereas in Leicester it was 8.908%. The areas scoring more than one standard deviation in Leicester (26.125%) therefore, represent less than half the comparable score for Worthing (58.04%). The major distinction between the two areas, therefore, that of density of elderly persons, was true not only of the areas in general but also at the E.D. level. Spatial concentration of the elderly did not show itself to be a characteristic of many individual areas in Leicester, only six areas possessing a percentage in excess of 50%.

The areas of highest age density in Leicester in 1971 did not form any consistent pattern. The central areas of the city possessed few elderly persons, as did those areas at the periphery. There was a slight tendency, therefore, for the areas of highest density to form a ring around the city centre but not extending to the city limits. This is too simplified a description of the pattern, however, for two distributions seemed to characterise the pattern. First, on examining the areas in excess of two standard deviations above the area mean, it can be seen that they formed an intermittent series of islands across the city from east to west. In particular, they were associated with local authority housing and high density, low status housing in Humberstone (east), Braunstone and New Parks (west). Second, the areas with densities between one and two standard deviations above the mean grouped together in two distinctive areas. To the west and south-west of the city there was a clustering of areas in the

47. Census 1971: Unpublished Ward Library, held by Leicester City Council Planning Office. Ward boundaries are shown in Figure 6 (1), p. 245.

Westcotes, Braunstone and Aylestone areas. This cluster stretched across the massive local authority housing estate in Braunstone but also included private housing in the Westcotes and Aylestone areas. Across the south-east quadrant of the city a second series of areas clustered within the higher status areas of Knighton, Stoneygate and Evington. Several of these areas were contiguous one with another, but in general they formed an intermittent belt rather than a strongly defined area. In contrast to these areas, an almost total absence of such areas characterised the whole of the northern side of the city, partly reflecting the more recent expansion of the area.

Since there were very few areas within the city with less than 8.309% elderly people (one standard deviation below the mean; those that did exist were, for the most part, at the city boundaries and indicative of the recent estate developments at and beyond the city boundary such as Glen Parva and Wigston to the south, Glenfield to the west and Thurnby to the east), the greater part of the city area was characterised by a density of the elderly within the standard deviation scores, reflecting a density close to the national average.⁴⁸

Leicester, therefore, showed little evidence of any consistent pattern of segregation on the basis of age. The age mix of the city as a whole and of the majority of E.D. areas within it reflected the general proportion of age mix of the national population. Of those areas which were most extreme for Leicester, two types of area predominated, reflecting different social classes. The areas to the south and west of the city comprised mostly local authority and high density housing, while those on the south-east of the city lay within the sectors of higher status housing.⁴⁹ Both

48. England and Wales 1971: 16.1%.

49. G. J. Lewis and W. K. Davies: op cit., p. 199.

these areas were characterised by relatively low mobility patterns.⁵⁰ What segregation did exist, therefore, in relative rather than absolute terms, seemed to reflect immobility among the population rather than migration, as was the case in Worthing.

Spatial segregation of the elderly was seen to be a feature of Worthing, the study area classed as a retirement area, but not of Leicester. This segregation has been seen to exist not only at the macro-scale, but also within different areas within the town, and in the discussion some apparent connections between the density of segregation and the nature of the housing market have been presumed upon. Clearly, however, there is opportunity for further research on the relationship between age-segregation and the structure and workings of the housing market. Council policy, in aiming to right the imbalanced age structure of the town as a whole, has had little control over the composition of local areas within the town. The size of the Borough, over 80,000 people, is large and age-integrated communities have not been developing within it. Indeed, it would appear that the present composition of the housing market militates against the development of age-integration. Housing has developed principally by the establishment of both private and council housing estates, both of which are built with a particular section of the community in mind. Consequently, a polarisation between young and old has been developing within the residential structure of the town.

Having examined age-densities across the Borough of Worthing as a whole, the question arises as to the extent the pattern of segregation of the total elderly population is affected by the distinction between those people in private households and those in non-private households. It was observed in Chapter 2 that there is a distinction to be drawn between the

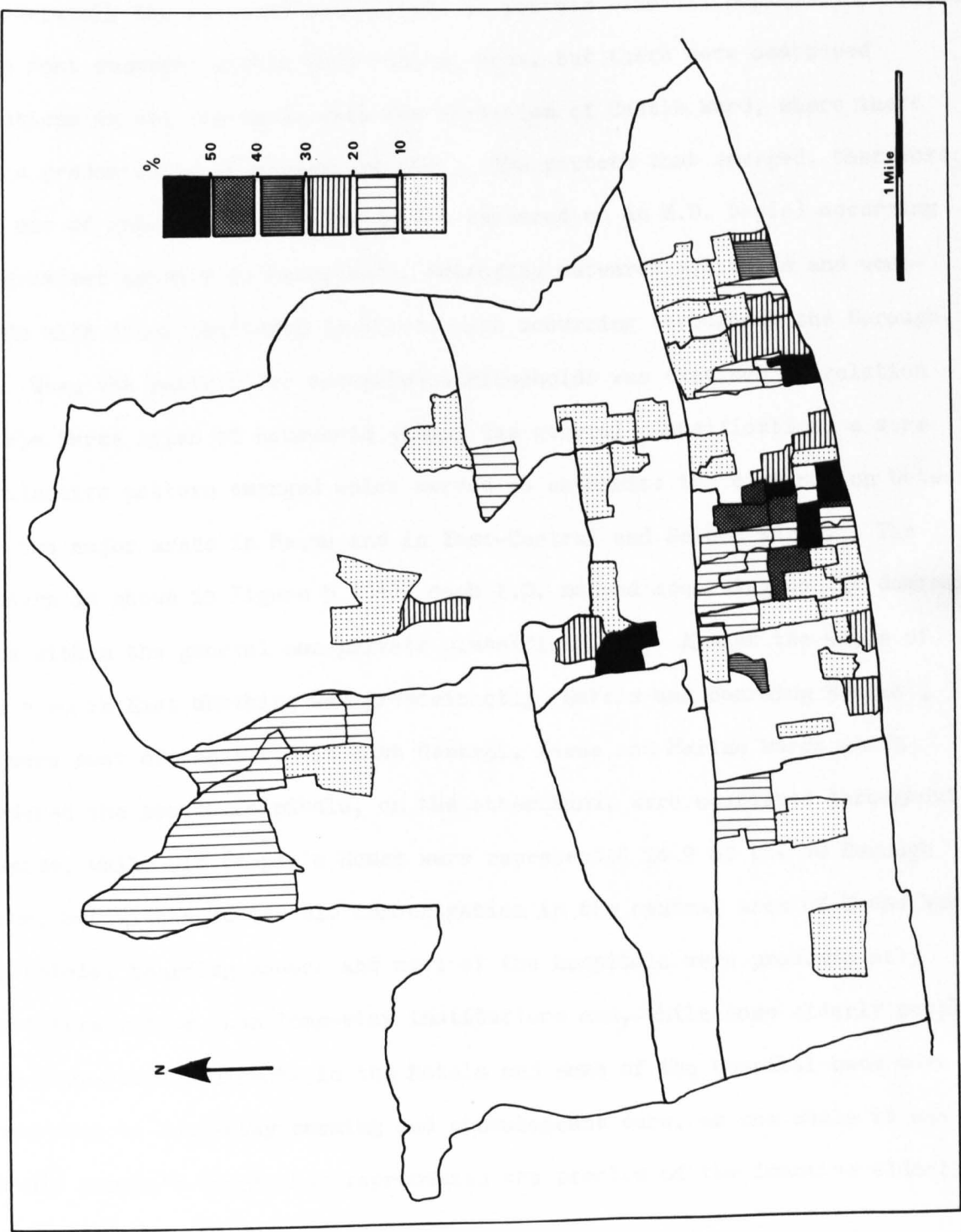
50. ibid., p.203.

'relatively active elderly' and the 'relatively infirm elderly'.⁵¹ To achieve a classification of the whole population on this basis would have required nothing short of a social survey of that whole population. It may be generally construed, however, that those elderly present in private households must, for the most part, be capable of managing their own affairs without major support of nursing or institutional help, and may thus be classified as 'relatively active'. Similarly, it is not unreasonable to assume that perhaps the majority of the elderly 'not in private households' may be classified as 'relatively inactive'.

Non Private Households, as defined by the Census,⁵² included three categories: Hotels and boarding-houses, Old People's Homes, and Hospitals. Worthing as a holiday resort and retirement area had a high proportion of all three types within the Borough Boundary. The implications of the discussion above are that, if there is a problem with regard to the institutional care of the elderly, then that problem exists predominantly within the non-private sector of the population, as the nature of many of the private areas demands a certain degree of activity and self-sufficiency. Thus, criticism against the whole of the elderly population is unjustified as it fails to recognise the basic physical and psychological variations within 'old age'. Figure 5 (10) shows the E.D.s for which there existed a 'non-private' section of the population in 1971 and maps the percentage of the E.D. population who were not in private households. The area of highest concentration was co-incident with the high density areas of Heene and Central Wards, just to the west of the town centre. There were two other areas with a very high proportion of the E.D. population in non-private households, one in West Tarring Ward (an old people's home), and the other in the eastern part of Central Ward. There was a moderately

51. see E. Shanas and P. Townsend: reference in Chapter 2, p. 42, note 162.

52. 1971 Unpublished Ward Library volumes

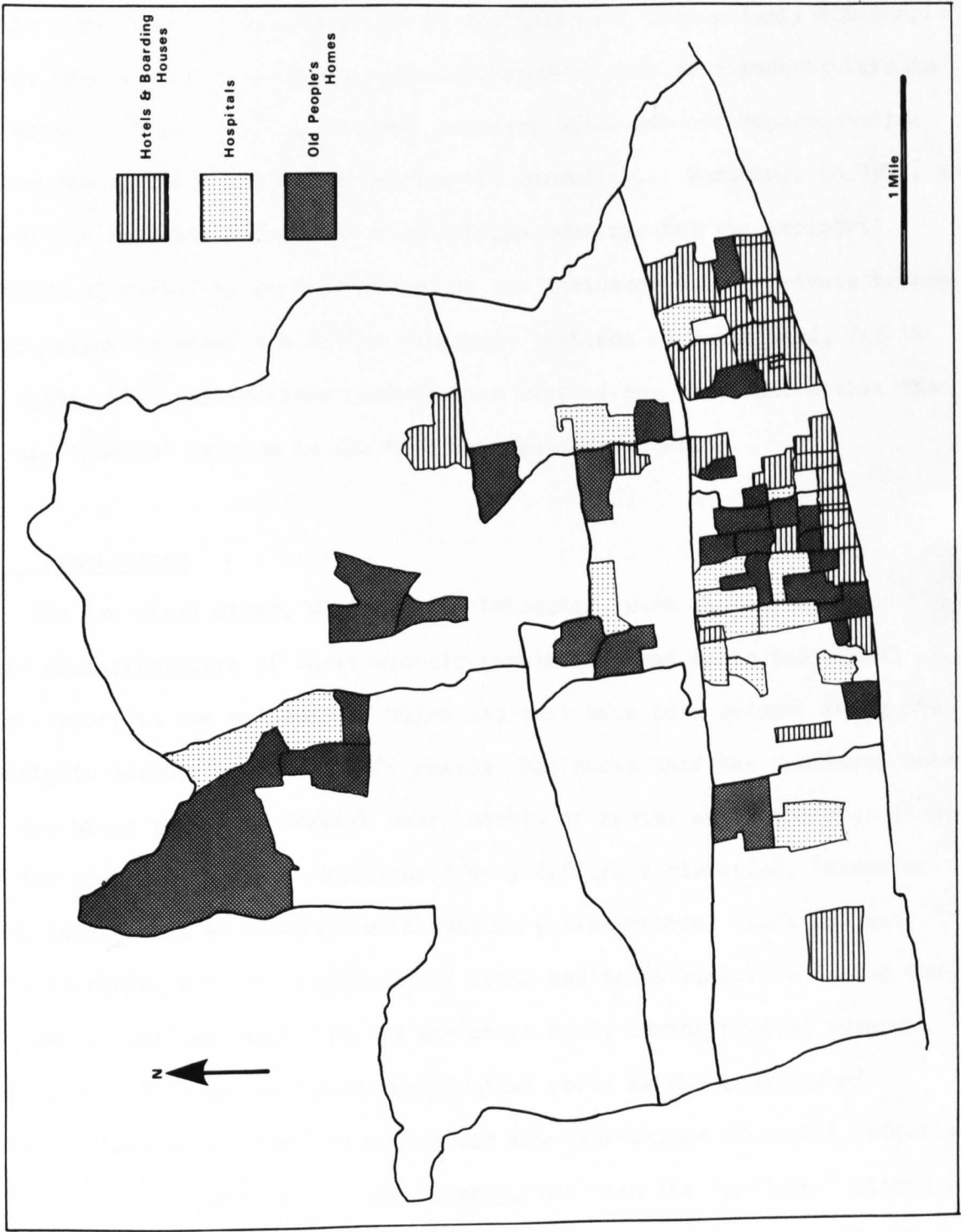


Worthing 1971. Proportion of Elderly People in Non-Private Households. Figure 5 (10)

high proportion of the elderly (30 - 50% in non-private households) in several E.D.s adjacent to those areas of very high proportion, particularly in Heene Ward, but also in Central, Marine and Selden Wards. The E.D.s with a moderately low ratio of non-private to private household populations (0-30%) were most numerous within this central area, but there were scattered locations in all the Wards with the exception of Castle Ward, where there was a predominance of younger people. The pattern that emerged, therefore, was one of non-private households (as measured on an E.D. basis) occurring in greatest density in Heene Ward, extending outwards eastwards and westwards with other scattered locations also occurring throughout the Borough.

When the pattern for non-private households was examined in relation to the three types of household within the general classification, a more distinctive pattern emerged which served to emphasise the distinction between the two major areas in Heene and in East-Central and Selden Wards. The pattern is shown in Figure 5 (11), each E.D. mapped according to the dominant type within the general non-private classification. Almost the whole of the bloc in East Worthing was predominantly 'Hotels and Boarding Houses', as were most of the E.D.s in East Central, Heene and Marine Wards which bordered the sea. Hospitals, on the other hand, were scattered throughout 8 wards, while Old People's Homes were represented in 9 of the 10 Borough Wards, but with a noticeable concentration in the central area of Heene Ward. The hotels, boarding houses and most of the hospitals were predominantly short-term rather than long-stay institutions and, while some elderly people were year-round residents in the hotels and some of the hospital beds were given over to long-stay nursing and convalescent care, on the whole it was the old people's homes that represented the problem of the inactive elderly in the town.

From this brief analysis of the variations in age structure and residential structure of Worthing, it can be seen that a certain degree of residential segregation on the basis of age characterised a number of areas



Worthing 1971. Predominant Type of Non-Private Households by E.D. Figure 5 (11)

within the town. Many areas within the town consisted of the recently retired and active elderly who, able to order their own lives in private accommodation, constituted no immediate social problem within the community. On the other hand, a concentration of institutions, particularly old people's homes, seemed to represent the more unacceptable face of community life in the area. It was a concentration, however, which was not representative of the general pattern of life within the community. Worthing, in 1971, was one of the foremost retirement areas of the country, but the geriatric problems of Worthing, as represented by the incidence of non-private households, might be redefined as the geriatric problems of Heene Ward, for it was within this well-defined central area west of the town centre that the old age 'ghetto' existed in its most extreme manifestation.

IV. Conclusions

The two study areas, Worthing and Leicester, were chosen for the basic characteristics of their elderly populations and their individual relationship to the patterns of migration that have been evident among the elderly in recent decades. This chapter has shown that the contrasts between the two areas permeated through every strata of social characteristic studied. The two areas, of course, experienced very different histories, Leicester being established as a major settlement in pre-industrial times and its fortunes rising with the expansion of urban and industrial life during the past two centuries; Worthing, on the other hand, having pursued numerous health, recreational, and later residential roles as the benefits of industrialisation and leisure called for new expressions of social activity. If Leicester, through most of its history, has been the 'producer' within the economic system, then Worthing has certainly been an area in which 'consumers' have sought to enjoy certain benefits. Paradoxically, one of the policies recently adopted in Worthing in an attempt to reverse some of the problems associated with a high density of elderly people in the area has been to

stimulate the development of light industrial and commercial functions within the town in the belief that a more mixed local economy will encourage a more mixed age-structure.

The recent public expressions of concern in Worthing have been primarily associated with the general age-mix within the Borough and have taken little notice of the variations in age-density within the area. Of great interest, therefore, was the finding that the patterns of concentration and polarisation developing nationally through this century were repeated at a local scale within Worthing. Although this chapter has not probed very deeply into the reasons for this local development, it was clear that one of the primary agents in determining local densities was the nature of the housing market. Therefore, what seems to have developed nationally through environmental constraints and opportunities seems to have developed locally through housing constraints. Leicester, subject to its own peculiarities of spatial development, showed no evidence ^{the levels of} of concentration of the elderly shown by Worthing, perhaps due to the more mixed nature of the local economy and age-structure of the population. Where there was (relatively) concentration of the elderly in Leicester it was possible for it, too, to be broadly identified with the nature and age of the housing stock of the city. However, despite this superficial resemblance in characteristic between Worthing and Leicester, the spatial patterns of ageing in the two areas were the consequence of very different dynamics; in Worthing, sustained in-migration of a substantial number of elderly people over many years was the major contributor to the pattern, whereas in Leicester, what concentration did exist was more evidently the consequence of a stability within the local population.

Major differences existed between the two study areas, not only in respect of mobility, but also throughout other social characteristics studied, particularly with regard to occupational categories of the population. Leicester was seen to be broadly representative of the socio-

economic structure of England and Wales as a whole, whereas Worthing showed a firm bias towards the higher socio-economic classes. There was also clear evidence that in Leicester in recent years (1966 - 1971) mobility rates were highest among those at either end of the occupational rankings, while the middle classes were subject to greater stability.

The distinctive contrasts between the two study areas may begin to point trends towards those characteristics which are of primary significance in selecting actual and potential elderly migrants from within the population, for in many respects they represent the opposing but complementary source and receiving ends of the migration system. Furthermore, Worthing has been seen to have been one of the pioneer areas in adopting the retirement role over the years, whereas Leicester has been one of the areas which has shown more resistance than some to supplying elderly migrants. The contrasts between the two study areas, therefore, represent the polarisation between receiving and source areas of the elderly migration system, not only in terms of the migration 'structure' but also in terms of the temporal development of the migration of the elderly in England and Wales. Having examined the study areas as a whole, Chapter 6 turns to an analysis of the sample populations of the elderly from within Worthing and Leicester.

CHAPTER 6. THE STUDY POPULATIONS: SAMPLING AND CHARACTERISTICS

I. Introduction

The two study areas of Worthing and Leicester have been seen to be areas of some contrast and dissimilarity, yet in spite of the differences, and in some respects because of those differences, their appropriateness as study areas was confirmed by a detailed examination of their social characteristics. In two areas of such marked contrasts, or even with sub-areas of each study area, one would not expect to find samples of an elderly population comparable on all counts. It was of first importance, therefore, that in analysing the contrasts and similarities between the study populations, their comparability in respect of major controlling variables was carefully gauged and qualified. This chapter, therefore, outlines the general problems and methods of sampling among the elderly before discussing the selection and response of a sample population to the survey questionnaire employed in Worthing and Leicester. The major part of the discussion in this chapter, however, examines the social composition of the sample populations in respect of the major profile variables and a set of experimental social adjustment variables.

II. The Survey Questionnaire

a. Problems and Methods of Sampling¹

Retired and elderly people are among the most difficult of any of the major sub-groups of the total population to identify for the purposes of sampling for a social survey. Adolescents, housewives, businessmen and

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1. In devising the sampling frame and survey questionnaire design, reference was made to numerous general texts, in particular:
 - a. C. A. Moser and G. Kalton: Survey Methods in Social Investigation, Heinemann, London, 1971.
 - b. P. Hauser (Ed.): Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas, UNESCO, New York, 1965.
 - c. A. N. Oppenheim: Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, Heinemann, London, 1966.

factory workers may be contacted relatively easily through schools, shops, offices and factories, but there is no institution or formal body which pretends to guarantee a representation of all elderly people. Old People's Homes and Hospitals usually contain only the frail and the sick, while 'Evergreen'² and Old People's Clubs usually draw their membership from selected parts of the socio-economic spectrum. Businesses and large companies hold pension lists which, while sometimes containing an adequate cross-section of socio-economic types, contain a sample that is usually geographically dispersed. The problem of sampling is severe enough to have prompted one leading American gerontologist to write: "As a result of sampling difficulties, retirement researchers usually settle for the sample they can get rather than the sample they would like to have".³ Such an apology might be taken as an excuse for poorly conceived sampling frames or the lack of a rigorous approach to survey research among the elderly, but it is genuinely reflective of the problems facing the researcher working among the elderly.

The problem is further aggravated by the theoretical and practical distinction to be made between the 'relatively active' and 'relatively inactive' elderly,⁴ between those adults in retirement possessing the psycho-physical characteristics of late middle age, and those genuinely within old age with the symptoms of psycho-physical decline. It would not be legitimate, for example, to sample from the residents of Old People's Homes if the subject matter for investigation was the effect of the retirement event on the social life of the individual. Similarly, it would be inappropriate to sample from institutions of the elderly where the subject

2. A typical example of nomenclature for an Old People's Club.

3. R. C. Atchley: The Sociology of Retirement, New York, Wiley, 1976, p. 8.

4. E. Shanas and P. Townsend: Old People in Three Industrial Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968, p. 4.

of investigation was residential mobility among the elderly, as in the case of this study. With the possibility of this sub-division of the elderly population, there was clearly a need for a statement of objectives and the definition of a target population before embarking on the procedures of obtaining a sample population. It was equally clear that by gaining certain attributes within a sample population, other attributes and characteristics might be lost or modified.

The target population for the sample survey in the study areas was defined as consisting of elderly persons defined by the following: first, they should be within the 'relatively active' category, that is to say they should still be, or recently have been, in the position of being able to make effective decisions concerning their residential location and the possible alternatives that were available at retirement without being constrained in their decision-making by any physical or mental handicap; second, they should not be biased in any known way by common membership of any organisation, whether a professional body, a religious body, an old people's club or membership of a particular pension scheme.

Added to these criteria, the method of sampling for the survey was distinguished by the following objectives: first, that as the principal approach of the study was geographical in derivation and intention, that sampling should be within some kind of spatial framework; second, that a common methodology and sampling frame be applied in both study areas.

The definition of these criteria immediately excluded from consideration perhaps the two most readily accessible 'sources' of elderly people, namely those resident in housing institutions and those belonging to a pension scheme or old people's club with a register of members. Certain other potential methods of sampling were investigated, but rejected for a number of reasons. First, selection from national pension lists was considered

but, even if these had been available at the local level,⁵ they could not have guaranteed selection of the elderly either on a spatial basis or in favour of the active elderly. Second, pension lists from an individual firm were excluded from consideration not only on the grounds of the criteria outlined above but also because they could not guarantee residence within the two study areas. Third, the possibility of using a sample compiled from the registers of local doctors was investigated,⁶ for the register contains a statement of age and that of a local practice effectively covers a well-defined local area, but enquiries revealed this possibility closed due to the registers in one of the study areas being deemed confidential. Fourth, the simple procedure of a 'doorstep' approach was excluded from consideration for, while it might have brought a satisfactory level of response in certain areas of concentration of the elderly in Worthing, the response in areas of low age density could not be guaranteed. Furthermore, the proposed length and nature of the questionnaire was not predisposed towards a doorstep response.

Finally, a method was chosen using a sample from the Register of Electors. The registers in force prior to the periods of survey⁷ contained not only a list of all householders and persons eligible to vote, but also certain other information. Principally, there was an indication of eligibility for Jury service, granted to all householders between the ages of 18 and 65, with certain exceptions being granted in the case of non-householders and those in the armed services.⁸ In an area of high density

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5. Lists are held centrally at D.H.S.S. offices in Newcastle and not at the local offices.
 6. As used by P. Townsend: The Family Life of Old People, Pelican, London, 1963.
 7. Register of Electors for the Borough of Worthing and the City of Leicester; Qualifying date, 10th October, 1972; In force: 16th February, 1973 to 15th February, 1974.
 8. This was the last Register of Electors to include this information on Jury service, and the reason why the registers current at the time of the survey were not employed.

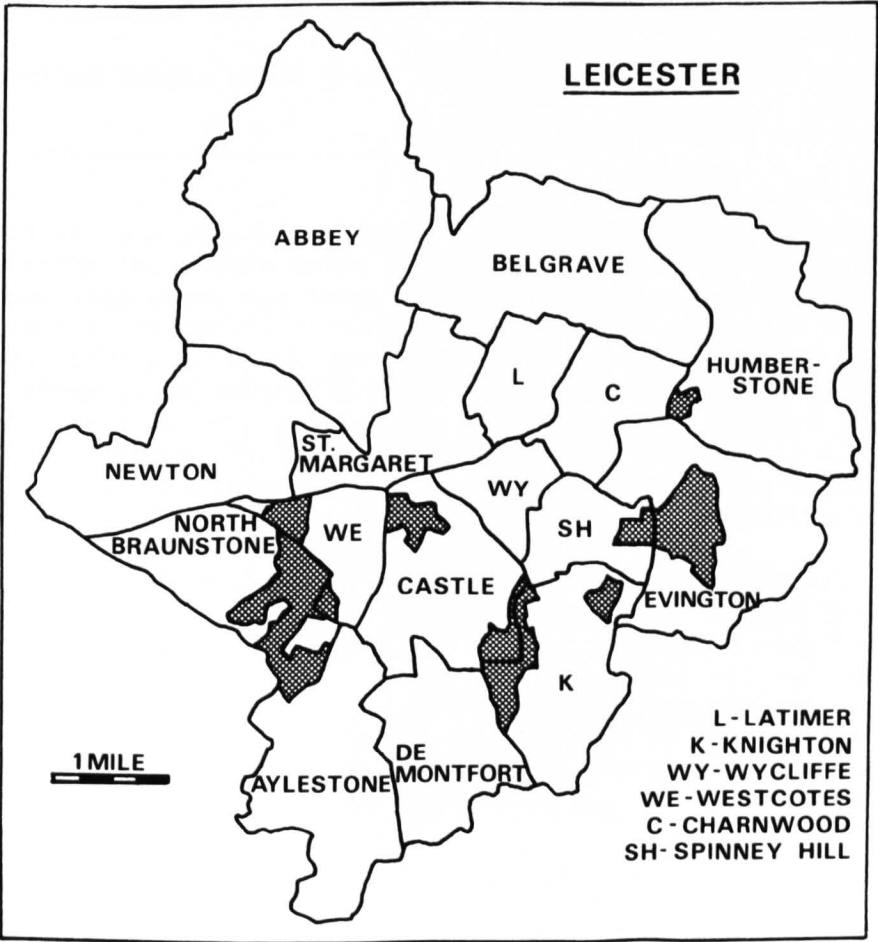
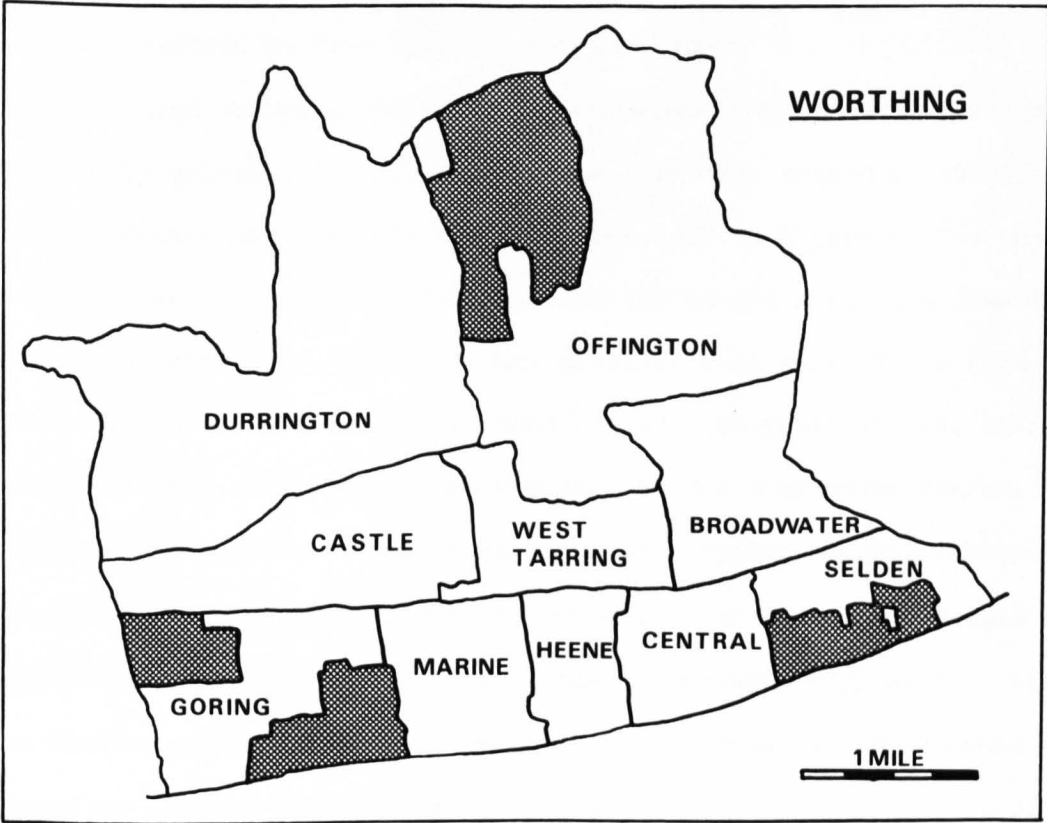
of the elderly, therefore, the major source of non-eligibility for jury service was in those householders who were aged 65 or over. A target population, therefore, could be identified with these elderly householders within areas of high density of the elderly.

The problems of sampling among the elderly population are many. The sampling^{method} finally employed was one of random selection from within a previously defined population sample (non jurors), chosen initially from areas of relatively high density of the elderly. The exact procedure for sampling was as follows: first, enumeration districts with a high proportion of the elderly were identified from Census data (summarised in Figures 5 (8) and 5 (9)).⁹ As the target population consisted of the elderly in private households, enumeration districts with high proportions of non-private households were avoided, and a positive selection was made of areas from within the different housing areas of both Worthing and Leicester. (Thus, for example, Heene Ward in Worthing was not included in the sample, and care was taken to include areas from the three major zones in Worthing and from both the private and public sectors of housing in Leicester.)¹⁰ Figure 6 (1) shows the sample areas selected. Second, a numbered list of non-juror households was compiled from the Electoral Register for streets, or parts of streets, within the selected enumeration districts (any within non-private households being omitted from the list). Third, a random sample¹¹ of the numbered households was taken, to a total of 500 in each of the study areas. The survey population, therefore, initially consisted of a random sample of elderly householders from within areas of relative

9. Initially, all E.D.s with a density of elderly greater than one standard deviation above the area mean were selected, to which the further selection criteria were then applied.

10. See Chapter 5, section III (c) for identification and discussion of these areas.

11. From Random Sampling Numbers, Table 8 in D. V. Lindley and J. C. P. Miller: Cambridge Elementary Statistical Tables, Cambridge University Press, 1968.



The Study Areas: Census Wards 1971 and Sample Survey Areas

Figure 6 (1)

age segregation in both Worthing and Leicester.

A large number of potential respondents (500 in each area) were initially selected for it was realised that this method of sampling could not guarantee any specific response rate, and that part of the response would prove inadequate or fail to meet the target specifications for a number of reasons. First, it was possible that some of the 'non-jurors' included in the random sample could be under 65 years of age, having been excluded from eligibility for Jury service for some other reason.¹² Second, that as the Register of Electors had been compiled several months before the survey period, a considerable proportion of the random sample could be expected to have moved away during the intervening period.¹³ Third, that as the sample population was among elderly people, a number could be expected to have died during the period between the compilation of the Register and the date of the survey.¹⁴ Taking the three factors together, it was estimated that at least 25%, and perhaps as many as 35% or more, of the initial sample would prove ineligible or have moved away or died by the

12. It was not possible to arrive at an estimate for this figure.

13. During the twelve month period prior to the 1971 Census, rate of mobility among the total elderly populations of Worthing and Leicester were 13.3% and 5.63% respectively. Thus in the 20 months between the qualifying date for the Register of Electors and the time of the survey in Worthing, 22.1% of the sample could be expected to have moved. In the 31 months between the qualifying date and the time of the survey in Leicester, 14.5% of the sample could be expected to have moved. In fact, as the target populations consisted of the 'relatively active' elderly, it would be reasonable to expect even higher mobility rates among the initial sample population.

14. Death rates among both males and females among the age group 65 to 74 averaged 39.5 per 1,000 in 1971. (Source: Social Trends No. 2, 1972, Table 2, p. 60). Thus, with the varying times elapsing between the qualifying date for the Register of Electors and the surveys in Worthing and Leicester, 6.58% and 10.20% respectively of the sample in each area could be expected to have died by the time of the survey. The rate would probably be higher if the majority of those contacted were males, for whom the death rate was 52 per 1,000 in 1971.

time of the survey and, while this was a fairly high proportion of expected 'failure', the resulting sample should be within the terms of the target population. It was with these considerations in mind that the survey questionnaire was distributed to the sample populations in both areas.

b. The Survey Questionnaire: Procedure and Response

The survey questionnaire was designed to collect comparative data for the two study area populations with regard to residential mobility and certain measures of activity and adjustment among the elderly. (The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix IV, together with the letters of introduction.) The questionnaire format was generally comparable for both study areas, but because of the contrasting nature of the study areas there were certain questions which could not be immediately comparable and which demanded different approaches in each area. Certain minor adjustments were made, therefore, to suit the questionnaire format to the two sample populations (and these adjustments are shown in Appendix IV). For example, in a section on activities within retirement, a possible reply in Worthing referred to 'walks on the promenade' which, clearly, would have been a 'non-sequitur' in Leicester. The most fundamental differences between the questionnaires lay within the section on mobility (which will be discussed in Chapter 7) where certain questions to the Worthing sample assumed mobility and movement into the area, and therefore some questions towards a comparison with the former area of residence were in order, whereas certain questions to the Leicester sample assumed stability and, therefore, referred to past and potential moves. These assumptions, of course, were not valid for the entire sample populations as there were residents of Worthing who had lived in the area all their lives and, equally, there were residents of Leicester who had only recently moved into the area. They were, however, shown to be applicable to the vast majority of the sample populations.

The questionnaire work was carried out in Worthing between July and

September 1974, and in Leicester between July and September 1975. This was because some of the questions made reference to activities and family contacts, some of which tend to be seasonal, so while some discrepancy may have been caused by survey work carried out a year apart, it was thought that the two summer periods would be more comparable than the alternative, which was a summer survey in Worthing and a winter survey in Leicester.

The procedure for distribution of the questionnaire and associated interviews was as follows: the sample population were written to by name in a letter of introduction informing them of the survey and requesting their co-operation in completing the questionnaire. A pre-coded reply slip and stamped addressed envelope were enclosed to encourage response, and a special request was made to return the form even where the respondent was unable to help, so that a record of refusals could be kept. The coded reply slip allowed one of three responses; 'willing to help'; 'under age 65 and therefore not eligible to help'; and 'unable to help' (with a request for a reason). The willing respondents were then followed up by delivery and completion of the questionnaire. Each questionnaire was delivered and collected (a few days later) in person by the present writer. This personal contact was to allow any difficulties over the questionnaire to be resolved and to allow an informal interview with the respondent after the questionnaire had been completed. Conscious of an elderly sample population, the questionnaire was left with each respondent to allow adequate time to be given to its completion for, while running to eight pages in length, the basic questionnaire could be completed in about 20 or 30 minutes (although many respondents indicated that they had willingly spent up to an hour or more).

The statistical distribution of response and non-response to the letter of introduction was very similar in both study areas (Table 6 (1)), with 41.2% in Worthing (206 respondents) and 39.4% in Leicester (197 respondents) not responding to the letter inviting participation in the survey, proportions

Table 6 (1) Response to the Survey Questionnaire

	<u>Worthing</u>	<u>Leicester</u>
Completed	102	138
Under Age	24	26
Returned 'No'	168	139
Not Returned	206	197
Total	500	500

Chi-square = 8.42041

Degrees of freedom = 3

Significance = .05

a little above the expected 'wastage' from the original sample of 500 in each area. This non-response would have included some of those who, not falling into any of the categories outlined above (moved away, dead, etc.), received the letter but chose not to co-operate. These non-responses were not followed up as it was thought that the actual loss was sufficiently comparable to the predicted loss from the original sample to validate the basic reasoning behind the non-response. Further wastage from the target population was caused by 24 in Worthing and 26 in Leicester being under the retirement age stipulated in the introductory letter. From the initial sample, therefore, 230 (46%) in Worthing and 223 (44.6%) in Leicester proved to be 'lost' for sampling, leaving a potential sample of 270 in Worthing and 277 in Leicester.

Of this potential sample, 139 in Leicester and 168 in Worthing refused participation in the survey. Although reasons for refusal were invited, the majority declined comment, many simply returning the introductory letter as well as the reply slip. Of those making some comment on their refusal, the reasons included ill-health, being away on holiday, a recent death within the family, and claims of just being unable to face

the questionnaire. Included within these figures of refusal, in fact, were a few who agreed to help but, on seeing the questionnaire, declined. The vast majority of the refusals, however, were not accompanied by comments and must partly be explained by 'non-co-operation'.

The sample population who satisfactorily completed the questionnaire and who thus constitute the elderly populations under study in the remainder of this study, numbered 102 in Worthing and 138 in Leicester.¹⁵ This represented a 20.4% and 27.6% response rate, respectively, from the original target population, and a satisfactory 37.8% and 49.9% response rate, respectively, from the sample population after the 'wastage' from the original samples was accounted for.

The problems of sampling among an elderly population are numerous, and the present writer was no exception in encountering these problems. The usual problems of sampling among the elderly were added to, in this case, by the need to sample from the relatively active elderly who could be defined as such by their capacity to maintain their own private households. The method of sampling, from the Register of Electors within Census divisions, was also characterised by certain imponderables given that age was not the sole criteria for exclusion from Jury service. Given the differences between the two study areas, however, it would appear that the two sample populations revealed similar and comparable selection and refusal processes. The predicted loss of up to 40% from the original samples of 500 proved accurate in both study areas, and a chi-square test on the categories of response and non-response showed that one could not critically distinguish between the processes of response in the two study areas.

15. Sampling was carried out on the basis of selection from households. Response to the survey questionnaire was requested from the 'head of the household' who, in the reply to certain questions, represented the interests of the household as a whole, while in others responded as an individual.

However, the precise reasons for refusal and non-response to the invitation to participate in the survey remained, in the majority of cases, frustratingly hidden.

III. The Study Populations

The sample populations consisted of 102 elderly households in Worthing and 138 elderly households in Leicester. Response to the survey questionnaire was requested from the 'head of the household' who, depending on the nature of the question, replied on behalf of the whole household (for example, with reference to household mobility) or in a more individual capacity (for example, with reference to attitudes to ageing). The terms 'head of the household' and 'respondent', therefore, are synonymous for the purposes of this study.

The study populations, of course, did not exactly reflect the population characteristics of the study areas as discussed in Chapter 5 and, moreover, there were major differences between the two study areas to be taken into account. Without a realisation of the extent of the differences between the study populations, any comparison between the two would be superfluous. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, examines the study populations in respect of certain key characteristics. These characteristics reflect not only the general structure of the study populations but also a set of experimental measures devised to assess levels of social adjustment and attitudes among the elderly.

a. Profile Characteristics

A number of population profile characteristics were derived from the survey work. First were eight population characteristics, namely age, sex, marital status, education, adult education, occupation, health and socio-economic class. The eighth, socio-economic class, was not an independent variable but derived from a re-coding of occupation according to the

constraints laid down in the Registrar General's occupational coding classification.¹⁶ Age was one of the common factors in sampling since only those of retirement age were eligible to respond to the survey. Within the general age category no significant difference was found between age classes and, therefore, for the analysis of the survey data, the sample populations were treated as belonging to the same category since it was a fundamental assumption of the study that what is of significance is not calendar age alone but the 'psychological' age of the individual, which is a factor relating to activity, self-sufficiency and the state of adjustment. Variations within the elderly population, therefore, are more properly related to physical factors, (e.g. health), and mental outlook (psychological attitudes and adjustment), neither of which have any direct correlation with age alone. Second, there were three 'retirement variables' measuring health at the time of retirement, the year of retirement and the place of residence at the time of retirement.

This section will examine the extent to which these variables were immediately comparable between the two sample populations in Worthing and Leicester and those variables which need careful qualification before their relationship with other data can be interpreted.

Sex: It has already been noted how the structure of the elderly population pyramid in both study areas, and especially in Worthing, had a heavy emphasis in favour of females due to widowhood and the increased life expectancy of females over males.¹⁷ The sample population was drawn, however, from the 'active' section of the elderly population where, in many cases, death of a spouse had not yet occurred. It was expected, therefore, that the sample populations would not reflect the general sex-imbalance of the areas. This would be true, also, because the survey requested

16. See Appendix III.

17. See Chapter 5, Figure 5 (3), p. 203.

completion by the 'head of the household', generally the husband in the case of a couple. This general expectation was justified. It can be seen from Table 6 (2) that in both study areas there was an excess of males over females among the respondents. In Leicester, the proportion of males was higher (63%) than in Worthing (58%).

Marital Status: It was expected that, from the nature of the sampling areas, and if the expectations above with regard to sex proved to be correct, there would be a majority of married elderly as against widowed elderly in the samples. Furthermore, of course, the widowed would be predominantly female. Both these expectations were upheld, and it can be seen from Table 6 (3) that, while the proportion of married respondents was comparable in both study areas, there was a higher proportion of widowed respondents in Leicester (36%) than in Worthing. Among the single and the widowed, the ratio of male to female was very much lower in Leicester than in Worthing; among the single the ratio was 1:9 in Worthing and 1:2.1 in Leicester, while among the widowed it was 1:1.94 in Leicester, and 1:3.14 in Worthing. These ratios were in part a reflection of the higher proportion of males in the Leicester sample than in the Worthing sample, but also of the fact that in the Worthing sample there was a heavier emphasis on married couples. With respect to the single and the widowed, the pattern was a reflection of the 'top-heavy' female side of the Worthing population pyramid.

Educational Status: From the evidence already examined concerning the population characteristics of the study areas, it was expected that the Worthing sample population would be better educated than the Leicester sample, an expectation which Table 6 (4) shows to have been correct. In Worthing, the modal age category at which full-time education ceased was 15 - 16, in contrast to the younger category of 13 - 14 in Leicester. In Worthing only 28% had completed their full-time education by the age of 14, in contrast to 59% in Leicester. At the upper end of the educational

Table 6 (2) Profile Variable: Sex

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	59	57.8	87	63.0
Female	43	42.2	51	37.0
Total	102	100	138	100
Chi-square = .6659 Not significant				

Table 6 (3) Profile Variable: Marital Status

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Married	52	51.0	64	46.4
Single	20	19.6	22	15.9
Widowed	29	28.4	50	36.2
Divorced	1	1.0	2	1.4
Total	102	100.0	138	99.9
Chi-square = 1.89 Not significant				

Table 6 (4) Profile Variable: Educational Status

<u>Age at which full-time education ceased</u>	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 10	1	0.9	1	0.7
11 - 12	2	1.9	5	3.6
13 - 14	26	25.5	74	53.6
15 - 16	42	41.2	37	26.8
17 - 18	18	17.6	13	9.4
19 - 20	5	4.9	8	5.8
Over 21	8	7.8	0	-
Total	102	99.8	138	99.9
Chi-square = 21.728. Significance: .01				

spectrum, 31% of the Worthing sample continued their education beyond the age of 16 compared with only 15% of the Leicester sample. Clearly, Worthing was the better educated of the two sample populations. This general conclusion was confirmed by the response to the question, "Did you obtain any business or professional qualifications later on in life?", which drew a 28% affirmative response in Worthing compared with only 16% in Leicester (Table 6 (5)).

These responses were examined for evidence of any significant trends in relation to sex or marital status and in both study areas there was a tendency for the single to be better educated than the married, widowed and divorced (Leicester: Chi-square: 13.39 Sig: .01 / Worthing: Chi-square: 6.93 Sig: .05). This is consistent with the expectation that single persons are more likely to be devoted to a career than other groups.

Occupation: There are numerous problems to be noted in the sampling of occupational categories and some of these problems are peculiar to sampling among the elderly. In the first instance there will only be a small proportion of the elderly who will work full-time beyond the normal retirement age, and these may be engaged on work very different from the type of work they may have carried out during most of their working lives. 'Occupation' in most instances must, therefore, refer to 'former occupation'. Second, it is usual to refer to occupational status at the time of retirement. This poses particular problems in that not only may the individual have held a number of jobs and possible occupational codings throughout his life, and therefore his response with reference to the job held at the time of retirement may not be representative of his career pattern as a whole, but also the majority of individuals, especially males, will have worked upwards through the occupational and social scale throughout their working lives so that by the time of retirement they are at the 'peak' of their occupational status. There will, therefore, be a bias upwards in terms of occupational coding in comparison with the working population as a whole. Third, it is often true that some respondents will exaggerate

Table 6 (5) Profile Variable: Further Education

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
No Further Education	69	67.6	115	83.3
Some Further Education	29	28.4	22	15.9
Inadequate response	4	3.9	1	0.7
<hr/>				
Total	102	99.9	138	99.9

Chi-square = 6.158 Significance: .025

their occupational status. For example, one respondent may reply 'bank manager' when he was in fact a sub-manager or even bank clerk.¹⁸ It is usually impossible to detect the bias due to this element of dishonesty in the response.

The occupational codings of the Worthing sample were generally higher than those of the Leicester sample (see Table 6 (6)) (though of course the gradation from 1 to 17 is not one representing a steady fall in status - see Appendix III for the relationship between Occupational coding and socio-economic class). The modal category 5 in Worthing held 21.35% of the valid response compared to modal category 6 in Leicester with 23.00% of the valid response. In Worthing, however, 35.96% of the response was in the four categories higher than the mode compared with only 30.09% in the five categories above the mode in Leicester. The figures for proportions below the modal category were 42.70% and 46.90% in Worthing and Leicester respectively. The 'higher' occupational codings of the Worthing response, therefore, were clearly demonstrated.

18. One, slightly sarcastic, respondent in Worthing referred to the number of 'bank managers' who lived in the area, indicating that there seemed to be few other occupations represented to the same degree!

Table 6 (6) Occupational Class

N.B. See Appendix III for definition of occupational categories.

<u>Categories</u>		<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Employers and	)	1.	2	-	
Managers	)	2.	13	5	3.6
Professional	)	3.	4	-	
Workers	)	4.	13	14	10.1
Non-manual	)	5.	19	15	10.9
Workers	)	6.	16	26	18.8
Personal Services		7.	10	10	7.2
Manual - supervisors		8.	5	7	5.1
Skilled Manual Workers		9.	3	21	15.2
Other Manual Workers		10.	0	14	10.1
Others	11 - 16.	4	3.9	1	.7
Inadequate response *		13	12.7	25	18.1
Total		102	99.8	138	99.8

Chi-square= 26.5 Significance: .01

* of which 12 in Worthing and 20 in Leicester responded as 'housewives'

It is interesting to consider the extent to which the sample populations of both Worthing and Leicester were representative or reflective of the occupational structure of the study areas. The basis of such a comparison was extremely tentative and no real conclusions may be drawn. In fact, when the survey response was tabulated with the 'economically active' in both study areas, the correlation was found to be 0.28 in Worthing and 0.298 in Leicester, figures which hold no statistical significance.

Because of the inherent inadequacies of the occupational coding within the sample populations, and because of the difficulties of handling 17 occupational categories among samples of just over 100, it was thought

necessary to recode the information into categories which would allow effective analysis in relation to other data. Rather than simply group the occupational categories, they were recoded into socio-economic groups 1 - 5, with an added category for those respondents for whom no group could adequately be derived (e.g. 'housewives'). This recoding was not an arbitrary affair since the guidelines have been laid down for such an exercise.¹⁹

The resulting groupings facilitated further analysis. In practice, as can be seen from Table 6 (7), there were few respondents in categories 4 and 5, so for purposes of further analysis these two categories were grouped together. The reasons for a low number of respondents in the two lower socio-economic groups are probably to be found in the reasons for few respondents in the lower occupational categories outlined above.

Several features of the socio-economic breakdown of the study populations (Table 6 (7)) should be noted. First, the modal category 3 was the same in both study areas but contained less than half the respondents (45.45%) in Worthing in contrast to 61.06% in Leicester. Of even greater contrast was the very high proportion of respondents in classes 1 and 2 in Worthing (48.8%) in contrast to 21.23% in Leicester, and the correspondingly low proportions of respondents in classes 4 and 5 in both study areas. The general pattern reflected that of occupational coding, with the Worthing population showing a higher proportion of respondents in the upper socio-economic groups.

Health: Respondents were asked to state their health at the time of the interview in general terms on a scale ranging from "bad - some severe illness" to "excellent". Experience among other researchers has shown that the subject of health among the elderly is one which, more than most, draws varying reactions among respondents.²⁰

19. By the Registrar General: See Appendix III.

20. see page 259.

Table 6 (7) Socio-Economic Group

<u>Socio-Economic Group</u>	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1	10	9.8	3	2.2
2	33	32.4	21	15.2
3	40	39.2	69	50.0
4 - 5	5	4.9	20	14.5
Inadequate Response	14	13.7	25	18.8
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100

Chi-square= 20.357 Significance: .01

The problem is essentially one of fact in conflict with self-opinion. Respondents are normally being asked to give self-assessment to an issue over which relative opinion is more significant than objective fact. The central argument here, one again, is that it is not the fact of 'health' or 'illness' that, in itself, is important, so much as the elderly respondent's psychological view of himself, and this is particularly true in relation to the subject of adjustment to ageing. (One of the problems concerns those individuals who may be seriously ill but who may not be prepared to acknowledge the fact.) As can be seen from Table 6(8),

20. (from page 258) See, for example:

a. F. M. Carp: 'Attitudes of Old Persons Toward Themselves and Toward Others', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1967, p. 308.

b. D. K. Heyman and F. C. Jeffers: 'Study of the Relative Influence of Race and Socio-economic status upon the Activities and Attitudes of a Southern aged Population', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1964, p. 225.

c. D. Denny, D. M. Kole and R. G. Matarazzo; 'The Relationship between Age and the Number of Symptoms reported by Patients', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1965, p. 50.

d. M. F. Lowenthal: 'Social Isolation and Mental Illness in Old Age', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp 54 & 70.

Table 6 (8) Health of the Respondent

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Bad - severe illness	1	1.0	6	4.3
Not very good	12	11.8	21	15.2
About average	14	13.7	31	22.5
Good, on the whole	56	54.9	56	40.6
Excellent	19	18.6	24	17.4
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100
<hr/>				
Chi-square= 7.805 Not significant				

there was no significant difference between the responses in the two sample areas. In general, the Worthing sample claimed to be in better health than the Leicester sample: 55% of the Worthing sample and 40.58% of the Leicester sample responded as "good on the whole" and a similar proportion in each of the study areas claimed to be in excellent health (Worthing 18.6%, Leicester 17.39%). At the other end of the spectrum, a slightly higher percentage of Leicester respondents (19.6%) than Worthing respondents (12.7%) were in "not very good" or "bad" health.

Three questions in the survey related specifically to factors associated with retirement. First, following on from the question of health, the rider was asked as to whether or not health was a principal factor in bringing about the retirement of the respondent. Part of the attraction of coastal retirement areas is the beneficial effects to health of living by the sea (see Chapter 5) and from this presupposition was implied the tentative suggestion that the Worthing sample may have contained a higher proportion of sick than the Leicester sample. In fact, any presumptions in this direction were unfounded. A very similar percentage of respondents in both study areas answered 'yes' to the question 'was health a principal factor in your retirement?', and the variation in this response

between the two study populations - see Table 6 (9) - was not significant. The general conclusion was that the two sample populations were statistically comparable on the basis of the two measures of health; first, health at the time of the survey and, second, health as a factor in bringing about retirement.

The second retirement question related to the time of retirement. Table 6 (10) was derived from the question "would you please state the year in which you retired from full-time work", and shows that both samples were immediately comparable since the variations in response were not significant. The modal category of retirement in both cases related to those having been retired between 6 and 10 years, the second most numerous category being 1 - 5 years and the third, 11 - 15 years. These three categories accounted for 67.4% and 79.7% of the response in Worthing and Leicester respectively. The distributions of response between the two sample areas showed no significant difference and were generally comparable.

An intriguing question surrounded the low number of those in Worthing who had been retired between one and five years in relation to those in the category immediately above (6 - 10 years). The total figures were small so perhaps limited importance should be attached to them, but it is possible that the figures were another indication of the extent to which retirement migration into the area has slackened in recent years.

The third question relating to retirement asked "where were you living at the time of your retirement?" and will receive full discussion in Chapter 7.

The foregoing discussion summarises the main population 'profile' characteristics of the sample populations. Some of the characteristics reveal little difference in the variation in response between the two populations, but some of the characteristics show marked variation and differences in response. Two questions present themselves concerning these variations in the patterns of response. First, to what extent are the

Table 6 (9) Health at Time of Retirement

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes, Health a factor in retirement	16	15.7	20	14.5
No, Health not a factor	77	75.5	99	71.7
Inadequate response or not retired	9	8.8	19	13.8
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100
Chi-square= .00585	Not significant			

Table 6 (10) Number of Years Retired

<u>Number of years retired</u>	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Not retired	8	7.8	13	9.4
Retired: 1 - 5 years	18	17.6	30	21.7
6 - 10	26	25.5	44	31.9
11 - 15	16	15.7	28	20.3
16 - 20	11	10.8	5	3.6
21 - 25	7	6.9	4	2.9
over 25 years	3	2.9	4	2.9
Inadequate response	13	12.7	10	7.2
<hr/>				
Total	102	99.9	138	99.9
Chi-square= 11.98	Not significant			

populations immediately comparable in terms of their population characteristics, and which of the characteristics in particular show critical variation? Second, that when allowance has been made for these critical variables, to what extent do the two populations allow immediate comparison?

In answer to the first question, several trends have emerged from the foregoing discussion and reference has been made to the chi-square test of significance which was applied to each population characteristic to establish the critical level of acceptance or non-acceptance of the variations between the responses within each sample area. Table 6 (11) summarises these chi-square values for all the population profile characteristics. Certain of them need no further qualification namely sex, marital status, both counts of health and the time of retirement. The four which do need clarification, however, are the two counts of education, occupation and its derivative, socio-economic class. Noting the inter-relationship between occupation and socio-economic class, each sample population was subdivided into socio-economic groups and the variations between samples within each group compared. From Table 6 (12), which summarises the chi-square significance values for this exercise, it can be seen that the 'non-comparable' variables of education and adult education did not show significant variation within each group. The health characteristic showed some significant variation within socio-economic group 3, the Worthing sample being generally in better health than the Leicester sub-group. The only other characteristic to show any significant variation in response was the 'time of retirement', where the trend within all three significant groups was for the Leicester sample to have retired a little earlier than the Worthing sample. The division of the total samples into socio-economic groups, however, adequately accounts for the major variations in population characteristics, particularly with regard to the variations in educational status, and establishes the grounds on which the two sample populations may be compared in respect of their profile characteristics, taking due note of the limitations of those comparisons.

Table 6 (11) Chi-Square Values Between Samples

<u>Profile Characteristic</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>Significant</u>
Sex	.666	1	No
Marital Status	1.895	3	No
Education	21.728	5	.01 Yes
Adult Education	6.158	1	.025 Yes
Occupation	26.462	8	.01 Yes
S. E. G.	20.357	3	.01 Yes
Health (Present)	7.805	4	No
Health at Retirement	.005	1	No
Year of Retirement	11.979	6	No

Table 6 (12) Significance of Between Sample Chi-Squares for Profile Variables within each Socio-Economic Group

(* no value for Chi-square)

<u>Profile Characteristic.</u>	<u>S.E.G.1</u>	<u>S.E.G.2</u>	<u>S.E.G.3</u>	<u>S.E.G.4/5</u>	<u>Others</u>
Sex	.437	.767	.116	.466	.596
Marital Status	.207	.997	.849	.302	.186
Education	.835	.185	.052	.055	.531
Further Education	.562	.978	.323	*	.236
Health	.629	.590	<u>.046</u>	.707	.724
Retirement Health	*	.820	.561	.505	.310
Time of Retirement	.619	.447	<u>.049</u>	<u>.003</u>	<u>.017</u>

b. Exploratory Measurement of Social Adjustment

Chapter 2 drew attention to the various theories of adjustment to the ageing process. Activity, continuity and disengagement all attempt to account for the changes which occur in the latter stages of life. It was also made clear that some of the major failings of these theories are in the measurement of adjustment solely in terms

of activity rather than in terms of personality structure.²¹ It remains true, however, that measurement of activity levels within the constraints of the theories of ageing are a simpler proposition than the measurement of personality constraints in which the concepts of attitudes, beliefs and their relationship to behaviour remain a matter of some debate, although there is some general agreement around the basic concepts. In addition to the theories of ageing there are a number of 'strategies' of adjustment in old age that have been recognised within the literature of gerontology. Rather than focus on the processes of adjustment per se they identify the traits that accompany certain types of adjustment behaviour. For example, the early categorisation by Riesman²² of three major types - Autonomous, Adjusted and Anomic - has been superseded by the fivefold division of Reichard, Livson and Petersen,²³ and the conceptually similar but nominally different categories of Bromley.²⁴ Table 6 (13) shows the relationship between these categorisations.

Although the terminology identifies five distinct categories of adjustment, they may be seen to form a continuum from what is considered to be ideal adjustment in which the individual is psychologically mature with a constructive attitude to the world around him, to low adjustment in which the individual withdraws from a harmonious relationship with the world and becomes 'angry' with the world and with himself.

The process and status of adjustment are a reflection of the psychological state of the individual in relationship to the external environment which may include factors which contribute to or detract from a state of

21. See Chapter 2, pp. 51 - 52.

22. D. Riesman: Individualism Reconsidered, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1954, p. 484.

23. S. Reichard, F. Livson and P. Petersen: Ageing and Personality, John Wiley, New York, 1962, quoted by R. J. Havighurst: Personality and Patterns of Ageing, Gerontologist, Vol. 8, 1968, p. 21.

24. D. B. Bromley: The Psychology of Human Ageing, Penguin, 1966, pp. 104 - 109.

Table 6 (13) Strategies of Adjustment to Ageing

	<u>Riesman</u>	<u>Reichard, Livson and Petersen</u>	<u>Bromley</u>
High	1. Autonomous	(Mature	Constructiveness
Adjustment		(Rocking Chair	Dependency
2. Adjusted		(Armoured	Defensiveness
Low	3. Anomic	(Angry	Hostility
		(Self-haters	Self-hate

adjustment. Adjustment cannot be wholly 'internalised' as a psychological condition or be 'externalised' as a consequence of the external environment; it is, essentially, something expressing the dynamic relationship between the two.

This study does investigate certain levels of activity in the study populations but it was thought that to confine investigation to levels of activity and to take no account of personality and behavioural predispositions would be to ignore the very point at which there has been criticism of the present understanding of the ageing process. The survey questionnaire thus contained a short section in which there was a preliminary investigation of certain attitudinal variables, and the present writer is aware of the limitations of the approach and the lack of sophistication in the methods employed.

The section within the questionnaire contained eight statements of attitude and belief. An attitude is defined as a predisposition towards behaviour or an object, while a belief is defined as including information

and judgement about something.²⁵ The eight statements covered the following points:²⁶

1. The prospect of adjustment to a new style of life in retirement.
2. The necessity of changing outlook and behaviour to keep up to date.
3. The lack of a role for older people in contemporary society.
4. The attractiveness of the freedom which retirement brings.
5. Reactions to youth.
6. Reactions to growing old.
7. Increasing loneliness with advancing age.
8. General contentment with life.

Some of the statements were made with a positive bias towards adjustment, for example, "Retirement becomes very attractive as it frees one from the pressures and routine of work and enables one to participate in new activities", and others were made with a negative bias away from adjustment, for example, "I don't like young people around me. They make me feel my age". Response to each of the statements was invited by means of a five-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.²⁷ The final measures were graded responses to the eight individual statements and a combined score was calculated from all the statements reflecting what was taken to be the disposition of the respondent towards or away from adjustment as measured in attitudinal terms. The potential score ranged from 8 (negative disposition) to 40 (positive disposition).

Before discussing the findings of this section of the survey, certain

25. For more detailed definitions see, for example, the following:
 - a. H. J. Eysenck: The Structure of Human Personality, Methuen, London, 1953.
 - b. B. H. Levy: Conceptions of Personality, Random House, New York, 1970.
 - c. M. Fishbein and I. Ajzen: Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behaviour, Addison-Westey Publishing Co., 1975.
26. The statements cover eight of the more significant themes of ageing and adjustment, as discussed in Chapter 2.
27. A. N. Oppenheim: op cit., p. 133 - 142, Discussion on Likert scales.

limitations must be emphasised. First, this section was exploratory and as such was not designed to allocate each respondent to a particular category or strategy of adjustment to ageing. Rather, it was hoped that the method employed would prove sufficient to indicate in which direction along the continuum of adjustment each respondent, and each sub-group of each sample population, was predisposed. That is to say, whether or not the inclination was towards satisfactory adjustment in which there was a generally positive attitude towards ageing and the retirement role, or whether the inclination was towards a hostile, mal-adjusted acceptance of the retirement role. Second, eight statements was a very short number of statements for such a survey. (Attitude surveys in psychology frequently utilise 50 or more statements from which it is possible to extract with greater ease and accuracy the more significant variables within the sample populations. In this survey, the section was primarily exploratory and at the end of an already lengthy questionnaire.) Third, no distinction was drawn between belief and attitude in the way the statements were presented to the respondent. The intention was one of discovering a general personality orientation rather than a distinctive categorisation.

Analysis: The scores of each individual statement were aggregated to provide an overall 'Adjustment' score indicating a tendency towards 'high' or 'low' adjustment. The scores on each of the statements with a negative bias were reversed prior to aggregation to give a consistent result of a high score equal to high adjustment and a low score equal to low adjustment.

Table 6 (14) shows the aggregated scores for each of the study areas. Certain conclusions may be drawn from this table: first, the modal response-category in each of the study areas was the same, specifically, a score of between 28 and 31, with approximately the same proportion of responses in both Worthing and Leicester (32.4% and 35.6% respectively); second, that the Leicester response indicated a higher proportion (25.4%)

Table 6 (14) Aggregated Adjustment Score

<u>Class</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>		
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
1	8-23	4	3.9	12	8.7	Low Adjustment
2	24-27	13	12.7	23	16.7	
3	28-31	33	32.4	49	35.6	
4	32-35	29	28.4	28	20.3	
5	36-39	13	12.7	10	7.2	High Adjustment
6	40	2	2.0	1	0.7	
Inadequate Data		8	7.8	15	10.9	
Total		102	99.9	138	100.1	

Chi-square= 6.778 with 4 Degrees of Freedom. Not significant

inclining towards low adjustment on the scale than in Worthing (16.6%); and third, as a concomitant of this, the Worthing response indicated a higher proportion inclining towards high adjustment on the scale (43.1%) than in Leicester (28.2%). The general conclusion at first sight, therefore, is that the Worthing sample population was inclined towards higher adjustment levels than the Leicester sample population. Further investigation proved that, while this trend may be distinctive, the variation in response between the two samples was not of statistical significance. (Chi-square = 6.778, DF 4). The general conclusion may remain, therefore, but with this added qualification to its significance.

It is to be debated as to how far this basic score is a real indication of any behavioural predispositions within the sample populations. One of the problems of interpreting response to behavioural-type statements is that there is a tendency for respondents to answer in the affirmative to whatever question or opinion is put to them. In other words, they will

tend to agree with the tone of the question, whatever its specific nature. It was for this reason that some of the statements were expressed in negative form so that a positive response was demanded rather than merely acceded to. Furthermore, the low scoring respondents could not achieve their "lower adjustment" scores by non-response to the question since the agnostic non-responses (of which there were few) were equated with the "Don't knows", and allocated a score of 3 for each question as representing the midpoint of the scale. The general conclusion on the validity of the overall score, therefore, is that it did represent an indication of the direction of adjustment towards which each respondent, and the sample population as a whole, were inclined.

What of the relationship between the total adjustment score and the population profile data? The distinctive variations had to do with Marital Status, Education and Health. In both study populations, the modal score for "married" respondents was in category 3 (Score 28 - 31), whereas the widowed recorded a higher score in modal category 4 (32 - 35) although these variations were not statistically significant. It is curious, however, that the one category which is normally associated with a certain degree of psychological disruption should have shown this characteristic of recording a higher score.

The education factor, when applied to the adjustment score, indicated a significant trend (Chi-square = 14.9 Sig .025) in Worthing with the higher-educated registering a higher adjustment score than the lesser-educated respondents. The same trend was evident in Leicester, though not significantly so.

The Leicester sample showed variations in the relationship between health and adjustment, the respondents in better health registering the higher adjustment scores (Chi-square 19.098 Sig .001). The other profile characteristic which required careful examination in relation to the adjustment score was, of course, that of socio-economic class. In fact, there was

no significant variation (at .05 level of probability) between the two sample populations within any of the socio-economic groups in respect of the score (Table 6 (23)).

The second stage of the analysis was to examine each of the adjustment statements in turn to discover the variations in response between the two sample populations. Tables 6 (15) to 6 (22) summarise the results for each statement.

Statement 1 (Table 6 (15), indicating the respondents' agreement with the statement that the prospects of retirement may be frightening or depressing, was marked by a significant variation in response between the two sample populations. Of special note was the almost total rejection among the Worthing sample of the sentiments expressed in the statement. Of the 88% of the sample who rejected this idea the majority, some 50.0% of the total sample, strongly disagreed. A mere 3.92% were in agreement with the idea. In contrast, the Leicester sample showed a much more varied response to this statement. 66% of the sample rejected the statement but the majority of these, 36% of the total sample, were not strongly in disagreement. A full 28% found sympathy with the idea. This first statement showed the greatest variation between the samples of any of the statements.

While none of the profile variables accounted for significant variations in the responses between the two areas, as a whole several trends were present, the strongest of which was for the better-educated respondents in both study areas to disagree with the statement to a greater extent than the lesser-educated. In Worthing, those in better health disagreed more strongly than the rest and in Leicester there was a tendency for the widowed to agree with the statement.

While none of these trends was significant, the variations in response within socio-economic groups were significant within groups 2 and 3 (see Table 6 (23)). Further details of this variation in response can be seen from the summary statistics in Table 6 (15). The Leicester groups

Table 6 (15) STATEMENT 1.

The prospect of retirement after years of active work is rather frightening. The thought of having to adjust to a new style of life becomes very depressing.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	2	1.96	15	10.87
2. Agree	2	1.96	24	17.39
3. Don't know	5	4.90	3	2.17
4. Disagree	39	38.24	50	36.23
5. Strongly Disagree	51	50.0	40	29.99
Inadequate Response	3	2.94	6	4.35
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100
Chi-square=	27.59	Significance:	.01	

Summary Statistics

		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W. 99	4.364	.839	.703	-1.808
	L. 132	3.576	1.382	1.910	- .672
S.E. Class 1	W. 10	4.60	.966	.933	-2.245
	L. 3	4.33	.577	.333	.707
S.E. Class 2	W. 33	4.52	.619	.383	-.863
	L. 21	3.50	1.539	2.368	-.533
S.E. Class 3	W. 40	4.359	.811	.657	-1.936
	L. 69	3.738	1.290	1.665	-.867
S.E. Class 4/5	W. 5	3.50	1.0	1.0	-1.155
	L. 20	3.684	1.416	2.006	-.747
S.E. Class ?	W. 14	4.077	1.115	1.244	-1.654
	L. 25	3.04	1.457	2.123	-.153

consistently showed a much greater degree of variance in response and, with the exception of class 4/5, the mean response in every class was considerably lower for Leicester than for Worthing. The other main tendency within these statistics was for the mean response to fall with socio-economic class - for example from 4.6 and 4.3 in Class 1 to 3.50 and 3.68 in Class 4/5.

Statement 2 (Table 6 (16)) was an indication of how far the respondents were prepared to change in order to avoid the potential isolation of advancing age. The responses were similar for both samples, the modal category being 'agree' with 44% and 47% in Worthing and Leicester respectively. It is interesting to note that, although the tendency within the aggregate score was for the Worthing sample to register a greater inclination towards a high adjustment score, in this particular statement 67% of the Leicester sample compared with only 60% of the Worthing sample were in agreement with the statement. One interpretation of this slight variation in response from the general trend could be in the semantic nature of the statement. It implies a change taking place in relation to the social environment, i.e. 'moving with the times'. Attention has already been drawn to the proposition that adjustment for some elderly people may be a matter of adjustment to the social environment, while for others it may be primarily a matter of inner adjustment and the individual may remain isolated from, or unconsciously adaptable to, the effects of social environmental change through having to cope with it frequently during numerous residential moves throughout life. This very slight difference in response, set against the general pattern of responses, may have been a slight indication of this differential.

There was no significant variation between the responses to Statement 2 in relation to socio-economic class (Table 6 (23)), and reference to the summary statistics in Table 6 (16) reveals a consistent pattern of response between the two populations.

Table 6 (16) STATEMENT 2

One must move with the times. If you don't want to end up completely isolated it's necessary to change one's outlook and behaviour constantly.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	16	15.69	28	20.29
2. Agree	45	44.19	65	47.10
3. Don't know	8	7.84	8	5.80
4. Disagree	24	23.53	24	17.39
5. Strongly Disagree	7	6.86	6	4.35
Inadequate Response	2	1.96	7	5.07
Total	102	100	138	100

Chi-square = 2.878 Not significant

Summary Statistics

		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population W.	100	2.610	1.214	1.473	.474
	L. 131	2.351	1.143	1.307	.773
S.E. Class 1	W. 10	2.60	1.265	1.600	.111
	L. 3	2.33	.577	.33	.707
S.E. Class 2	W. 33	2.879	1.244	1.547	.331
	L. 21	2.429	1.287	1.657	.738
S.E. Class 3	W. 40	2.487	1.211	1.467	.525
	L. 69	2.477	1.264	1.597	.450
S.E. Class 4/5	W. 5	2.75	1.708	2.917	.435
	L. 20	2.0	.667	.444	1.156
S.E. Class ?	W. 14	2.286	.994	.989	.865
	L. 25	2.217	.998	.996	1.238

Statement 3 (Table 6 (17)) was an indication of the extent to which the respondent feels as though society does not allocate a sufficient role to the elderly. The variation in response was statistically significant (97.5%) between the two samples. In fact, the majority of respondents in both study areas (69% in Worthing and 58% in Leicester) rejected the idea of no role in society for the elderly, but the statistically significant results were a reflection of the emphatic 'no' of the Worthing sample in contrast to the more moderate rejection of the statement in Leicester. Whereas 16% of the Leicester sample 'strongly disagreed' with the statement, almost double that percentage - 31% - strongly disagreed in Worthing. It is arguable as to whether or not there is a distinction to be drawn between those elderly who regard their role as having been allocated them by society and those who regard the role as something which the individual and the elderly as a group mould for themselves. For example, current ideas (more prevalent in the United States than in Britain) that the elderly are of sufficient experience and voice to become an active political force within society belong to the latter category of thinking.²⁸

The rejection of this statement by both sample populations has been emphasised but it is also worth noting the substantial minority of the samples who found agreement with the idea expressed in the statement. 20% in Worthing and 27.5% in Leicester were substantial proportions to find agreement with what is a very negative outlook on the status of retirement.

28. See, for example, P. L. Kapnick, J. S. Goodman and E.E. Cornwell: 'Political Behaviour in the Aged - Some new data', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 23, Part 3, 1968, p. 305. In some cases, the desire to control their own affairs has led groups of the elderly to take active steps to create the right conditions. Some retirement communities such as that studied by the present writer (see Chapter 2, Note 111) are incorporated as administrative city units, with power to determine their own local taxes and the ends to which they should be put. Thus, for example, the item 'education' does not appear in the annual budget, with no schools requiring a tax input.

Table 6 (17) STATEMENT 3

Everyone needs a role in life. But it seems as though
there is no place for the older person in today's society.
Most people are written off after retirement.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	2	1.96	13	9.42
2. Agree	19	18.63	25	18.13
3. Don't know	8	7.84	9	6.52
4. Disagree	38	37.26	59	42.75
5. Strongly Disagree	32	31.37	22	15.94
Inadequate Response	3	2.94	10	7.25
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100
Chi-square = 11.83 Significance: .025				

Summary Statistics

		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W. 99	3.798	1.158	1.326	-.688
	L. 128	3.406	1.264	1.597	-.587
S.E. Class 1	W. 10	3.8	1.317	1.733	-1.158
	L. 3	4.00			
S.E. Class 2	W. 33	4.094	.893	.797	-1.012
	L. 21	3.526	1.172	1.374	-.702
S.E. Class 3	W. 40	3.462	1.274	1.623	-.145
	L. 69	3.508	1.256	1.577	-.634
S.E. Class 4/5	W. 5	3.750	.500	.250	-1.155
	L. 20	3.22	1.353	1.830	-.267
S.E. Class ?	W. 14	4.071	1.207	1.456	-.957
	L. 25	3.120	1.364	1.860	-.421

Table 6 (23) reveals that there were no significant variations in response within each socio-economic group with the exception of the 'others' (Sig: .027). There were, however, significant variations in relation to other profile variables. In Leicester, those respondents in better health registered a better acceptance of the role of ageing (Chi-square: 12.557. Sig: .001), while in Worthing the significant variations were found in respect to the two 'education' factors and to sex. Males were generally more wary of disagreeing with the statement and 'strongly disagree' was the only category in which the females were dominant (Sig: .05). This is a reflection of the reality of the retirement event for the male, which often subjects him to a sudden break between work and non-work in which it may be hard to adjust to a new, perhaps badly defined, role. The female, on the other hand, may have had the problems of role re-definition several years earlier when the children left home.²⁹ With regard to education, the evidence was that the better-educated either find a new role, or adapt to a changing role, more readily than the less-well educated (Sig: .05. 'Adult Education' factor - sig: .025).

Statement 4 (Table 6 (18)) was a very general statement concerning the attractiveness of retirement in relation to the routine of working life. No significant difference was apparent between the two study populations, the modal category being one of general agreement with the idea (49% and 48% in Worthing and Leicester respectively) with an overall agreement of 86% in Worthing and 75% in Leicester. A small minority in both areas - 4% and 11% in Worthing and Leicester respectively - disagreed with the statement. The majority response does not necessarily indicate that there is a preference of retirement over and above a working life, only that the opportunities and freedom from pressure in retirement are welcome. Similarly, a

29. See Chapter 2, pp. 38 - 39.

Table 6 (18) STATEMENT 4

Retirement becomes very attractive as it frees one from the pressures and routine of work and enables one to participate in new activities.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	38	37.26	37	26.81
2. Agree	50	49.02	66	47.83
3. Don't know	6	5.89	13	9.42
4. Disagree	3	2.94	11	7.97
5. Strongly Disagree	1	0.98	4	2.90
Inadequate Response	4	3.92	7	5.07
Total	102	100	138	100

Chi-square = 6.56 Not significant

Summary Statistics

			<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W.	98	1.765	.784	.614	1.339
	L.	131	2.076	.997	.994	1.109
S.E. Class 1	W.	10	1.40	.516	.267	.408
	L.	3	2.0			
S.E. Class 2	W.	33	1.742	.930	.865	1.796
	L.	21	2.190	1.123	1.262	.919
S.E. Class 3	W.	40	1.769	.627	.393	.196
	L.	69	2.047	.933	.871	1.088
S.E. Class 4/5	W.	5	2.0	1.414	2.0	.816
	L.	20	1.842	.958	.918	1.097
S.E. Class ?	W.	14	2.0	.784	.615	.992
	L.	25	2.250	1.152	1.362	1.069

rejection of the statement does not necessarily imply a preference for a working life, but only that retirement is not seen as a time of new opportunity.

The only profile variable to draw significant variations in response from the Worthing sample in respect of Statement 4 was that indicating health at the time of retirement (Significance: .05). The tendency is, quite naturally, for those who retired because, or partly because, of health not to view retirement with any optimism but rather as a time of constriction. Within the different socio-economic groups the tendency was for the Leicester sample to register a higher mean score and greater variance in response in every group except classes 4 and 5, where the trend was reversed.

Statement 5 (Table 6 (19)) was included to indicate those in the sample populations who, in their self-analysis, were less satisfied with their lives in advanced age than they had been in their younger days. The theories of adjustment to ageing indicate that the better-adjusted elderly person sees each stage of life as having its own fulfilments. Those who are nostalgic about youth and adolescence to the extent of indicating a preference for that stage of life are those who fail to adjust to the present.³⁰ A small proportion of respondents in both the study areas (15% in Worthing and 25% in Leicester) had failed to 'adjust' on this measure but the majority did not concede to the mood of the statement. Again, there was no statistical significance between the samples, and the distributions of response in both study areas showed great similarity (see Table 6 (19)). This was also true of the responses within socio-economic classes when the two study areas were compared (see Table 6 (23)). The only profile variable to produce significant variations in response was that of health among the Leicester sample (Significance: .005) with those in better health rejecting the statement

30. D. B. Bromley: op cit., p. 108.

Table 6 (19) STATEMENT 5

Youth and adolescence are the best times of life. As
the years go by life becomes far less satisfying.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	4	3.92	9	6.52
2. Agree	11	10.78	26	18.84
3. Don't know	5	4.90	6	4.35
4. Disagree	57	55.88	71	51.45
5. Strongly Disagree	22	21.57	20	14.49
Inadequate Response	3	2.94	6	4.35
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100

Chi-square = 5.11 Not significant

Summary Statistics

			<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W.	99	3.828	1.031	1.062	-1.170
	L.	132	3.508	1.169	1.366	-.752
S.E. Class 1	W.	10	4.60	.516	.267	-.408
	L.	3	4.33	.577	.333	-.707
S.E. Class 2	W.	33	3.848	1.064	1.133	-.959
	L.	21	3.10	1.334	1.779	-.322
S.E. Class 3	W.	40	3.842	.916	.839	-1.394
	L.	69	3.80	.939	.881	-.850
S.E. Class 4/5	W.	5	2.50	1.732	3.0	.0
	L.	20	2.895	1.524	2.32	-.013
S.E. Class ?	W.	14	3.571	.938	.879	-.795
	L.	25	3.440	1.083	1.173	-.746

in favour of a view of a satisfying life in old age. In the Worthing sample there was a tendency for those who agreed with the statement to be less well educated and to be in a lower socio-economic class than those who rejected the statement, but the trend was not significant.

Statement 6 (Table 6 (20)), referring to increasing loneliness with advancing age, touched on one of the most emotional and confused issues of old age. Images relating to youth, bereavement and the passing of time are frequent in any discussion of this aspect of ageing. Yet it must be remembered that the sample populations contained a high proportion of elderly couples for whom loss of a spouse had not yet occurred, and the responses within a very elderly sub-group might prove very different to those recorded here. This statement, in fact, more than any other, divided the sample populations in their response, and there was a minority in both areas who expressed themselves particularly strongly on the issue, with about 13% of the response in each of the 'strongly agree - disagree' categories (the exception being 'strongly agree' in Worthing with 6.86%).

In Worthing, 47% were in some kind of agreement with the sentiments of the statement and 42% were in disagreement. In Leicester, a slightly higher proportion - 53% - were in agreement, with a correspondingly lower 36% in disagreement. While the Worthing population as a whole, and socio-economic classes 2 and 3 in particular, registered a higher score than the comparative Leicester samples, none of the other profile characteristics caused any significant variations in response. The greatest deviation within any group from the normal pattern of response was among the widowed in Worthing who, fairly naturally, agreed to a greater extent than any other group that loneliness increases in the later years of life.

Certainly there is considerable variation in experience and in thinking on this issue. One factor remains clear, however, that where loneliness is a conscious factor in advancing age, while for some individuals it may not detract from adjustment, it certainly does not contribute to adjustment.

Table 6 (20) STATEMENT 6

Loneliness increases with age. It is very difficult
to make deep friendships in the later years of life.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	7	6.86	19	13.77
2. Agree	41	40.20	55	39.86
3. Don't know	10	9.80	9	6.52
4. Disagree	29	28.43	31	22.46
5. Strongly Disagree	14	13.73	18	13.04
Inadequate Response	1	0.98	6	4.35
Total	102	100	138	100

Chi-square = 4.14 Not significant

Summary Statistics

		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W. 101	3.020	1.241	1.540	.183
	L. 132	2.803	1.322	1.747	.346
S.E. Class 1	W. 10	3.30	1.418	2.011	.182
	L. 3	3.667	.577	.333	-.707
S.E. Class 2	W. 33	3.091	1.234	1.523	.231
	L. 21	2.286	1.146	1.314	.849
S.E. Class 3	W. 40	3.10	1.215	1.477	-.019
	L. 69	2.80	1.289	1.663	.465
S.E. Class 4/5	W. 5	1.750	1.50	2.25	1.155
	L. 20	2.833	1.543	2.38	.285
S.E. Class ?	W. 14	2.786	1.051	1.104	.851
	L. 25	3.120	1.364	1.860	-.119

Statement 7 (Table 6 (21)) was another reflection on youth - "I don't like young people around me. They make me feel my age" - and succeeded in drawing an almost identical pattern of response from the two sample populations. 5.8% in Worthing and 4.3% in Leicester were in varying shades of agreement with the statement, while the majority, some 89% in Worthing and 87% in Leicester, were in disagreement.

While none of the profile characteristics caused any significant variation in response, it is perhaps worth noting that in both study areas none of those who expressed agreement with the statement had had any kind of 'adult' education.

Statement 8 (Table 6 (22)), the final statement, was couched in general terms, indicating a generally optimistic and enthusiastic attitude towards life in spite of increasing age. While there was no statistical significance between the sample responses, there was an interesting variation in the pattern of response. Of the total samples, 92% in Worthing and 93% in Leicester were in agreement with the statement. The Worthing response was predominantly that of 'strongly agree' (55.8%), however, with 'agree' having 36% of the response; in contrast, the Leicester response was predominantly that of 'agree' (50.0%) with 42.7% responding with 'strongly agree'.

Within the Leicester sample population the two measures of health caused a significant variation in the pattern of response, with the more healthy respondents indicating a much stronger affirmation of the statement than the less healthy. ('Health': Significance: .001, 'Retirement Health': Significance: .05).

The general conclusion to be drawn from the response to this statement is that the Worthing population generally showed a stronger disposition towards adjustment than the Leicester sample population.

This specific conclusion to Statement 8 also may be said to be the general conclusion with respect to all the statements, taken individually and in aggregate. It was evidenced in Statements 1, 3 and 8 in particular, although it was significantly so only in Statements 1 and 3. It was also

Table 6 (21) STATEMENT 7

I don't like young people around me. They make me
feel my age.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	3	2.94	3	2.17
2. Agree	3	2.94	3	2.17
3. Don't know	3	2.94	5	3.62
4. Disagree	51	50.00	61	44.20
5. Strongly Disagree	40	39.22	59	42.75
Inadequate Response	2	1.96	7	5.07
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100
Chi-square = 0.895 Not significant				

Summary Statistics

		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W. 100	4.220	.883	.779	-1.770
	L. 131	4.298	.838	.703	-1.783
S.E. Class 1	W. 10	4.0	1.155	1.33	-1.826
	L. 3	4.667	.577	.33	-.707
S.E. Class 2	W. 33	4.33	.890	.792	-2.052
	L. 21	4.263	.733	.538	-1.301
S.E. Class 3	W. 40	4.154	.904	.818	-1.604
	L. 69	4.40	.632	.40	.926
S.E. Class 4/5	W. 5	4.25	.50	.250	1.155
	L. 20	3.947	1.393	1.942	-1.425
S.E. Class ?	W. 14	4.286	.726	.527	-.459
	L. 25	4.280	.843	.710	-.985

Table 6 (22) STATEMENT 8

Despite increasing age, I still retain great enthusiasm
for things and generally keep happy and contented.

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Strongly Agree	57	55.88	59	42.75
2. Agree	37	36.27	69	50.00
3. Don't know	0	-	1	.73
4. Disagree	6	5.88	2	1.45
5. Strongly Disagree	1	.98	3	2.17
Inadequate Response	1	.98	4	2.90
Total	102	100	138	100

Chi-square = 5.241 Not significant

Summary Statistics

		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Total Population	W. 101	1.584	.852	.725	1.883
	L. 134	1.664	.775	.601	2.019
S.E. Class 1	W. 10	1.50	.972	.944	1.914
	L. 3	1.333	.577	.333	.707
S.E. Class 2	W. 33	1.576	.902	.814	2.232
	L. 21	1.667	.913	.833	2.32
S.E. Class 3	W. 40	1.550	.639	.408	1.308
	L. 69	1.712	.651	.424	1.707
S.E. Class 4/5	W. 5	2.0	1.414	2.0	.816
	L. 20	1.316	.478	.228	.793
S.E. Class ?	W. 14	1.643	1.082	1.170	1.509
	L. 25	1.840	1.068	1.140	1.580

Table 6 (23) Significance of Between Sample Chi-Squares for
Adjustment Statements within each Socio-Economic Group

(* no Chi-square value)

<u>Statement</u>	<u>S.E.G. 1</u>	<u>S.E.G. 2</u>	<u>S.E.G. 3</u>	<u>S.E.G. 4/5</u>	<u>S.E.G. ?</u>
1	.120	<u>.007</u>	<u>.032</u>	.425	.184
2	.139	.616	.818	.099	.568
3	.486	.354	.117	.339	<u>.027</u>
4	*	.428	.305	.793	.637
5	*	.225	.558	.624	.939
6	.061	.098	.301	.245	.242
7	.493	.688	.480	.444	.859
8	.786	.711	.266	.083	.407
Adjustment Score	.867	.053	.484	.313	.417

evidenced in the aggregate 'adjustment' score, though here again the difference was not statistical. The responses pointed consistently in the same direction, to the fact of the Worthing population being better disposed towards adjustment than the Leicester sample population.

IV. Conclusions

This chapter has concentrated on the difficulties of obtaining adequate survey samples among an elderly population and of the limits of comparability between the two sample populations under study in this study. The elderly as a sub-group of the total population do not share homogenous characteristics despite the universal labelling of 'pensioner' or 'senior citizen'. On the contrary, the elderly reflect the full scope of population characteristics of a whole generation. The samples which form the populations in this study were chosen from a spatial sampling frame derived from the concentration of the elderly in certain sectors of an East Midlands Industrial City and a South Coast Residential Town. Already, by the very nature of

those areas, one may be beginning to imply some of the population characteristics which contribute to mobility differentials among the elderly as a whole and, in particular, between the two study areas.

It might be argued that the overall variations in population profile characteristics between the two areas invalidate a comparison of the two sample populations. This might be a valid criticism if those population variables alone were held to account for mobility differentials between the populations. It is one thing to say that among the sample populations in this study, those who had moved to Worthing were generally of higher class and greater educational attainment than those who had not moved. But it does not logically follow that those elderly of higher class and greater educational attainment are necessarily more likely to move in retirement. What of lower middle class retirement towns? And what of the significant numbers of the non-migratory elderly? The act of migration is dependent on many factors, and it should be remembered that the migrating elderly are a small proportion of the total elderly population. Too readily it is assumed that migration is the norm and that those who do not move are held back for some reason. Migration is the exception rather than the rule.

It has been seen from the foregoing analysis, however, that although the two major population samples showed significant variations with respect to several 'profile' characteristics, that by subdividing the samples into socio-economic groups, the remaining profile characteristics did retain comparability within those groups and did not show a significant variation in response between the two areas. By such a step the sample populations have a qualified comparability. Furthermore, it should be noted that the characteristics of the study populations did not wholly polarise around the two study areas but revealed wide common ground across the two areas.

The concern of this study is not purely the theme of mobility and migration, but it is also the attempt to relate mobility to social adjustment. The measures of adjustment, though crude and exploratory, did show

variations within and between the sample populations, but no significant overall variation between the two populations. Questions remain as to whether adjustment is a function of the same factors in a mobile and in a non-migratory elderly population, or whether the means by which adjustment is achieved within the individual vary and, if different factors do contribute to personal adjustment, to what extent is the act of migration one of them?

These themes will be among those examined in the remaining chapters of this study. The most fundamental question remains as to why some elderly people move and many do not. Having examined the extent to which the sample populations are comparable in respect of the 'profile' and 'adjustment' characteristics, the study now turns to a detailed examination of migration and mobility among the sample populations.

CHAPTER 7. MIGRATION AND MOTIVATION

I. Introduction: Migration of the Elderly; Further Considerations

The discussion in Chapter 2 focused on certain theoretical guidelines within which this study was carried out. Migration is an act and, as such, can be measured with few problems - it does or does not occur. Furthermore, it was seen that migration possesses a structure that relates to the places of origin and destination of the migrant. Mobility, on the other hand, was defined as a status, reflecting the extent to which migration has occurred, in which there is a greater or a lesser predisposition towards an act of migration. Mobility has regard to the future with a collection of hopes, aspirations and potential changes, and it derives from the past from previous acts of migration in association with factors of economic and social status. Mobility has normally been studied within the context of differentials such as education, class, income, etc., but inasmuch as the status of mobility is affected by previous acts of migration, an investigation of past migratory behaviour is also essential in deriving some kind of indicator of mobility.

The conscious motivations that lie within any act of migration are a rationalisation of the direct and indirect factors which contribute to the act. The decision to migrate, therefore, is a behavioural decision relating to many factors, including those of motivation, of mobility, of the influence of family ties and of social activities. Much of the decision is bound up in matters of housing and in the characteristics of the area in which the potential migrant resides.

A behavioural approach lays stress on social and psychological factors which generate mobility and migration. These factors concern the individual's relationship with and reaction to the total physical and social environment of which he is a part. It assumes that the exercising of choice is open to the individual in contemplating a migration decision that will better satisfy personal needs and aspirations. As a response to

increases in 'stress'¹ or declining 'place utility',² migration may be an agent of readjustment in adapting to negative pressures. As the necessary component of the achieving of certain aspirations and the expectation of greater satisfaction elsewhere, it may also be an agent of readjustment. With these broad generalisations forming the backcloth to the discussion, certain ideas may now be expanded.

The notion of migration as an agent of adjustment carries with it the idea that a sense of maladjustment or disharmony may exist in the first instance and that migration may be part of the process of adjustment to that condition. The decision to migrate, and thus the decision by which it is hoped that greater adjustment will be effected, may be a response to entirely negative circumstances in the place of residence which, in effect, drive the migrant out to a new location. In contrast, the migration decision may also be the response to a migration offer which may be strong enough to draw the migrant away from a particular location although the existing circumstances may be entirely satisfactory in themselves. These two extremes are what have been termed 'push' and 'pull' migration respectively.³

In practice, the migration decision rarely lies wholly at either of the two extremes but is more likely to be the result of a decision-dialectic which balances the resolution of many competing influences and finally settles in favour of the prospective destination. The competing influences may be conscious and rationally perceived or they may be unconscious forces in the intending migrant. In both instances, they will be derived from the environment, from family circumstances and from individual characteristics, in fact from the whole spectrum of factors of man in relationship with his environment.

1. Discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 25 - 26.

2. Discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 23 - 24.

3. E. Lee: 'A Theory of Migration' in J. A. Jackson (Ed.): Migration, Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 286 - 287.

There are, of course, many factors contributing to adjustment of which migration is only one. It is very possible that personal adjustment may be effected without migration. It is also possible (and as this chapter will show, in some cases probable) that, in a given situation of stress, migration may not be perceived as a viable alternative in relieving the stress. The theme of this study, however, is the migration of the elderly, and what is proposed is that migration may be a process and an event by which the elderly person attempts to contribute to personal adjustment to the act of retirement and the general processes of ageing by moving away from what is perceived as a situation in which there is stress to what is perceived as being a situation where greater adjustment will be achieved.

The idea of a discordance or mal-adjustment contributing to the migration idea is normally considered under this notion of 'stress'.⁴ This word has certain negative connotations, however, which are not always helpful in understanding motivations for migration since not all factors of stress need to be negative in form. For example, the factors that cause stress in a potential migrant may indeed be negative by stemming from a degenerating physical environment in the inner city or from unsuitable housing, but 'stress' may also be caused by the attractions of an alternative location which seem to be greater than the perceived attractions of the present location. The seeming desire of some elderly for 'a cottage away from it all' or some such ideal may be said to be an ideological desire and many would shun the isolation that it might bring in practice. A bungalow in Worthing, for example, may compromise the desire for the ideal with the necessity for certain realities of housing provision and vital amenities.

4. See, for example, J. Wolpert: 'Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 22, 1966, pp. 92 - 102, and W. A. V. Clark and M. Cadwallader: 'Locational Stress and Residential Mobility', *Environment and Behaviour*, March 1973, pp. 29 - 41.

The other concept in need of some further consideration is that of place-utility, which is the "net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at time or space".⁵ Place-utility is an amalgam of all the parameters which influence the individual and is a concept which implies a maximisation, or at least an optimisation, of utility and location. It does not, however, allow for different weightings to be assigned to each of the parameters that influence the individual. Furthermore, in common with much economic theory, it assumes a certain rationality of behaviour and implies an inherent 'consumership' with regard to space and residential location. A further problem of the concept is that what is of significance to the individual is not a series of ordered facts and qualities within the total residential situation, but his perception of those attributes and the significance that is attached to them both individually and in composite.

A more appropriate concept than 'stress' to describe disharmony or mal-adjustment in the individual is that of 'dissonance' which is derived from the field of social psychology. "A state of cognitive dissonance is said to be a state of psychological discomfort or tension which motivates efforts to achieve consonance. Dissonance is the name for a disequilibrium and consonance the name for an equilibrium".⁶ Dissonance, therefore, is a concept which infers a state of imbalance which, in terms of residential location, implies a disequilibrium somewhere within the total residential situation. Dissonance may exist in the present environment although there may be no migration offer available to the individual. The presence of dissonance may initiate the search procedure which, in turn, may lead the individual to relocate. Alternatively, the attractive proposition of

5. J. Wolpert: 'Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate', Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, Vol. 15, 1966, p.162.
 6. R. Brown: Social Psychology, London, Macmillan, 1969, p. 584.

another location may initiate a search procedure although no dissonance exists in relation to the present environment. In the first instance, the dissonance causes a desire to move away from certain dissatisfactions and, in the second instance, the dissonance of an external factor causes a desire to move away to what is attractive. The presence of both sources of dissonance, from the existing and the potential locations, may compound the desire to relocate.

A concept of adjustment implies a certain equilibrium or consonance between the individual and his total physical, social and psychological environment. The concept of adjustment, therefore, is not one with an emphasis on deriving optimum or maximum utility from a particular location with the individual being a consumer of the 'goods and services' of the environment. It is, however, a dynamic concept of a balanced relationship and interaction between the individual and the location in which he resides.

This chapter is primarily concerned with mobility and motivation for migration and potential migration among the study populations of Worthing and Leicester. Having suggested that dissonance or imbalance generating thoughts of migration may develop in any of the parameters of the individual life system (the parameters of family and social involvement will be examined in more detail in Chapters 8 and 9 respectively), in addition to examining primary motivations this chapter also explores environmental parameters as they affect the elderly. Therefore, before moving on to a detailed consideration of these matters, it is necessary to outline possible strategies of adjustment which may develop in response to migration having been initiated by different forms of residential dissonance.

As has been noted, dissonance may develop in the general environment or in respect of specific family associations. It is also possible that a disequilibrium may be brought about by the socio-psychological realities of retirement itself, or by the ageing process, or, indeed, by the act of migration itself. The process of adjustment involves skills which may be

learned and acquired with experience. Thus, the individual who moves frequently may develop or acquire adjustment skills which are tested over repeated migrations. The capacity for adjustment to migration itself, therefore, will vary from person to person and the extent of mobility will be one of the most important components of a personal adjustment skill. The individual who has not moved frequently may, on migration, unwittingly open up the possibilities of dissonance in certain parameters which may have been held in equilibrium prior to migration. Thus, to emphasise the point, for some repeated movers, migration may be one of the processes or agents of adjustment (to the extent of being an adjustment skill itself). For all migrants there is a possibility of dissonance developing at migration in other parameters which were previously held in equilibrium.

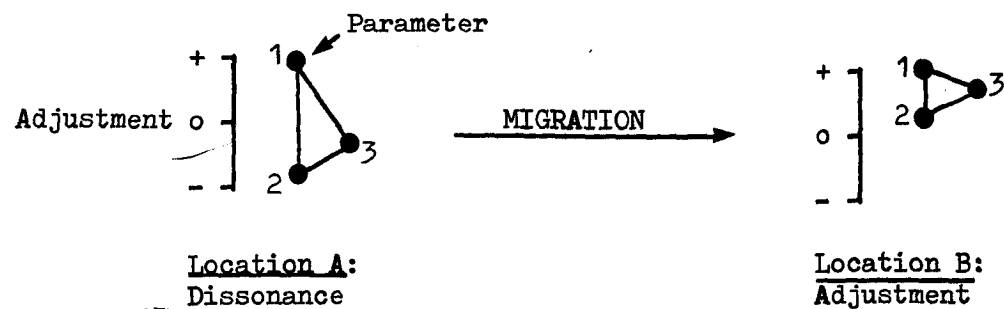
Dissonance implies imbalance in the individual and place adjustment a certain degree of equilibrium. Figure 7 (1) diagrammatically represents some of the possible types of imbalance which may be resolved or created by migration.⁷ Adjustment is represented on a positive-negative scale and certain parameters are seen to be held within a certain balance in relation to adjustment. Dissonance is represented by parameters which are located on the negative side of the adjustment balance.

With reference to Figure 7 (1), strategy I represents migration as an agent of adjustment. Certain parameters cause dissonance in Location A contributing to a disequilibrium in residential satisfaction. By migration, the problem parameters are resolved and positive adjustment is achieved for all parameters. It is possible, of course, that the act of migration may remove a dissonant parameter altogether. For example, it will be seen that the reason for one migration into Worthing was a dislike of aircraft noise in Location A, which was removed altogether by migration to Worthing (Location B). A situation where migration improves the adjustment balance of some

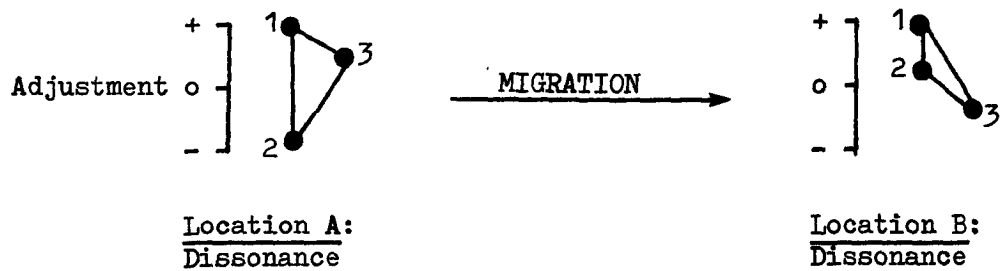
7. Developed from ibid: Figure 11-8 'Locus of imbalance', p. 581.

Figure 7 (1) Diagrammatic representation of migration
resolving or creating problems of dissonance
in the residential situation

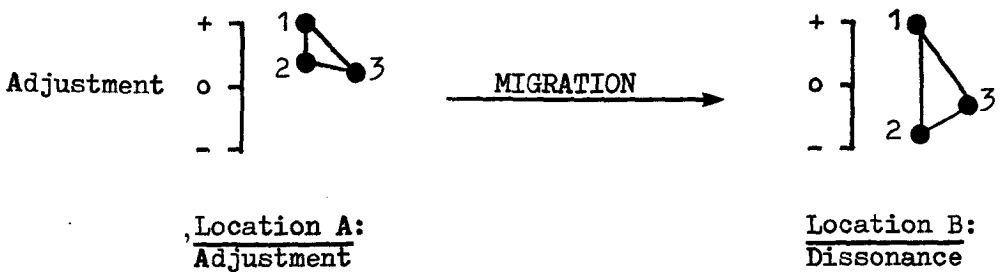
STRATEGY I Migration as an agent of adjustment; dissonance
is resolved



STRATEGY II Migration resolves dissonance in some parameters
but creates dissonance in others



STRATEGY III Migration creates dissonance



parameters but creates further dissonance in others is represented by strategy II in Figure 7 (1). Thus, for example, aircraft noise may be removed by migration to Location B but the migrant may find himself missing certain friendships from Location A, thus creating dissonance in this parameter. Finally, a situation where there is nothing in particular causing dissonance in Location A but migration stimulates dissonance among certain parameters in Location B is shown by strategy III. For example, where an individual may have lived in Location A most of his life, a move to Location B may cause a disruption in friendship networks or daily activity patterns.

Migration alone is not always a means to improving the adjustment of the individual since adjustment depends on a total balance of many parameters in the life-system and it can be seen that, theoretically, migration may improve or worsen the adjustment of the individual. It is also possible that adjustment may occur not through migration but by a revision of expectation in regard to dissonant parameters to the point where they cease to be dissonant.

Having outlined the possible strategies of the effects of migration on the individual, this study turns to an examination of some of the motivations and circumstances surrounding elderly migrants in connection with the migration decision, and with regard to some of the parameters which affect both that decision itself and the possibilities of adjustment.

II. Residential Mobility

Certain contrasts between the two study areas have been noted, including the differences in the proportions of elderly within the population and the extent to which they were concentrated in certain sectors. A third major characteristic which showed considerable variation between the two areas was movement within and into the areas, and this section focuses on the characteristics of residential mobility within the study populations.

The structure of the migration decision, which may reduce migration to the act of taking an 'opportunity'⁸ or the alleviation of some kind of stress or dissatisfaction in the place of origin,⁹ need not take account of the inherent mobility of the migrating population. Given mobility differentials, however, the threshold at which the decision to migrate is made effective is not normative but will find individual variation. One of the most significant indicators of the level of this threshold is the frequency and recurrence of migrations in the past life of the household or individual and, as observed in Chapter 2, the evidence suggests that the propensity for further migrations declines with increasing length of residence.¹⁰ One of the objectives of the study was to discover the relationship between this factor and the structural and behavioural aspects of migration.

Past mobility was measured by asking the respondents how many different homes (including that at the time of survey) they had lived in since 1945. (This was a span of a quarter-century and would not take into account any movement during the war years 1939 - 1945.) The results, in Table 7 (1), serve as a general indicator of mobility among the sample populations.

In Leicester, over half the respondents had lived in the same home since 1945 and a further 32% had moved only once during that period. In total, therefore, over 86% of the Leicester response indicated a low mobility status during the previous quarter-century. In contrast, the Worthing sample population contained half this proportion (43%) within the same two categories of response, of whom 37% had moved only once. Only 6 respondents in Worthing (5.9%) had been resident in the same home since 1945. In Leicester there were 17 responses indicating two or more moves in the years since 1945, of which 14 (10.1% sample) indicated two exactly. In contrast,

8. Discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 7 - 11.

9. See Note 4, above.

10. Discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 21 - 22.

Table 7 (1) Mobility Indicator: No. of homes since 1945

<u>No. of homes</u>	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1	6	5.9	75	54.3
2	38	37.3	44	31.9
3	28	27.5	14	10.1
4	17	16.7	2	1.4
5	4	3.9	0	
6	4	3.9	0	
7 or more	3	2.9	1	.7
Inadequate Response	2	2.0	2	1.4
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.1	138	99.8

Chi-square = 80.4391. Significance: .01

27.5% of the Worthing sample had moved twice, and a further 27% had moved more than twice, while 11 of the Worthing respondents (10.7%) had lived in 5 or more different homes during the quarter-century. Clearly, the patterns of residential mobility between the two study populations were very different.¹¹

To what extent was this pattern of mobility simply a reflection of different social classes within the study areas or the reflection of more complex factors? Table 7 (2) tabulates the two factors for each of the study areas. Certainly, there was variation between the socio-economic

11. Significance of a chi-square test between the responses at .01.

Table 7 (2) Mobility Indicator: Effect of Social ClassWorthing

	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4/5</u>	<u>other</u>
Homes:					
1		2	1		3
2	3	18	14	2	1
3	2	7	15		4
4	2	3	7	2	3
5+	3	3	2	1	2
0			1		1
Mean *	4.3	2.7	2.9	3.6	3.1

* Calculated on the full 9 categories of mobility.

Leicester

	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4/5</u>	<u>other</u>
Homes:					
1	1	7	42	12	13
2	2	9	22	6	5
3		4	5	2	4
4					2
5+					
0		1			1
Mean *	1.7	1.85	1.52	1.5	1.8

groups within each of the study areas. In Worthing, socio-economic group 1 showed the highest mean score on the mobility indicator (4.3) but groups 4 and 'uncertain' scored mean values higher than those of groups 2 and 3. In Leicester, the rank order of mean values was more parallel with that of socio-economic class, although group 2 did show the highest mean score (1.85). It may be, however, that 3 responses only in group 1 was not a sufficient number from which to derive a satisfactory group score. The major conclusion to be drawn from these tabulations is that there did appear to be a relationship between mobility and social class within each of the sample populations (the exception to this generalisation being provided by groups 4 and 5 in Worthing), but the factor of class alone was not sufficient to explain the differences between the two populations.

Further questions were examined in relation to residence within the 'present' home and within the study area itself. First to be considered was the length of residence within the study areas, for which Table 7 (3) summarises the major pattern of response. The most distinctive difference between the study populations was the proportion who were born in their respective areas and had lived there most of their lives. While only 3 respondents (2.9%) in Worthing fell within this category, over 50% of the Leicester respondents did so. It is possible that some may have spent part of their working lives away from the area, but this fact would not affect the nature of the contrast in response between the two areas. If this factor is approached in 'reverse', then an equally contrasted pattern of response shows for the proportions of residents living in the study areas for less than 25 years. In Leicester, only 5.8% (8 respondents) fell within this category while in Worthing the majority - 80.1% (82 respondents) - had lived in the area for less than a quarter-century. Of these 82 respondents in Worthing, 44 (43.1% total sample) had lived in Worthing for less than a decade.

The mobility indicator and the factors summarised above give some

Table 7 (3) Length of Residence in Study Area

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 1 year	1	1.0	1	0.7
1 - 3 years	7	6.8	0	
4 - 6 years	25	24.5	0	
7 - 10 years	11	10.8	0	
More than 10 but less than 25.	38	37.2	7	5.1
More than 25 but not all life.	17	16.7	56	40.6
All of life	3	2.9	74	53.6
Inadequate Response	0		0	
<hr/>				
Total	102	99.9	138	100.0

Chi-square = 146.64. Significance: .01.

basis on which to compare the differential mobility rates and types between the two study populations. It is clear that, while there was not a total polarisation between mobility among the Worthing sample and non-mobility among the Leicester sample, the tendency was towards such a distinction being made. The absolute mobility status of the two study populations, therefore, was distinctively different, the major contrast appearing to be with regard to the type of migration. The Leicester sample showed a predominance of intra-area migrants (over 85%), while the predominant type of mobility in Worthing represented migration into the town, thus being characterised as inter-area migration. There was also a

substantial minority of 27.5% within the Worthing sample who had engaged in intra-area migration within the town.

These themes may be expanded by examining the length of residence within the home at the time of the survey. It would be expected that, in Worthing, an area of in-migration, the tendency would be for people to be living within their first, and only, home within the area, whereas in Leicester, with a predominantly 'indigenous' population, there would be a greater movement within the city. Table 7 (4) shows characteristics of this factor and shows that both these assumptions were valid - in Worthing 74 (72.5%) of the sample population were resident within their only home within the study area contrasted with only 18 (13%) in Leicester. Over 60% of the Leicester response had been resident in their home for more than 25 years and another 26% for more than 10 years. This again was in contrast to the Worthing response, where exactly half the respondents had lived in their home for less than 10 years and only 39.2% for longer than 10 years (of whom 30% were resident for less than 25 years).

Mention has already been made of the degree of intra-area mobility within the study areas and Table 7 (5) shows this factor in more detail. For 72.5% of the Worthing sample, their home at the time of the survey was the only home they had ever lived in within the study area, contrasted with only 13% of the Leicester sample. In fact, of the 86.7% (117 respondents) of the Leicester sample who had lived in other houses within the city at some time in their lives, only 36.7% (43) had not been born in the city.

These results from the sample survey add some detail to the already known fact of Worthing as an area of in-migration of the elderly, and the extent to which the elderly residents of Leicester, in common with the majority of the elderly, do not move home in retirement. However, several features of these known trends are emphasised by these results. First, in Leicester, which was more representative of the 'norm' for the elderly in urban areas, many of them had lived in the city all their lives and in

Table 7 (4) Other homes in the Study Areas at some time of life

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
No other homes	74	72.5	18	13.33
Other homes	28	27.5	117	86.67
<hr/>				
Total	102	100	138	100

Table 7 (5) Length of Residence in Present Home

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 1 year	1	1.0	2	1.4
1 - 3 years	12	11.8	4	2.9
4 - 6 years	26	25.5	4	2.9
7 - 10 years	12	11.8	8	5.8
More than 10; less than 25.	31	30.4	36	26.1
More than 25	9	8.8	84	60.9
Inadequate Response	11	10.8		
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.1	138	100.0

the same home for several decades. Indeed, in many cases they were probably the homes which were established in the early years of marriage or were occupied as new housing in the inter-war years.¹² When mobility is not a part of working life, there may be no reason why it should be expected to be a part of life in retirement. There is much made of the fact of the elderly sometimes 'blocking' the housing market by maintaining excess housing capacity and preventing younger people purchasing family homes. Personal and community inertia, however, are much stronger forces than those of social convenience. As was observed in Chapter 2, when much of the substance of life is swept away in retirement and old age, particularly in an age of rapid change, those elements of life which maintain the roots of the past are more naturally maintained. Second, and in contrast, mobility as an important part of existence was much more the norm for the Worthing sample, over 54% having moved home 3 or more times since 1945. As such, the population of Worthing represented the more mobile sectors of the total elderly population. Despite the factor of mobility, however, a considerable number of elderly had been resident in Worthing for more than 10 years, and the sense of 'community' may be established among those who are not recent migrants.

The foregoing discussion has established in some detail the basic themes of residential stability and residential mobility which divided the two sample populations so distinctively. Residential mobility is about choice, about a decision taken in response to personal choice and about an act of migration actualising that decision. While one of the major themes of this study, and particularly of this chapter, concerns the reasons and the factors involved in the expression of that choice, it is important to examine the structure within which those behavioural factors operate. The

12. See Discussion in Chapter 5, Part III on age of housing areas.

remainder of this section, therefore, examines the migration structure of migrants into Worthing by focusing on the 'origin' of their move, on the location of the previous residence of the respondents in both study areas, the channels of information used in the choosing of the present home and of the type of home itself.

First to be examined is a question which was asked only in Worthing, given the assumption that it was an area of in-migration: 'Where did you live immediately before moving to Worthing?' The respondents were also asked how long they had lived there, and the results are summarised in Tables 7 (6) and 7 (7) respectively. It is appropriate to note in passing the expectations of replies to these questions. All the strands of migration theory would point towards the majority of migrants moving from a nearer rather than a more distant location and, since it is a type of amenity migration under discussion, from predominantly urban and suburban areas. It was difficult to hypothesise concerning the length of residence in the former location but since the move to Worthing, if it was a retirement move, would be made without the constraints of job-location, and since the general migration rate is less in the latter years of employment than in the former years, then the expectation would be for a reasonable period of stability. Exceptions would be provided by those moves which were not made at about the time of retirement but which were perhaps a second or third move within retirement.

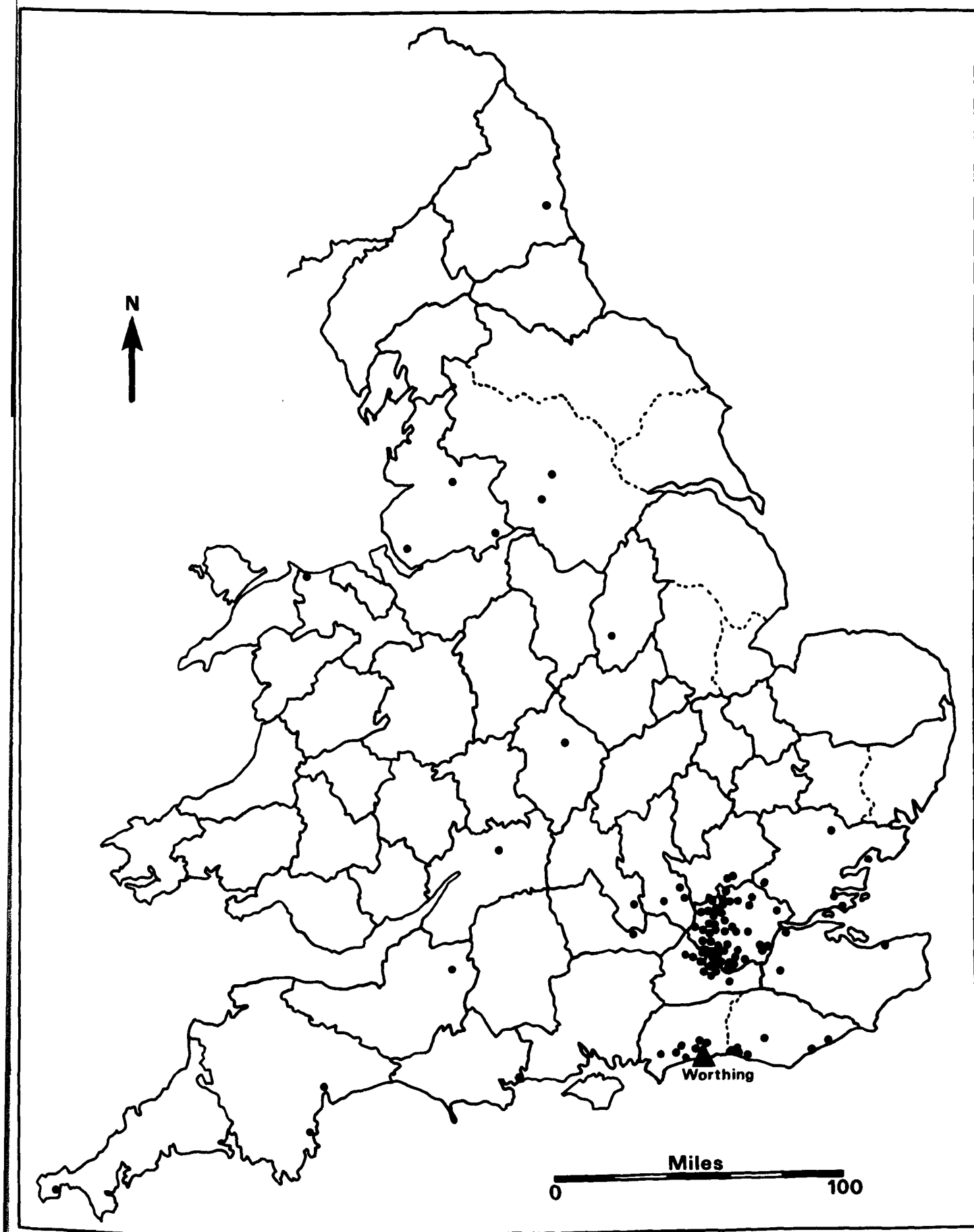
As was expected, the majority of in-migrants (81.4% respondents) moved from locations within the South East Region, 15 respondents (14.7%) from locations within East and West Sussex. Three respondents were born in the area, thus leaving a total of 16 respondents (15.7%) who had moved into Worthing from outside of the South East Region. Table 7 (6) summarises the response by region. The only slight deviation from the expected pattern was that more migrants were drawn from the northern regions than the (nearer) Midlands. Figure 7 (2) plots the former location of

Table 7 (6) Place of 'Origin' for migrants into Worthing

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Born in Study Area	3	2.9
Counties of E / W Sussex	15	14.7
South East (other than Sussex)	68	66.7
South West	6	5.9
Midlands	2	2.0
North East	3	2.9
North West	3	2.9
Elsewhere in B.I.	1	1.0
Other	1	1.0
<hr/>		
Total	102	100.0

Table 7 (7) Length of residence in place of 'origin'

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 1 year	3	2.9
More than 1; less than 5	13	12.7
More than 5; less than 10	13	12.7
More than 10; not all life	52	51.0
All of life/Most of life	19	18.6
Inadequate Response	2	2.0
<hr/>		
Total	102	99.9



Origins of Migration into Worthing

Figure 7 (2)

Worthing respondents in more detail. Of the counties in the South East other than Sussex supplying migrants, Surrey ranked highest (21.6% respondents) and the others ranked as follows: Middlesex (16.7%), London (15.7%), Essex (4.9%), Buckinghamshire and Kent (3.9% each) and Oxfordshire (0.9%).

Table 7 (7) indicating length of residence in the former location bears out the general expectations that, while for some the move to Worthing was one of a series of moves, for the majority it followed a considerable period of residence in one place. Over half the respondents, 69.6%, had lived in their previous home for more than 10 years, and for 19 (18.6%) the move to Worthing was away from the area they had lived in for most or all of their lives.

The other major interest concerning previous migration relates to the location and the length of residence in the home prior to that being lived in at the time of the survey, and these questions were asked of respondents in both study areas. The responses are summarised in Tables 7 (8) and 7 (9) respectively. For the Worthing respondents whose home at the time of the survey was the first in the town, the response would be identical to that in response to the question relating to place of origin examined above. However, for 27 (26.5%) of the Worthing respondents, the present home was not the only one lived in in the town and, also, an additional 7 respondents (6.9%) had formerly lived in the county. For the whole Worthing sample, the pattern of response again revealed the predominance of the South East in supplying Worthing's in-migrants since for the majority the response was identical to that of the question examined above.

In Leicester, the pattern was one of complete contrast, 120 respondents (86.9%) having previously lived within Leicestershire and 111 of these (80.4%) within Leicester itself. Of the 12 respondents (8.7%) having previously lived outside of the county, 5 had moved in from other parts of the Midlands.

Table 7 (8) Location of Previous Residence

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Within study area	27	26.5	111	80.4
Within county of study area	7	6.9	9	6.5
South East	55	53.9	3	2.2
South West	5	4.9	1	.7
Midlands	2	2.0	5	3.6
North East	2	2.0		
North West	2	2.0		
Elsewhere in G.B.	1	1.0	2	1.4
Other (abroad)	1	1.0	1	.7
Inadequate response			6	4.3
Total	102	100.2	138	99.8

Table 7 (9) Length of Residence in Previous Home

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 1 year			8	5.8
More than 1; less than 5	12	11.8	33	23.9
More than 5; less than 10	20	19.6	22	15.9
More than 10; not all of life	52	51.0	57	41.3
Most of life	16	15.7	17	12.3
Inadequate response	2	2.0	1	1.0
Total	102	100.1	138	100.2

The pattern of response indicating the length of residence in the previous home was more comparable for both study areas (see Table 7 (9)). In both areas the modal response was 'more than 10 years'. What was perhaps surprising were the high numbers of respondents in Leicester who had lived in their previous home for less than 10 years, since the population as a whole was not given to extreme mobility. The figure of 44.6% respondents (63) in Leicester compared with only 31.4% (32) in Worthing. The explanation could be that for the Leicester respondents who had lived in their 'present home' for several decades and certainly for most of the working life, the 'previous home' could have been temporary or unsatisfactory accommodation which was occupied during the early years of marriage and work. In Worthing, however, the respondents' 'previous home' may have been the family home which had been occupied for a substantial number of the working years.

The exact relationship between the length of residence in the 'present' and 'previous' homes can be seen from Table 7 (10) which emphasises that the Worthing pattern was of a shorter current residence due, of course, to migration.

A further aspect of residence and location to be studied was the type of home and nature of the tenancy of the respondents in each of the study areas. The results are summarised in Tables 7 (11) and 7 (12) respectively. In Worthing, by far the majority of respondents lived in a bungalow (66.7%) or a flat (14.7%), both of which may be said to be specialist housing for retired people, and further evidence that in moving in or at the time of retirement elderly people seek out housing types appropriate to their needs. These results, while not pretending to be a representation of the housing types across Worthing, do raise further questions concerning the relationship between housing-type and residential concentration of the elderly since sampling was from areas of concentration. The correlation between the elderly population and house-type (81.4% in

Table 7 (10) Length of residence in present and previous homes

WORTHING

		<u>Length of residence in present home (years)</u>					
		<u>Less than 1</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>10-25</u>	<u>over 25</u>
<u>Previous</u>	<u>Years</u>						
<u>home</u>	Less than 1		2				
	1 - 5		4	2	2	2	
	5 - 10		1	5	2	3	1
	over 10	1	6	16	6	15	5
	Most of life			3	2	10	3

LEICESTER

		<u>Length of residence in present home (years)</u>					
		<u>Less than 1</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>10-25</u>	<u>over 25</u>
<u>Previous</u>	<u>Years</u>						
<u>home</u>	Less than 1						6
	1 - 5	1			3	2	28
	5 - 10		2	2		5	13
	over 10	1	1	2	5	23	26
	Most of life	1	1			5	10

Table 7 (11) Type of Home

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Detached House	10	9.8	9	6.5
Semi-detached House	5	4.9	100	72.5
Flat	15	14.7	6	4.3
Bungalow	68	66.7	6	4.3
Terrace	4	3.9	12	8.7
Other			2	1.4
Inadequate Response			3	2.1
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.0	138	99.8

Table 7 (12) Type of Tenancy

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Owner Occupier	100	98.0	96	69.6
Rented	2	2.0	11	7.9
Council			29	21.0
Inadequate Response			2	1.4
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.0	138	99.9

'specialist' housing) is not in doubt, but there is something of a 'chicken and egg' argument concerning how this correlation should be interpreted. The housing is the product of the development in the private sector of the housing market and, clearly, 'retirement' housing is built in response to a perceived demand and, once built, there exists a constant invitation to sustained in-migration of the elderly. It may be, therefore, that the nature of the housing market is one of the most critical factors influencing the continuing role of Worthing as a retirement centre. To continue to build 'specialist' housing such as flats and bungalows is to extend the invitation to potential elderly occupants. To build family homes in conjunction with general industrial and commercial development of an area is to extend an invitation to the in-migration of younger residents.

In Leicester, the predominant house-type was the semi-detached house, accounting for 72.5% of the response. Clearly, these represented respondents not in specialist housing, but nor were they migrants even within their own city. Their occupation of 'family-type' homes is one extending from earlier years as a result of non-migration. As has been observed, it is easier for elderly people to tolerate excess capacity in housing than it is for younger people to tolerate inadequate housing capacity at a time of family growth. In Leicester, a very small proportion of the total response (8.6%) were resident in flats and bungalows. Whether or not there is an adequate supply of 'specialist' housing for the elderly in Leicester and in most non-retirement centres is another question!

It can be seen from Table 7 (12) that tenancy types also show considerable variance both within and between the study areas. The Worthing sample population consisted almost entirely of owner-occupiers (98%), while in Leicester this sector of the sample accounted for only 69.6% of the response. While there was also some variation within the rented sector, the major area of distinction between the two study populations lay in the council-tenants which formed 21% of the Leicester sample population and none in

Worthing. Indeed, as was seen in Chapter 5, the council-property in Worthing was occupied almost solely by the younger sections of the population, the areas of council-housing within the Borough coinciding with the areas of lowest density of the elderly. These results are consistent with the fact reported earlier that the majority of migrants were generally owner-occupiers.

The last factor to be considered within the migration structure is that of the principal channels of information by which the sample populations found their home. Table 7 (13) summarises the types of response for the two study areas and indicates the variation between the two study areas. The 'council' factor, as already noted, was present only in the Leicester sample. This aside, the most dominant channel in Leicester was that of estate agents (18.1%), followed by "recommendation of relatives" (14.5%), "Press" and "Chance visit" (10.9% each), the four factors accounting for 54.4% of the total sample. The emphasis was clearly on fairly informal channels of contact and information implying a knowledge of the area and a pattern of response which might be associated with intra-urban migrants.

In contrast, the Worthing sample revealed an overwhelming response indicating that the more formal channel of "estate agents" was used by about two-thirds (65.7%) of the sample population, as might be expected of migrants into the area from some distance. About a quarter of the sample population had made use of more informal channels of information - "chance" (12.7%), "by recommendation of relatives" (8.8%) and "friends" (2.9%) and through the "press" (3.9%) - all implying some contact with or knowledge of the area.

Two major conclusions may be noted from these responses. First, that in Worthing one single channel of information dominated the experiences of the sample population, whereas in Leicester there were numerous channels, each with a similar proportion of the response and none claiming any kind of dominance. Second, that the responses reflected the nature of the

Table 7 (13) Channel of information in finding present home

	<u>Worthing</u>		<u>Leicester</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Estate Agents	67	65.7	25	18.1
Press	4	3.9	15	10.9
Recommendation: friends	3	2.9	7	5.1
Recommendation: relatives	9	8.8	20	14.5
Inheritance	2	2.0	9	6.5
Chance: casual visit	13	12.7	15	10.9
Council	-	-	29	21.0
Other *	3	2.9	18	13.0
Inadequate response	1	1.0		
<hr/>				
Total	102	99.9	138	100.0

Chi-square: 70.6 Significance: .01

* In Worthing the 3 respondents under 'other' all had their house built to order. In Leicester there were a variety of responses, including built to order (6), purchased from relatives or friends (4), connected with business (2) and through independent channels (3).

movement:- inter-area migration into Worthing making use of formal channels of information (estate agents) with a certain number of personal contacts; intra-area migration within Leicester making more use of local and informal rather than institutional channels (as, for example, the greater balance between the press and estate agents, and the more informal personal contacts of family and friends representing 19.6% response in Leicester compared with 11.7% in Worthing).

III. The Links Between Migration and Retirement

Although 'retirement migration' is an established topic within the study of migration, one aspect of the concept which has not found discussion within the geographic literature is the exact relationship between the two distinct acts of retirement and migration. Retirement migration, for example, can be distinguished from 'old-age migration', where the latter is a migration that occurs perhaps one, two or even three decades after the act of retirement. If this distinction is made, then a relevant question becomes the definition of retirement migration. Other relevant questions relate to whether the act of migration occurs within a few days, months or years of the time of retirement, and whether the move occurs before or after retirement. These questions were examined among the sample population of Worthing, together with the evidence for a single move, or numerous moves, at or about the time of retirement.

Of the total respondents, 27 (26.5%) were living in Worthing at the time of their retirement. The majority were living at various locations within the South East Region, including a total of 46 respondents (45.1%) in the four counties of London, Middlesex, Surrey and Essex (see Table 7 (14)). The remainder of the study population retired at various locations around the country, including 3 in the West Country (Devon, Cornwall and Somerset) and three in the North (Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northumberland). Only one was living abroad at the time of retirement.

Having examined location at the time of retirement, the next factor to be examined was that of when migration into Worthing occurred in relation to retirement, for which Table 7 (15) summarises the findings. Of the 27 respondents who had retired while living in Worthing, 5 had moved into Worthing during the 5 years prior to their retirement, and another 3 moved into Worthing in the same year that they retired. (In that they were able to anticipate their retirement, they must have held jobs within commuting distance of Worthing, a commuting area which would include central London.)

Table 7 (14) Place of Retirement: Worthing Sample

	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Worthing	27	26.5
London	17	16.6
Middlesex	12	11.8
Surrey	11	10.8
Essex	6	5.9
Sussex	3	2.9
Bucks	3	2.9
Berks., Herts., Kent, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Notts., Yorks., Lancs., Northumberland and Abroad	11 (1 each)	10.8 (0.9 each)
Inadequate response	12	11.8
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Total	102	100.0
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Thus, of those retiring while resident in Worthing, a total of 19 had been resident in the area for at least 5 years prior to their retirement (including the 3 respondents born in the area). The average length of residence of these 19 was 22 years, ranging from 7 years to 'life' in individual cases. It was not possible to tell exactly how many of the 19 held jobs locally or within Worthing itself and how many commuted some distance to work although, as the next section will indicate, 9 did give 'work' as the reason for moving into Worthing. What was clear, however, was that for 19 respondents (18.6%), the move into Worthing was not primarily associated with the timing of retirement (anticipating it by at least 5 years) but was primarily a move for 'residential', 'work' or other reasons.

Table 7 (15) 'Retirement Migration': Worthing

		<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total Respondents</u>
Those moving to Worthing within 5 years of Retirement	Within 5 years before Retirement	5	4.90
	Moving in the year of Retirement	22	21.60
	Within 5 years after Retirement	22	21.60
Those moving to Worthing after Retirement	Moving directly to Worthing	2	1.96
	Moving to Worthing as at least the second Move since Retirement *	19	18.63
<u>Total of those moving to Worthing as 'Retirement Migration'</u>		70	68.63

* Moving by way of: Hove, Bexhill, Whitstable, Colwyn Bay, Bournemouth, Cheltenham (all 'possible' retirement areas); Southgate, Guestling, Purley, West Chilmington, Sompington, Pebmarsh, Weybridge, Chertsey, Hockley, Southall, Wimbledon, Australia.¹³

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13. Australia: an isolated example: one respondent had migrated to Australia from Muswell Hill on retirement but after about 1 year decided that he would prefer to live in England, so returned to live in Worthing near to a village where he had spent several years as a small boy.

A second category of respondents contained a total of 22 respondents (21.6%) who moved to Worthing during the year in which they retired from full-time work. It has been noted above that three moved prior to the act of retirement, leaving a total of 19 (18.6% response) who moved into the town during the same year as, but just after, their retirement elsewhere in the country. This 21.6% of the total sample represented a sizeable proportion for whom the act of retirement and the act of migration were virtually synonymous events.

The third category consisted of the 43 respondents (42.2%) who moved into the town after their retirement. Of these, 22 (21.6% total respondents) had moved in within five years of the date of their retirement. Of those 21 respondents moving in after five years from the date of their retirement, only two had moved directly from the place of their retirement to Worthing, the other 19 having lived for a while at some intervening location. Thus, these 19 represented 18.6% of the total Worthing sample population for whom the move into the town was at least the second move they had made since their retirement, and for 6 of these the move into Worthing was from another 'retirement area', including Hove, Bexhill, Colwyn Bay and Bournemouth.

If a 'retirement migration' is defined as a move occurring after retirement or during the five somewhat anticipatory years prior to retirement, then 70 (68.6%) of the Worthing sample population had participated in such a move. Of this total, some 49 (48% total respondents; 70% retirement migrations) made the retirement move within 5 years either side of the date of their retirement.

Although the magnitude of retirement migration is well evidenced (see Part II), it is significant to discover the large proportion of a sample population within a retirement area for whom the move into Worthing was so closely associated with the circumstances of retirement itself. It may be possible to infer from these findings that the phenomenon of

retirement migration represents an act or a decision which for the majority of migrants occurs within five years either before or after the event of retirement itself. This is to distinguish a 'retirement' migration from that which may take place at another stage of life within retirement but which is not associated with the retirement event, for example when one partner is widowed and moves to be nearer kin or friends.

If the 'five-year' criteria is applied to the Worthing sample population, then 49 respondents had moved into Worthing within this period of their retirement, and of the 6 who had moved into Worthing from other retirement areas, 5 had moved into those areas within the 'five-year' period. Thus, for 54 (52.9%) of the Worthing sample population, a 'retirement migration' as defined above had been a reality.

These findings represent a sample of retired migrants who were still resident within the study area. The other factor which is of relevance to these findings, but of which no evidence could be adduced from the survey data, concerns those migrants who, having participated in retirement migration, later decided that the move was not to their satisfaction and subsequently moved away from the area. Chapter 5 noted the extent of out-migration of elderly people from Worthing, which was substantial, although by no means balancing the dominant flow which was of in-migration. Some evidence has been shown in this chapter that a few may move between retirement areas after the initial retirement move, but there is no real evidence to suggest where, on balance, the out-migrants (or return-migrants) go. It is possible to devise a scenario of three principal alternatives: First, that they return to the town or the general area from which they came, having been unable to adjust to the move, or having realised their mistake in moving in the first instance, although they may not have been entirely dissatisfied with residence in the retirement area. Second, that they move on to live with or near children or other kin. This may usually happen when either the death of a spouse occurs or a growing need of dependence of some

kind becomes apparent. Third, that they move away to an area with which there is no apparent connection by reason of former residence or kin. The evidence to examine such a scenario could be accumulated only through a longitudinal study of a number of migrants across a decade or more.

The conclusions which may be adduced from the evidence gathered in the survey are several. First, that the two events of retirement and migration were very closely linked among the Worthing sample population. If 'retirement migration' is that which occurs within five years of retirement, then 54 (52.9%) of the sample had participated in such a move (49 to Worthing, 5 to other retirement areas). Indeed, for 22 (21.6%) of the sample, retirement and migration occurred within the same year. Second, that where the location of work allows it, a small proportion (8 respondents: 14.8 of 'retired migrants') exercised their ability to anticipate retirement by moving before the event and commuting during the final working years or months. (No doubt one of the reasons given might be to adjust to a new residential environment prior to having to adjust to a retired status of non-work. In fact, the mean adjustment score of the 8 respondents in question was 31.75, slightly above the mean for the whole Worthing sample.) Finally, the majority of the sample population, some 70 (68.6%) in all, had moved into the study area either as 'retired migrants' (as defined above) or as those at a later stage of life. Worthing has been characterised as an area of heavy in-migration of the elderly and these findings can only substantiate that fact further, the majority of those in-migrants legitimately being termed 'retired migrants'.

IV. Motivation for Migration

It has been observed through this study that there are multiple factors and influences which continue to bring about a migration decision, and that their inter-relationships are complex. As has been seen, certain patterns of mobility may be inferred from the analysis of past mobility or, for

example, according to the type of home ownership. The pattern of family and social life will also be a factor contributing to the decision to migrate or not to migrate. Yet at the heart of all the complexity surrounding the migration decision lies the assumption that the decision itself, consciously thought out, is rational.

Although the rationalisation of the migration decision may be a conclusion to a process which develops and is clarified over time, there may be many retired migrants for whom there is never a simple, dominant motive behind the move or the choice of destination. Rather, the move may be a genuine compound of various influences. For many, in contrast, there will indeed be specific motivations both as to the reason for the move and for the choice of destination. This section discusses the major motivations for migration among the Worthing sample population.

The question was asked: "Can you please tell me the main reason why you moved to Worthing?", and the opportunity for response was open-ended since the question may be interpreted in two ways. First, it could imply the question as to why the respondent chose Worthing in particular over and against another location elsewhere in the country or, secondly, it could be interpreted in the sense of 'Why did you move away from your former home area?'. If the respondent were to interpret it in the latter sense, it might imply a dominant motive being an accumulation of negative factors associated with the former location. If the question is interpreted in the former sense, then clearly there is an expression of primary motive.

The findings of this question are summarised in Table 7 (16) and the details of the findings under the summary headings are as follows:-

Environment: The environment category expresses a multitude of factors. 12% of the respondents specifically mentioned the fact of the sea being the main attraction, while some also added that the fact of the South Downs being within walking distance of the town enhanced the immediate attraction of the sea (which could be repeated at other locations). 10% specifically

Table 7 (16) Main reason for moving to Worthing

	<u>% respondents</u>
Environment: Sea	12
"Flat"	10
Climate	5
Relatives and friends	15
Health	12
Work	9
Away from previous area	7
Away from previous home	7
Knew Worthing area	4
Specific and other	13
Inadequate response *	6
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Total	100

* including those born in Worthing

mentioned the area of the Sussex Coast Plain being 'flat', implying that hilly terrain might affect personal mobility; and 5% mentioned 'climate' as being the dominant motive.¹⁴

Relatives and Friends: 15% of the study population response moved for reasons of 'family and friends' being in the area. Four categories emerged within this general classification: first were 2% who moved to be near a widowed brother or sister; second were 3% who moved to be within reach of a daughter who lived in the area; third were 5% who moved to be near to or

¹⁴. Including one respondent who had moved to Worthing having read in a newspaper that it was one of the sunniest places in England, but now thought it was the windiest place in England!

to live with old friends (of the 5%, 1 was single, 1 widowed and 3 were married couples); fourth were 5% who moved not to live with or near children but their own parents who were becoming in need of assistance. Thus, there was a total of 7% who moved to be with elderly relatives of equal or older age, a trend which indicates that there was a small element of the very elderly in the town acting as 'magnets' for the newly retired, on whom they were becoming dependent.

Health: A total of 12% indicated health to be the main reason for migration into Worthing, and in three cases it was the wife's health rather than the husband's bringing about the move. Of the five respondents who moved to Worthing in the five years prior to their retirement, three gave health as the main reason and a fourth said he 'wanted an easier pace of life' than in his former location in London. It would appear, therefore, that a move anticipating retirement is to effect personal adjustment not only with regard to the environment but also with regard to personal health.

Work: A total of 9% moved into Worthing specifically for reasons of having a job in the area. The average length of residence in the area before retirement was 24 years, including 5 respondents who had moved into Worthing prior to the Second World War. Clearly, these were not retirement moves.

Moving away from former area of residence: 7% responded within this category for a variety of reasons, most of whom had moved from London. 'Changing character' and 'dirtyness' were mentioned as was 'aircraft noise' from a respondent who had previously lived near Heathrow Airport. One respondent moved from the West Riding of Yorkshire 'because it was so dirty', and one had moved out from London in 1941 because of the bombing and had never returned.

Previous home too big: Reference has already been made in this study to the fact of some elderly holding on to 'surplus' housing requirements when excess space is no longer required. 7% responded within this category which indicates those who did feel a need to adjust their housing status.

Five respondents specifically referred to "too much space" and the need for housing and gardens which were more manageable, while two referred to cost being the main factor. One, in particular, had held a mortgage in London at the time of retirement which would have been difficult to pay off in retirement, so a cheaper property was sought.

Knew the area from previous residence: 4% referred to reasons within this general category, of whom 3 had grown up in that part of Sussex before moving away elsewhere. The fourth had lived in Worthing during the war and then decided to return to the town in retirement.

Specific reasons and 'other': Within the pattern of response there were those reasons which did not fall easily into any of the above categories, since the move into Worthing was for particularly specific or particularly vague reasons. In total they accounted for 13% of the response. Of those responses particularly specific to some reason, one woman had married a Worthing resident, one respondent had a consuming interest in cavies, for which the Worthing cavies club was a regional centre of activity, one inherited a house in the town and decided to move into it, and one was involved in organising seaside holidays for the elderly from areas of inner-London and had moved to Worthing to be responsible for that end of the organisation. At the other extreme were a number of responses which were particularly vague including "I like it here", "the ideal place to live", "chance" and "as good as anywhere". At this level, where there is an almost total inability to articulate a specific reason for moving into the town, one is probably closest to Ellemer's notion of "standard motives" which may induce the less migration-inclined to migrate¹⁵, not only in terms of them joining the migration stream but also in the choice of destination.

15. J. E. Ellemers: 'The Determinants of Emigration - An Analysis of Dutch Studies on Migration, Sociologica Neerlandica, Vol. 11, Part 1, 1964. p. 44. Discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 28 - 29.

The question asked was deliberately left open-ended to discourage suggestions to the respondents that they ought to have had motivations for moving within specific categories, and the categories themselves were therefore derived retrospectively from the individual responses. What conclusions may be drawn from these findings concerning 'positive' motivations for reasons for moving into Worthing and 'negative' motivations for leaving the previous area of residence? First, that the majority of respondents did rationalise their choice of location according to some definite criteria. Second, that for 14% of the response the 'main reason for moving to Worthing' was expressed in terms relating to the former area of residence rather than positive terms associated with the general physical-social environment of the 'destination' area. Not all these reasons are necessarily negative since the desire to live in a smaller home with a more manageable garden in advancing age might be interpreted as a very positive step in adjusting to the changing demands of the ageing process. What might be interpreted as a negative factor, however, was that of some respondents not having very specific motives for living in Worthing as against anywhere else. This might be interpreted as a tendency towards indifference, but indifference towards what, since the motivation for migration was expressed very definitely in the majority of instances?

The distinction should also be made between those who moved for reasons which had specific associations with a particular location, in this instance Worthing, and those whose preference-motivation was expressed in terms of specific associations with particular conditions which might be replicated in many different locations. Thus, for example, those who moved to Worthing because of relatives and friends in the town moved because those persons formed a place-association. The important factor, however, is not that they moved to Worthing as the place it is but that they moved to be near friends and relatives (the implication being that if those friends and relatives lived in Hastings or Torquay, then the migration might well have

been to those areas). In contrast, those who moved primarily because of environmental reasons would find the (essentially) same environmental conditions elsewhere on the south coast. The question still remains, therefore, as to why they chose Worthing in particular. Was it simply a result of many chance factors or did it depend on other contributing factors such as previous knowledge of the area? These and other considerations will be considered in due course.

One other factor to be remembered is that for those people who move home frequently during their working lives, there may not be many associations with any particular place, and the information-space or terms of reference for their migration decision may always be determined by factors which are not place-specific in the first instance. In the case of retirement migration, the choice of location is no longer affected by the reason that one's job may be place-specific and there is, therefore, a release from another factor (in working life a primary factor) influencing location, freeing the retirement migration decision to be made on preference-conditions against a background of previous moves and areas that are known or unknown to the intending migrant.

Having examined the main reasons for migration into Worthing, a broader perspective may be derived from examining those factors in the former area of residence which contributed to maladjustment and a desire to move. A specific question was asked, namely, "What were the things that made it (former area of residence) an unsatisfactory place to live in?". The opportunity for response was left open-ended and some respondents referred to several reasons, all of which are considered in the following analysis. The analysis refers only to those who moved into Worthing after retirement or within the five years preceding it - a total of 70 respondents - since very different considerations would govern the migration of those who moved during a working life outside of the category of 'retirement migration'. The nature of the responses may be divided into three major categories:

Environment: Numerous replies reflected the changing character and environment of the former area of residence. It was not solely the changes in urban fabric but also factors in the natural environment which caused comment. Three respondents mentioned bad weather and six mentioned physical relief, the latter being mostly a criticism of the hillyness of the former area. The more general environmental dislikes, however, were to do with the nature of the urban environment, a response which might be expected from a study sample consisting of former urban and suburban residents. Noise, both of traffic and aircraft, was a factor mentioned by seven respondents, and redevelopment and 'decline of the area' accounted for eight responses. An inability to get on with the neighbours drew one response, while two respondents specifically mentioned the influx of New Commonwealth immigrants as one of the factors contributing to their migration decision.¹⁶

The most numerous responses within the 'environment' category were related to a desire to move away from the 'city'. The respondents had felt bound to the city because their work was based in the city, but they spoke of feeling "an affinity for more rural surroundings" and "wanting to get away from built-up areas". In total, some 37 different references were made to 'environmental' dissatisfaction. Of these, 9 referred to aspects of the physical environment, while the majority referred to the general desire to get away from city life and the accompanying noise.

Relatives and Friends: Only three references specifically indicated a conscious need to adjust to the changing circumstances of family and social life. One respondent had been aware that "most of our established friends were moving away" (although the particular reason for moving in that individual case was to care for an elderly aunt in Worthing). The two who were aware that they needed to live nearer to their family "in case of illness" were aware of possible contingencies.

Housing Factors: Of all factors, those associated with housing drew the greatest single number of responses, 19 in all (since the 'environment'

16. It was not a mild dislike of New Commonwealth immigrants that contributed to their migration, but an intense racial prejudice.

factors were varied). The most frequent response was simply that the former house was too large and, in some cases, a large garden was also mentioned. In some cases this response had been brought about by the death of a spouse, while for others it was simply that they were living in a family home at a time when their real requirements were for smaller accommodation. It is significant that six respondents mentioned the absence of any suitable housing in their former area of residence, indicating that the desire to seek a home further afield was governed partly by the unsuitable nature and/or cost of housing near to their previous home. Two respondents specified the fact of being unable to face rising costs of rents as the main reason for having to move.

Nothing in Particular: There were 8 respondents for whom there was no specific unsatisfactory factor associated with the former area of residence. One respondent indicated that she had always wanted to live by the sea, and another that visits to friends already living on the coast had persuaded her to follow. Of the other six, the "main reason for moving to Worthing" gave some further indication of their thinking. For two, the move was to be near their children, and for another two the move was for 'health' reasons. These four reasons could be termed 'positive motivations'. The remaining two gave general reasons relating to the sea and 'chance'. It would seem, therefore, that in terms of positive motivations for migration and strong disaffection for the former area of residence, there was a small proportion of migrants for whom there was no dominant reason for migration, perhaps further evidence of "standard motives".

These categories, summarising the factors which were associated with the place of origin, would seem to operate mainly on two levels: First, there were general items of discontent located in the surrounding environment. While in some cases they were specified, for example 'noise' and the 'inability to get on with neighbours', by far the most dominant mood was one of an unspecified discontent which had its roots in a multiplicity of

environmental factors and in which the general effect of urban decline or neighbourhood change was stronger than any of the specific components of that change. Second, the specific items of discontent lay in factors to do with housing, with the need to make an adjustment to more suitable housing needs at a transitional point in life, and the inability of finding suitable alternative housing nearby.

The overall pattern of the response was that, while for the majority of respondents certain factors could be identified as causing some stress in relationship with the environment, there was not a consuming passion to escape from them. Rather, with the opportunity that retirement brought they had taken the opportunity of moving, not so much to get away from anywhere but to get to somewhere in which better personal adjustment could be effected. The distinction is subtle but real.

Two further matters remain to be considered concerning the specific reasons as to why people had chosen Worthing rather than any other location. Once again, the responses are analysed only in respect of the 70 'retirement' migrants.

One matter concerns an open-ended question asking what knowledge the respondent had of the Worthing area prior to their moving into it, and the second was whether or not they had considered moving to any other retirement areas and, if so, which ones in particular.

First, the extent of previous knowledge of the area was examined, for which the results are summarised in Table 7 (17). By far the most common reason for having some knowledge of the local area was that of having spent holidays and day trips in the area. Of 49 (61% 'retired migrants') offering replies in these two classes, the majority (28) had had residential holidays in the area. Families and friends in the area accounted for a further 13 responses (16.25% 'retired migrants') and five had lived in the area at an earlier period of their lives, including one who was evacuated to Worthing during the war. "Other" reasons given included a former resident of Dulwich who had owned a beach hut in Worthing, and a commercial traveller whose route had regularly taken him through the town.

Table 7 (17) WORTHING: Previous knowledge of the area

No previous knowledge	4
Holidays	28
Day trips & visits	21
Family resident in area	7
Friends resident in area	6
Lived in area formerly	6
Other reasons	8
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* Total	80

* 80 reasons from 70 respondents: 10 respondents indicated more than one reason

Four respondents had no previous experience or knowledge of the town. They had moved from London (2), Ealing and Colwyn Bay and their reasons for moving were, respectively, the wife's health, that the area was 'flat', to keep home for a widowed brother and to live near to a daughter living in the area. All these reasons could be termed 'specific'.

Chapter 3 suggested the link between vacations, second homes and retirement migration. Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that of the 'retirement migrants' to Worthing, some 61% should expose this connection as being their own cumulative experience. The migrant, furthermore, may be interpreted as moving within his or her 'action-space' or 'life-space', especially within the leisure sector. Of the four who revealed no prior detailed knowledge of the area, two gave reasons for moving that would have superceded any specific locational preferences.

The second matter for consideration was the extent to which migrants into Worthing had considered alternative locations, for which the responses

are summarised in Table 7 (18). It is clear that where alternative locations were considered, the Sussex Coast was the dominant area mentioned with 19 references, 9 of these being Eastbourne (which is a retirement town similar to Worthing), and three being within a dozen miles or so of Worthing itself (Felpham, Storrington and Rustington). For the rest, the bias was clearly in favour of West Country locations and, including those in Dorset, numbered 15 (of which Bournemouth drew 5 responses). The other places mentioned were scattered between two on the Suffolk coast (including Felix-towe) and one each in South Wales, Scotland and the Channel Islands.

The most dominant response, however, from more than 50% of the retired migrants, was to indicate that no other retirement areas had been considered. Such single-mindedness on the part of the migrants revealed that their intimacy with the Worthing area was such that the search procedure through which a new location was decided on did not start by a rational consideration of all possible alternatives, but was distinctively channelled into the Worthing area from the start. This finding is more remarkable when the main motivations for moving to Worthing are recalled. It was suggested in the discussion that, while some of the motivations were place-specific, there were a majority that were expressed in terms of general environmental conditions. It has been noted that there were 19 respondents who did consider other locations on the Sussex Coast, for whom there was a possibility and in some cases a probability of their choosing that alternative location. However, the majority of migrants to Worthing in the sample population who did not have specific reasons for moving to the town would be those who would be able to make the migration decision on 'preference conditions'. In reality, few alternative locations were actually considered, although the theoretical possibility of such a consideration was very real. Furthermore, while the migrations to Worthing were primarily for conditions and reasons which could be resolved elsewhere, the fact that many did move to an area which was already well-known to them is of great significance.

Table 7 (18) WORTHING: Alternative 'retirement areas' considered

No other areas considered	40
Eastbourne	9
Brighton	2
Bexhill	1
Elsewhere on Sussex Coast	7
Bournemouth	5
Elsewhere on Dorset Coast	4
Devon, Cornwall and Somerset	6
Suffolk	2
Scotland	1
S. Wales	1
Channel Islands	1
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* Total	79

* 9 respondents had considered more than one alternative location.

Linking together the themes of mobility and adjustment, there was not wholly new adjustment to be made on arrival in Worthing, the migrants being somewhat integrated into, or at least familiar with, the area from previous experience.

The conclusion, therefore, is that for the migrants under study, adjustment to migration was aided by the fact of prior knowledge, sometimes considerable knowledge, of the area. The implication of this finding is to infer that for those elderly migrants who move to areas which they do not know from prior experience, there may be particular problems of adjustment which arise directly related to that lack of knowledge and experience. Those problems may be compounded if the migrants concerned do not have a history

of mobility but have made a distinctive break in their pattern of residential history at retirement.

V. Potential Migration

The foregoing discussion has concerned the detailed responses of a sample of migrants in a retirement area. They had contemplated a move at or close to the time of retirement and had given effect to their decision. The discussion has not indicated the extent to which the retiring population as a whole consider the possibility of migration. It would be possible to assume that given the opportunity of, for example, bettering their environment or of moving to adjust to the changing demands of house-requirements in advancing age, the majority of elderly might grasp the opportunity and move. This kind of argument does not begin to ask the question of the extent to which a migration opportunity is perceived, nor that the opportunity might be perceived, considered and eventually rejected.

It has been noted that elderly migrants are a minority of their particular sub-group of the population. It has also been noted that owner-occupiers and the previously mobile have a greater propensity to move and presumably of perceiving the migration opportunities. In an attempt to discover the extent to which the possibility of a move at retirement was considered by some of the stable, non-migratory elderly, the Leicester survey addressed itself to this question by reference to those who did consider a retirement move. (It was not to investigate an 'ideal' move at retirement or at the time of the survey. This is a factor which was considered in relation to residential satisfaction at the time of the survey, and will be considered in Chapter 10). The survey attempted to answer two specific questions: first, was a retirement move considered and, second, if so, which places in particular were considered and why.

Of the Leicester sample of 138, 24 (17.4%) of the respondents had

actively considered a move at or near to the time of retirement.¹⁷ One important factor already emerges, that for the vast majority, some 82.6% of the Leicester sample, an opportunity for migration at retirement was not actively considered though this is not to say that the possibility was not perceived.

In relation to the Leicester sample population as a whole, the (17.4%) 'potential migrants' registered a slightly higher mobility score (1.75 as against 1.63 average moves since 1945) and were of a higher socio-economic class than the rest (2.33 average score compared to 2.94 for the sample average).

However, it might have been expected that the pattern of tenancy among potential movers would have been different from that of the sample population as a whole since migrants are generally marked out by being owner-occupiers and there were a considerable number of council tenants among the Leicester sample. As Table 7 (19) shows, the owner-occupiers did indeed comprise the majority (75%) of the potential movers but this was only 5.4% more than their proportion within the total population and the additional difference was drawn more from the renters than from the council tenants.¹⁸

A second interesting variation was in the adjustment scores of the potential movers, which registered a slightly lower mean score of 5.12 (adjustment class - not total score) than the Leicester sample population mean of 6.03. It may be possible to infer that the consideration of a relocation or migration, together with a lower adjustment score, is some indication of stress or mal-adjustment. It is not possible, however, to

17. 'Potential migration' may be defined not simply through perceiving the possibility of migration, but as an active consideration of the possibility of migration. See discussion on 'latent migration potential' in Chapter 2, p. 21.
18. Against the pattern of conclusions of other studies - see Chapter 2, note 59.

Table 7 (19) LEICESTER: Tenancy types among potential movers

<u>%</u>	<u>Percentage within the sample population</u>	<u>Percentage of Potential movers</u>
Owner -occupiers	69.2	75.0
Rented	7.9	4.17
Council	21.01	20.8

speculate whether or not there had been a certain degree of re-adjustment within the Leicester location or whether adjustment would have been improved by a move.

These speculative questions aside, it is possible to amplify on the locations and reasons considered by the 17.4% of the Leicester sample who did entertain the possibility of a migration. The locations are summarised in Table 7 (20). Clearly, a short distance move was the predominant preference involving nine respondents who considered moving within the Leicester conurbation and two who considered other locations within the county. The nine prospective moves to coastal areas were divided between three to the East Coast (Sheringham, Norfolk being specifically mentioned in two cases) and six to the South Coast (where the most easterly place named was the Isle of Wight; Exmouth and St. Ives were named while three respondents did not specify beyond the general area). Of the five "others", one was to Cumbria "for the mountains", one was to Cheshire "to live near a son", and one each was to Hertfordshire, to the Canary Islands (for the climate) and to the Channel Islands (for low tax on unearned income and to get away from immigrants).

The majority of potential moves (80%) divided themselves into two major categories of destination. First, 44% (11 respondents) of the

Table 7 (20) Regional locations of prospective moves: Leicester

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Leicester and area	9	36
Leicestershire	2	8
South Coast	6	24
East Coast	3	12
Other	5	20
<hr/>		
Total	25 *	100

* 24 respondents - one named two locations

potential movers considered alternative locations within the local area, or within the immediate county of Leicestershire. The second major category of potential destinations consisted of coastal retirement areas and were mentioned by 36% (9 respondents) of the potential movers with a two : one preference for the South / South-west coast over the East coast. These two categories may be aligned with Roseman's ideas of partial and total displacement migration respectively.¹⁹

Those who considered moving within the local area (partial-displacement) revealed numerous reasons for the potential move. Three gave their reason as being a need for smaller accommodation and three specified further to the detail of wanting a modern flat with 'mod cons'. Two respondents wished to be closer to their respective families and one wanted a larger garden in which to work. Of the two who mentioned potential locations

19. Discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 26 - 28.

within the county, one had lived in a Leicestershire village when first married and the other wanted a 'quieter life'. For the majority, therefore, the reasons expressed were to do with dissatisfaction concerning housing conditions in some sense or another. The major exceptions to this generalisation apart from those who mentioned the need to be nearer to their families, were the two respondents who identified potential locations in the county and who were thus beginning to move beyond the scope of 'partial displacement migration'.

Of the nine potential migrants to retirement areas, five expressed specific reasons for wanting to move. Three were thinking of moving for reasons of "health" and one each for "climate" and "quietness". All these potential migrants might be classified within the "total-displacement" category and all expressed rather vague and generalised motivations which reflected personal adjustment (health) within an awareness of the wider environment.

A pattern of response begins to emerge in which the rationalisations of the move were similar to the broad divisions of response noted amongst the Worthing respondents. On the one hand were those whose motivation in considering an alternative location lay in the discontent experienced with some aspect of housing and on the other hand were those whose reasons lay in the desire for a better environment. In the first instance, had the respondents taken up the potential migration offer, they would have been classified as partial-displacement migrants and, in the second instance, as total-displacement migrants. (It should be remembered that among the Worthing sample, many of those in the former category of housing discontent had failed to find suitable alternative housing near to their former location.)

Of the 5 potential migrants who did not fall readily within these two categories, two gave general environmental reasons for considering the potential destination (mountains, climate abroad) while two gave specific motivations and one expressed no motivation. Broadly, then, they too

reflect a broad pattern of motivation.

The third type of response indicated specific motivations which did not express any particular place-association.

The small percentage of potential migrants in the Leicester sample represented those who considered a move but did not take the final decision in favour of that move. There remained a large category of migrants for whom the decision was considered and taken, and for whom no detailed record or information is available. (Between 1966 and 1971 there were 1,890 retired Leicester residents who moved from the conurbation to the rest of the East Midlands region (7.1% migration flow) and 3,200 retired Leicester residents who moved to the rest of Great Britain (8% migration flow), but there is no record of their exact destinations.²⁰)

With regard to the Leicester sample population, what was also of great importance was that 82.6% did not consider a move at the time of retirement. This raises the question, once again, concerning the relationship between non-migration and potential migration. Where there is no thought or perception of a migration opportunity, then the norm is not one of potential or latent mobility but of stability, or at least 'potential stability'. Potential migrants might be defined not as the total of non-migrants, but as the sum of those who perceive the opportunity or possibility of migration and actively consider it. Potential migration may be converted into actual migration at some stage. The majority of the population may, at any one time, consist of 'potential non-migrants' for whom the possibility of a move is neither considered nor even perceived. There is a geography of 'stability' as well as a geography of 'mobility'.

VI. Conclusions.

This chapter has ranged around many interconnecting themes concerning mobility and migration. At the centre of the discussion have been the differing degrees and types of mobility among the sample populations and the

20. Census 1971: Migration Tables, East Midlands region, Table 5B.

extent to which the two acts of retirement and migration, actual and potential, are associated.

The two study populations were characterised by differing types of mobility. The experience of the Leicester sample revealed a predominance of intra-area migration, while the Worthing sample was characterised by inter-area migration into the Worthing area itself. There was a marked difference, too, between the extent of past mobility in each of the study populations with the Worthing sample much more repeatedly mobile. Within each of the samples, the class factor found some association with mobility but was not an adequate explanation for the differences between the two populations.

The Worthing sample population could be termed 'retired migrants' with some justification since 70% fell within a definition of that term which excluded all those who moved 5 years or more prior to their date of retirement. As has been seen, some 17% of the Leicester sample contemplated moving at the time of retirement but the overwhelming majority did not consider the possibility.

The major conclusion of this chapter, however, must be with regard to the reasoning and the motivations which lay behind migration (or potential migration in the Leicester sample). Let it be emphasised that these conclusions are with regard to 'retirement migration' and not the migration of all elderly people, since different motivations may be in operation at a more advanced stage of ageing.

In both study areas the types of motivations indicated by both actual and potential migrants could be divided into three distinct categories. First were reasons which were linked to the nature of the housing stock and housing requirements, the general ideas expressed being those of wanting to live in a smaller or more manageable home. In the case of some of the Worthing sample, they had been encouraged to look for an alternative home at a location some distance from their original home because of the lack of

suitable alternatives at that original location. Second were reasons which were limited to the wider environment, to themes of neighbourhood, of physical and climatic surroundings and of the general alternatives to living in a distinctively urban environment or in a residential-recreational environment (be it sea or countryside). Third were a number of motivations which were quite specific in respect of reasons unconnected with the immediate matters of housing or type of area. These motivations related mostly to expressed priorities within the family network, and to distinctive individual preferences. There were also a number of respondents whose motivations did not fall readily into one of these three categories but which may be interpreted as spanning the categorisation. For example, a number of Worthing respondents moved for reasons of health, which may be interpreted as relating to both personal and environmental preferences.

Within these categorisations, migration or potential migration was of a partial or total displacement type. Environmental motivations tended towards a total displacement type of migration since environmental conditions generally become significantly different over a distance. This pattern was evident particularly among the Leicester 'potential' migrants since in all cases but two a change to a 'non-urban' environment was associated with locations outside of the county of Leicestershire. Housing linked motivations, however, inclined both to partial and total displacement migration. In the Leicester sample, all those giving housing-linked reasons specified alternative locations within the city. But, as was very obvious from the Worthing sample, there were many who specified housing-linked motivations, then participated in a total displacement migration.

With regard to the link between migration and adjustment, certain conclusions may be noted. First, that the possibility of resolving dissonance in environmental parameters will usually be achieved only by a total displacement migration. This is not to imply that it may not create dissonance with regard to other parameters, although if environmental

dissonance is the dominant imbalance the chances of this happening will probably be less. In these circumstances, migration may indeed be an agent of adjustment. Second, housing-linked dissonance may be resolved by either partial or total displacement migration, and in this sense migration will be an agent for adjustment. The matter of which type of migration is most appropriate for the individual will depend upon many other parameters and their relationship with the total pattern of adjustment and activity, since there is the possibility of creating dissonance in other parameters by an inappropriate move. Where migration has occurred for specific reasons, the fulfilling of that primary motivation probably restores equilibrium to what might have been an area of major dissonance, but it may also be that dissonance may have existed in other parameters prior to migration and may continue to exist after migration. Whatever strategy of adjustment is appropriate to individual cases, this chapter has concluded that 'retirement migration' has certain distinctive categories of motivation, and that the act of migration itself may be part of the process of adjustment for some elderly migrants.

CHAPTER 8. MIGRATION, RETIREMENT AND PATTERNS OF FAMILY CONTACT

I. Family Relations in Retirement

Having examined the nature of mobility and its underlying motivations within the study populations, this study turns to an analysis of the familial and social environments of the study populations which in turn contribute to the degree of residential adjustment within the individual household.

Certain ideas concerning the nature of family associations and expectations within retirement were summarised briefly in Chapter 2, and it is apposite that three areas of discussion be expanded before considering the study populations in detail. Fundamental to the discussion is the nature of the relationships between members of the family and the role which is taken on by, if not allocated to, the elderly. In addition, consideration must be given to the theme of continuity of contact between parents and kin in the light of what is described as the demise of the extended family, and to what might be termed 'distancing concepts' between different members of the family, that is to say the role of social and spatial distances in influencing familial behaviour and expectations.

"The most fundamental of social roles in retirement and old age is that of relationships within the family."¹ There is no question that the last century has witnessed dramatic changes within the nature of the family and of the inter-relationships between the generations. Several factors have contributed to these changes, notably the wide emphasis on the 'sovereignty' of the conjugal family and the implementation of retirement as a social policy with the implication that the retirement years are not merely a postscript to life, a reward for good health, but are a substantial part of life itself to be lived and not simply endured. At the broadest level

1. Chapter 2, p. 45.

"social ageing is a process of re-differentiation and re-integration of social roles and functions"² and, whether or not these newly discovered roles are the result of an imposition from society or are wholly self-accepted, they influence the whole of life itself in general and relationships within the family in particular.

"Since society has not yet provided adequately for all of our aged there is a gap between the expectation and reality (of intra-familial contacts) leading to role conflict among parents and children."³ The point of conflict between expectation and reality is the point at which the fundamental nature of inter-generational familial relations is being redefined. Whether or not the expectation is for the elderly to become dependent on younger children and kin, there is research evidence to show that non-dependent elderly people are better adjusted than the dependent elderly.⁴ There is evidence also that "social isolation produces feelings of neglect only when there exists an expectation for close parent-child contact!"⁵ As has been noted, the tensions and the feelings of neglect within the elderly population may be the result of pressures generated by the social structure which are quite divorced from individual motivations and desires.

While highlighting the potential for role conflict between the generations, it must be affirmed that the very existence of family and friends implies emotional attachments for the individual irrespective of changing social norms, and that while family structures may change children remain

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2. B. Kutner: 'The Social Nature of Ageing', Gerontologist, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1962, p. 8.
 3. L. N. Glasser: 'Role Reversal and Conflict between Aged Parents and their Children', Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24, 1962, p. 50.
 4. A. F. Gravatt: 'Family Relations in Middle and Old Age: A Review', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 8, 1953, p. 199.
 5. R. G. Brown: 'Family Structure and Social Isolation in Older Persons', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 15, April 1960, p. 179.

the primary reference group for the elderly, albeit at a greater distance.⁶ The general research conclusions are that "family solidarity is not adversely affected by social mobility"⁷ and that where neighbours may, under certain conditions, be used as substitutes for children, it is only in a social, interactional sense.⁸ Emotional dependency normally resides with the family.

Patterns of intergenerational contact are brought into sharp focus in the retirement years although, in many senses, both parties treat such matters in terms of an 'informal review' rather than a fundamental and conscious re-assessment. (The specific question of help given by children to very elderly parents is a related but distinctively different matter for discussion and will not be considered here.) There is general agreement that the primary occasion for re-assessment of familial relations is in the years immediately after a child's marriage.⁹ Patterns of mutual help are established on a moderate scale after marriage but it is the children rather than the parents who require most social adjustment after the event.¹⁰ Joint-living between parents and children is increasingly an infrequent occurrence and some researchers have indicated that this pattern reflects the attitude of older people themselves.¹¹

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6. I. Rosow: Social Integration of the Aged, New York, Free Press, 1967, p. 242.
 7. G. F. Streib: 'Family Patterns in Retirement', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 14, Part 2, 1958, p. 60.
 8. I. Rosow: op cit., p. 244.
 9. See, for example, M. B. Sussman: 'The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, 1953.
 10. idem: 'Activity Patterns of Post-parental couples and their Relationship to family continuity', *Marriage and Family Living*, Vol. 17, 1955, pp. 388 - 41.
 11. L. Rosenmayer and E. Kochneis: 'Propositions for a Sociological Theory of Ageing and the Family', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1963, pp. 410 - 426. The study, and conclusions, were confined to middle-class Americans.

If marriage and retirement as occasions of social distancing produce a re-assessment of family relations, then it might be thought that migration as a factor of spatial distancing would be a third factor of significance. One study, however, concluded that retired migrants tend to be those who are least likely to realise a disruption in family ties by their actions,¹² a conclusion which has been reflected in other studies. Several writers have maintained that the spatial element in the maintenance of family relations is unimportant, as is the break-up of the extended family. Shanas is representative of much research and opinion when she writes that "physical distance is only a minor problem in contemporary society", and continues that "although living apart, the generations maintain contact and exchange mutual services: 'intimacy' at a distance rather than isolation".¹³

Central to the discussion of these distancing concepts is the trend evident during the past decades of a growing dissolution of the extended family and the concomitant emphasis on the conjugal family as the normal unit of family organisation. While this development cannot be doubted, the notion that it has led to isolation between members of the family has been strongly refuted.¹⁴ The tendency, it is argued, is for children to settle in the vicinity of their parents' home, and a typical attitude among the elderly themselves is to express a wish to maintain some distance but not to be isolated.¹⁵ The most satisfactory arrangement for living, therefore, is that of the elderly maintaining their own home in the vicinity of their children.¹⁶ The consensus of research opinion indicates that, though physically separated to a greater or lesser extent, close ties between

12. 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, p. 92.

13. E. Shanas and P. Townsend: Old People in Three Industrial Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968, p. 286.

14. L. Rosenmayer and E. Kochneis: op cit., p. 413.

15. ibid., p. 418.

16. ibid., p. 419.

parents and children may be maintained by mutual affection and some measures of dependence,¹⁷ termed by Rosow 'extended family cohesion'.¹⁸

A more conceptual pattern of family concepts has been developed by Bott with the idea of "external social relationships of all families assuming the form of a network rather than the form of an organised group",¹⁹ and the network analogy may be extended to patterns of contact within the wider family. The network (see Figure 8 (1)) consists of component units, or nodes (represented in this study by the respondents and the individual members of their wider families), and the links or connections between the nodes (here represented by varying styles and frequency of communication). Two subsidiary themes to this concept are important, namely that the network does not demand a common boundary for all the component units and that there can be, and is, considerable variation in the connectedness of different family networks.

Since Bott first advanced her thesis, numerous studies have extended and refined the concept of the network as a model of description and explanation. In particular, Mitchell has distinguished between the 'morphological' criteria in the network (which he identifies with concepts such as anchorage, reachability, density and range) and the 'interactional' criteria in the network (embracing content, directedness, durability, intensity and frequency of contacts).²¹ The degree of 'connectedness' of

17. R. G. Brown: op cit., p. 173.

18. I. Rosow: op cit., p. 22.

19. E. Bott: 'Urban Families, Conjugal Roles and Social Networks', *Human Relations*, Vol. 8, Part 4, 1965, p. 347. The first major publication on the network was her Family and Social Network, London, Tavistock, 1957.

20. See, for example, J. C. Mitchell (Ed.): Social Networks in Urban Situations, Manchester, University Press, 1969 and J. Boissevain and J. C. Mitchell (Eds.): Network Analysis; Studies in Human Interaction, Monton, The Hague, 1973. These books, both consisting of numerous papers, cover various aspects of the development of network theories, and empirical studies.

21. J. C. Mitchell: 'The Concept and Use of Social Networks', in J. C. Mitchell: op cit., p. 1 - 50.

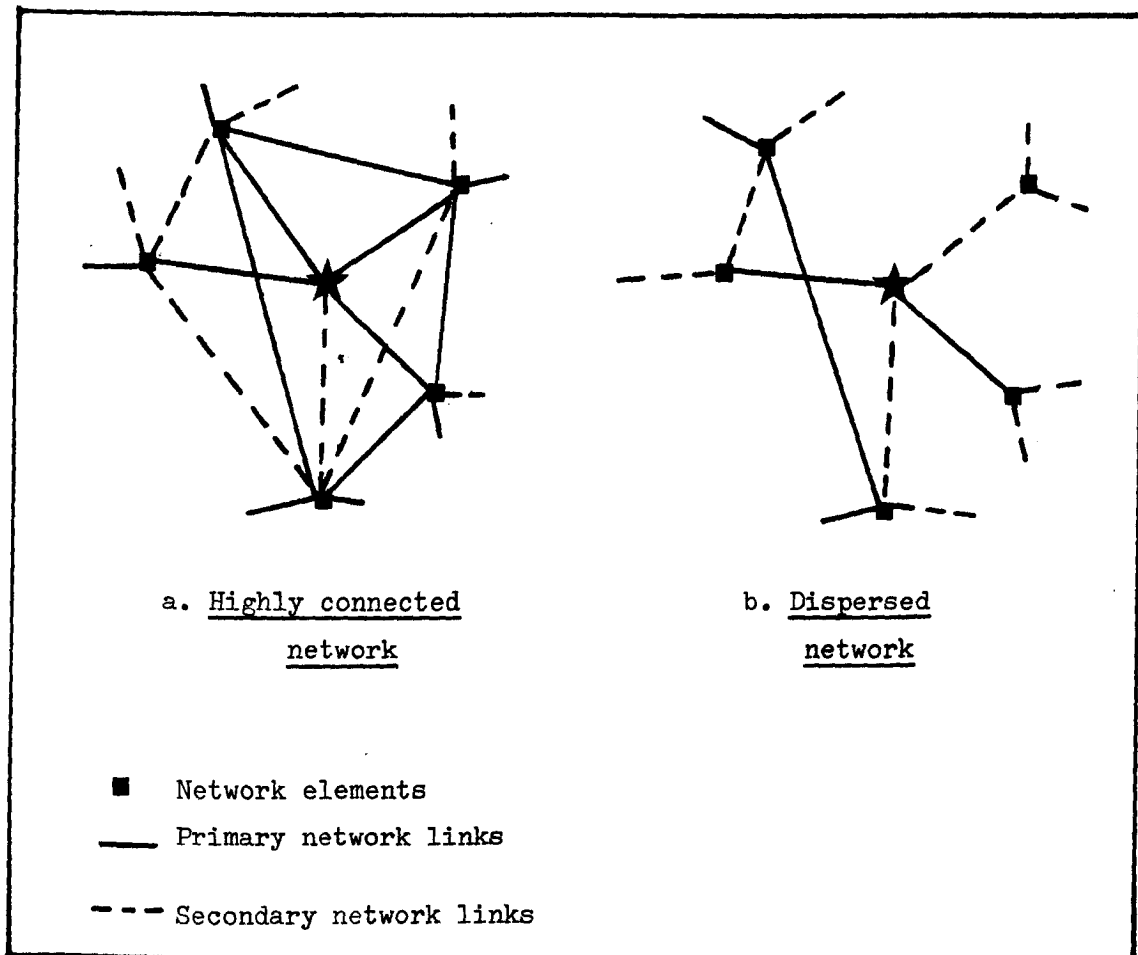


Figure 8 (1) The Network of Family Relationships
(after Bott)

the network has alternatively been referred to as the 'density' of the network,²² and a study by Turner²³ supported the suggestion of Bott that one of the factors most closely related to network density is geographic mobility. The general structure of the network, as proposed by Bott, has generally been supported in recent studies, and her basic concepts are those adopted here as a metaphor or analogy for examining the structure and extent of family contacts among the study populations.

The inter-relationships between society, changing societal norms, and individual family expectations and practices are complex. This brief discussion has merely highlighted the major themes against which the family contexts of the study populations were approached and forms the foundation upon which the discussion may build.

II. Family Contacts in the Study Populations

a. General Considerations

It has been noted that for the elderly, continued relations with the family are not only desirable but usual. The basic family patterns of inter-generational contact are established not at the time of retirement but usually in the months and years following the event of children's marriage. Nevertheless, questions remain as to the actual nature and extent of family contact after retirement. Certainly a 'help' system exists within families to cope with times of need. These are the times of exception rather than routine, and there is a very much more basic pattern of contact to be exposed.

The survey populations were asked the significance of the family within the daily pattern of life:²⁴ "How important is it to you that you live near

22. T. Cubitt: 'Network Density among Urban Families', in J. Boissevain and J. C. Mitchell; op cit., pp. 67 - 68.

23. C. Turner: 'Conjugal Roles and Social Networks', Human Relations, Vol. 20, 1967, pp. 121 - 131.

24. For the format of this, and other, questions, see the questionnaire schedule in Appendix IV.

to your children and/or other relatives so that you can visit them or they visit you regularly?" The question was phrased in recognition that it is generally the elderly who have the freedom to choose to live near their children rather than vice-versa, since work-location constraints normally operate on the children. The response to this simple measure is tabulated in Table 8 (1).

Across the range of responses, no significant difference was found in the variations between the two study areas. The modal response in each case was a category of moderate affirmation - "quite important" - with 41.2% and 45.7% of the Worthing and Leicester samples respectively. Very few respondents either did not know how to respond (about 1% in both areas) or did not have any living relatives (7.8% and 4.3% in Worthing and Leicester respectively). Given the assumption that family relations of some kind - however distant - are regarded as an important part of vesting life with some meaning, these latter figures revealed a not insubstantial minority for whom there was not only no family contact but for whom there was no possibility of such contact even at times of need, and for whom dependency must rest entirely within a wider circle of friends and acquaintances, if anywhere.

Within the three major categories of response - "very important", "quite important" and "not important" - there was significant variation (.01) between the two study populations. Over one third of the Leicester sample (34.8%) considered the matter "very important" together with just under one quarter (24.5%) of the Worthing sample. For over one quarter (25.5%) of the Worthing sample the matter was "not important at all", more than double the proportion of this response in Leicester (12.3%). It would appear, therefore, that the proximity of family was consciously a less important matter for the Worthing than the Leicester sample.

The question must be asked as to whether this was a difference reflective of attitudes between various socio-economic groups or whether it was a

Table 8 (1) "How important is it to you that you live near to your children and/or other relatives so that you can visit them or they visit you regularly?"

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Very important	25	24.5	48	34.8
Quite important	42	41.2	63	45.7
Not important at all	26	25.5	17	12.3
Don't know	1	1.0	2	1.4
No relatives living	8	7.8	6	4.3
Inadequate response	0	-	2	1.4
Total	102	100.0	138	99.9

Chi-square: 9.28. Not significant

reflection of wider cultural factors of which mobility differentials were a part. Table 8 (2) summarises the patterns of response within each of the socio-economic groupings in each of the study populations. Within socio-economic groups 4 and 5 there was little difference in the pattern of response between the two study areas, but groups 2 and 3, however, showed marked variation in response. Within group 3, the Leicester response was predominantly one of moderate assent to the statement of "quite important" by almost one half of the respondents (35) with 19 respondents regarding the matter as 'very important'. In contrast, the pattern among the Worthing sample was very much more even between the three main responses, that is, there was a greater stress on 'very important' than in Leicester. Within group 2 the pattern was reversed with a modal Leicester response of

Table 8 (2) Importance of family contact - within
socio-economic groups.

Response:

	<u>Very</u> <u>important</u>	<u>Quite</u> <u>important</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>important</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>No</u> <u>relatives</u> <u>living</u>
<u>S.E.G. 1.</u>					
Worthing	1	4	5		
Leicester	1	2			
<u>S.E.G. 2.</u>					
Worthing	4	17	8		4
Leicester	10	6	1	1	2
<u>S.E.G. 3.</u>					
Worthing	14	13	10	1	2
Leicester	19	35	12		3
<u>S.E.G. 4/5</u>					
Worthing	2	1	1		1
Leicester	8	8	3		
<u>S.E.G. 'other'</u>					
Worthing	4	7	2		1
Leicester	10	12	1	1	1
Totals:					
Worthing (%)	25 (24.5)	42 (41.2)	26 (25.5)	1 (1.0)	8 (7.8)
Leicester (%)	48 (34.8)	63 (45.7)	17 (12.3)	2 (1.4)	6 (4.3)

'very important' and modal Worthing response of 'quite important'. Within group 1, for which the total numbers were very small, the most significant feature of the response was that for one half of the Worthing sample family proximity was not important at all, while for the very few respondents in Leicester, all expressed the matter as being 'very' or 'quite' important. The tentative conclusions to be drawn from these replies are that within the largely migratory population of Worthing, there appeared to be an inverse relationship between socio-economic class and importance of family contact, while among the Leicester population no certain conclusions can be drawn although the evidence tended to point the other way towards a direct relationship between these factors, particularly in socio-economic groups 1, 2 and 3. These findings echo previous research findings in the United States, that those who move are those who are least likely to disrupt family ties.²⁵

These findings were amplified by examining the 'mean score' of family importance within each of the socio-economic groups (Table 8 (3)). The mean score of the Leicester respondents in each group was lower than that of the Worthing respondents, signifying that family proximity was more important in Leicester than in Worthing. Furthermore, the measures of standard deviation and variance within each group were less in Leicester than in Worthing, with the exception of group 2, where the Worthing response clustered within the categories of 'quite important' and 'not important'.

The responses were also examined with respect to evidence of a possible relationship between the stated importance of family contact and the survey adjustment score, but no definite relationship was apparent in either Worthing or Leicester. In both areas, the most distinctive feature of the tabulation was that, while among those for whom family contact was 'not important' the modal scores on adjustment were close to the sample averages, those for whom family contact was 'quite' or 'very' important registered adjustment scores well above the sample average. There was a trend, therefore,

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

Table 8 (3). Importance of family contact:
Summary Statistics.

WORTHING

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>
S.E.G. 1.	2.40	.22	.70	.49
S.E.G. 2.	2.48	.19	1.12	1.26
S.E.G. 3.	2.10	.17	1.08	1.17
S.E.G. 4 - 5.	2.40	.75	1.67	2.80
S.E.G. 'other'	2.07	.29	1.07	1.18

LEICESTER

S.E.G. 1.	1.67	.33	.58	.33
S.E.G. 2.	1.95	.29	1.32	1.73
S.E.G. 3.	2.03	.11	.92	.85
S.E.G. 4 - 5.	1.74	.17	.73	.54
S.E.G. 'other'	1.84	.20	.99	.97

towards a direct relationship between perceived importance of family contact and the survey adjustment score, but it was a trend which found no statistical verification.

Further investigation queried the basic level of family contact during the decade prior to the interview, a period which, for most respondents, extended back to a time prior to retirement. As has been indicated, previous research findings point towards the fact that, while retirement brought about a re-assessment and possible re-alignment of roles between husband and wife, the basic level of interaction within the family is

unaffected by the event.²⁶ This general pattern was found to be evident in both survey populations (Table 8 (4)). Over half the respondents indicated that family contact had remained 'about the same' during the decade (56.9% in Worthing and 61.6% in Leicester). Nearly one quarter of the Worthing sample (23.5%) and 17.4% of the Leicester sample had witnessed a decline in family contacts during the same period, figures which included some respondents (particularly in Worthing) for whom the last surviving relatives had died during the decade. In contrast, the proportion of those respondents increasing their contact during the decade was more marked in Leicester (19.6%) than in Worthing (13.7%). Two points, in particular, should be noted from these findings. First, that the Worthing population was generally concerned less about family contacts than the Leicester sample (see Table 8 (1)), and that this conclusion was supported by responses to both the relevant survey questions. Second, that among the Worthing sample who moved into the study area and were not within daily reach of family members, there was no opening for them in a developing informal family network with advancing age, as was the case among Leicester residents who had members of their family residing within the city. Migration has the effect of restricting choice for many, or more strictly, non-migration allows the various options and possibilities of changing family relationships to remain open to developments.

The variations in response to this issue of family contact were not statistically significant, nor were there any significant differences to be noted arising from the effects of social class. Social groups 4 and 5 were the only classes to show a marked difference in response between the study areas (none of the four respondents in Worthing showing any increase in family contact while 6 (24%) of the 19 Leicester responses indicated an

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

Table 8 (4) Contact with members of the family during the past 10 years.

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Increased	14	13.7	27	19.6
About the same	58	56.9	85	61.6
Decreased	24	23.5	24	17.4
Inadequate response	6	5.9	2	1.4
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.0	138	100.0
Chi-square: 2.39. Not significant				

increase).

In relating change in family contact to the survey adjustment score, there was no statistically significant pattern of association. In Worthing, however, there was a slight emphasis on increasing family contact associating with a higher than average sample adjustment score. This would tend to support the idea that the family continues to be, and in some cases increases in being, the root reference point for emotional dependency in advancing age, and that where these relationships are sustained and increased, then more balanced adjustment is normally achieved.

b. An Index of Family Contact.

The discussion has identified certain characteristics of contact within the families of the study populations with two general measures of attitude and family contact during the years prior to the survey, indicating a general similarity between the populations, although variations were apparent. The investigation was extended to examine different types of contact

between individual members of the family and the frequency with which they occurred. By 'different types of contact' is meant whether communication was by means of letter, a telephone call, a personal visit of a few hours (such as might be made by family members living nearby), or a personal visit of a few days involving an overnight stay in the home. The nature of the contact was related not only to the closeness of family affections and emotional dependency, but also to the physical distances between members of the family. (The relationship between distance and the frequency of individual contacts will be examined later in this chapter.)

A composite score indicating the general level of family contact was derived for each respondent; each was asked to list all members of their family whom they regarded as 'close' (emotionally), the relationship (brother, daughter, etc.) and the place of residence in each case. The definition of 'close' was left to the individual respondent, since the attachment between two spinster sisters may be much greater than that between two sisters who each have several children and grandchildren - it is for the individual to determine the boundary of their extended family. The second stage of the response was to indicate the frequency (daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, occasionally, never) with which contact was made with the members of the family in respect of the four defined styles of communication. In the analysis, the frequency of contact was scored from 'daily' (score 5) down to 'never' (score 0). The style of contact was also scored since it was thought that a personal visit of some kind was of greater significance in maintaining family contact than a telephone call or letter. The scores were, therefore: Personal visit = 4, Staying visit = 3, Telephone call = 2, Letter = 1. An 'index' of family contact was then derived as follows: A score for frequency of each type of contact for each family member mentioned was allocated, and then summed for each respondent, and the total score was divided between the number of family members mentioned. The resulting 'index' was an average score of family contact over all members

of the family mentioned and a range of styles of communication. This average was a better measure by which to study variations within the population than the aggregate score of contacts, since the aggregate scores were diverse in total and in composition. For example, the number of relatives mentioned ranged from zero to nine, and the aggregate score for individual respondents varied from zero to 167. In Worthing, the average number of family members mentioned was 3.69 per respondent, less than the 3.84 per respondent in Leicester, and the average index score of 42.59 in Worthing was less than the average of 48.53 in Leicester. The index itself, as mentioned, is multi-dimensional in that it reflects scores on the frequency with which different styles of contact are made with numerous relatives over an unlimited geographical area, and is thus an appropriate starting point for a detailed discussion of family inter-relationships. The index scores for the total survey populations are summarised in Table 8 (5).

In the Worthing sample population, the modal score was within the range 11 - 15, representing 27.4% of the total response in contrast with a modal score of 16 - 20 in Leicester for 24.6% of the population. Thus, 33.3% of the Worthing sample scored less than the sample mode, contrasted with 39.1% of the Leicester sample. 18.6% of the Worthing sample scored more than the sample mode, contrasted with 14.4% of the Leicester sample. Within the Worthing sample it can be seen that the group norm was for a peak in the distribution towards the lower end of the range of response (class mean 2.85) in contrast to a peak in the Leicester sample in mid-range (class mean 3.49). In further contrast, there was greater variance of response within the Worthing sample (1.95 : 1.49 in Leicester) and a heavier bias towards low index scores (Skewness .902 in Worthing, .270 in Leicester).

How can these findings best be interpreted? The general expression of attitudes towards the family and of family contact have been discussed and the measures of the index score in general amplify and confirm the earlier

Table 8 (5) Index of Family Contact

<u>Class</u>	<u>Index Score</u>	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1	1 - 5	13	12.7	3	2.2
2	6 - 10	21	20.6	22	15.9
3	11 - 15	28	27.4	29	21.0
4	16 - 20	10	9.8	34	24.6
5	21 - 25	4	3.9	14	10.1
6	26 - 30	3	2.9	5	3.6
7	30+	2	2.0	1	.7
Inadequate response/ 0		21	20.6	30	21.7

Total		102	99.9	138	99.8
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Chi-square: 22.37. Degrees of freedom: 6. Significance: .05.

<u>Type of Contact</u>		<u>Score</u>		<u>Frequency</u>
Letter	=	1	5	Daily
Telephone	=	2	4	Weekly
Staying visit	=	3	3	Monthly
Personal visit	=	4	2	Quarterly
			1	Occasionally
			0	Never

findings. The Worthing sample showed greater disinterest in the family, both in terms of attitude and of changing contact, than the Leicester sample which embraced the wider family more positively. The index, which reflects type and amount of contact between the respondents and their families, indicated that the Leicester sample did indeed sustain more regular and intense family associations than did those in Worthing. Furthermore, the measures of deviation and variance showed that the Worthing population were more diverse in the characteristics which they exhibited, in contrast with the more regular and consistent characteristics exhibited by the Leicester sample.

Investigations were made as to whether the variations in socio-economic class within the populations accounted for these differences or whether they were part of a wider pattern of circumstances. The index scores within each socio-economic group are shown in Table 8 (6), together with summary statistics of the distributions. First, it should be noted that within each socio-economic group the mean score of the Leicester respondents was consistently higher than that of the Worthing respondents, reflecting the overall pattern in each socio-economic group in turn. Second, that with the exception of S.E.G. 3, the standard deviation and variance within each group were greater for Worthing than for Leicester, again reflecting the overall pattern in minutae. Within S.E.G. 3 the standard deviations within each of the study areas were comparable, with the Leicester group .05 of a class group higher. Thus, it can be seen that the overall patterns of response between the study areas were reflected within each of the socio-economic groups in turn.

Further differences between the study populations were apparent when looking at each S.E.G. in turn. Within S.E.G.s 2 and 3, the general patterns were reflected, Leicester averaging scores of about 16 to 20 with Worthing averaging scores of 11 - 15. It should be noted that in group 3 the Leicester sample also had a considerable number of scores within the

Table 8 (6) Social class variations of the Family Index ScoreWORTHING

	<u>Index Score</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>1</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>2</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>3</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>4/5</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>'Other'</u>
1.	1 - 5	2	4	3	1	3
2.	6 - 10	2	10	7	1	1
3.	11 - 15	1	10	14		3
4.	16 - 20		1	7		2
5.	21 - 25	1	1	1	1	
6.	26 - 30	2			1	
7.	30+		1	1		
Inadequate Response/0		0	6	7	1	5
<hr/>						
Total		8	33	40	5	14

LEICESTER

	<u>Index Score</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>1</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>2</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>3</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>4/5</u>	<u>S.E.G.</u> <u>'Other'</u>
1.	1 - 5			2	1	
2.	6 - 10		5	10	2	5
3.	11 - 15	1	4	16	4	4
4.	16 - 20	1	8	16	5	4
5.	21 - 25	1	2	8	1	2
6.	26 - 30			4	1	
7.	30+				1	
Inadequate Response/0			2	13	5	10
<hr/>						
Total		3	21	69	20	25

Table 8 (6) continued

Social class variations of the Family Index Score:Summary statistics.

(Figures refer to class groups)

WORTHING

	<u>S.E.G. 1</u>	<u>S.E.G. 2</u>	<u>S.E.G. 3</u>	<u>S.E.G. 4/5</u>	<u>S.E.G. 'Other'</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>
Mean	3.25	2.59	3.0	3.50	2.44	2.85
Standard Error	.75	.25	.21	1.19	.41	.15
Standard Deviation	2.12	1.28	1.20	2.38	1.24	1.40
Variance	4.5	1.64	1.44	5.67	1.53	1.95

LEICESTER

Mean	4.0	3.37	3.54	3.67	3.20	3.49
Standard Error	.57	.23	.17	.40	.28	.12
Standard Deviation	1.0	1.01	1.25	1.54	1.08	1.22
Variance	1.0	1.02	1.56	2.38	1.17	1.49

lower range of values 6 to 15. These, however, did not affect the overall pattern of higher mean scores in the Leicester sample. It was within the groups at the extremes - S.E.G.s 4/5 on the one hand and S.E.G. 1 on the other - that the greatest differences lay. (The totals in certain of these groups were small so a note of caution should attend their interpretation.) In both groups, the Leicester samples found their mean score in the usual category of 16 - 20 index points. In Worthing, however, there was a total absence of response in this category and a polarisation towards the extremes with scores in the range of 1 - 10 index points and between 21 - 30 index

points. This was a feature of the response which the mean scores disguised.

An interpretation of this polarisation of the response is a little puzzling. Clearly, it was not a feature representative of simply being within those class groups, since the evidence from the Leicester sample was that those classes were aligned with the general pattern of response in all groups. It may be that, taken in conjunction with the factor of mobility, S.E.G. 1 in Worthing characterised certain fringes of behaviour and were a group for whom location had no bearing on the pattern of family life.

The 'extremes' within both study areas also registered lower 'mentions' of family members than the samples as a whole. In Worthing the average of groups S.E.G. 1 and S.E.G. 4/5 was 3.25 and 1.5 respectively, compared to a sample average of 3.69, and in Leicester groups S.E.G. 1 and S.E.G. 4/5 returned average mentions of 3.0 and 3.44 family members respectively, compared to a sample average of 3.84. If it was true that these groups registered low index scores, then it was also true that they were disadvantaged in having fewer family members with whom to make and sustain contact in the first instance.

c. The Network of Family Relations

The opening section of this chapter made note of the idea of the social relationships of the family assuming the form of a network rather than the form of an organised group, and the network analogy may be seen to be applicable to both external social relationships and patterns of contact within the extended family itself. For some individuals, there may be a recognised boundary to the potential network within the family if the number of living relatives are few (and in some cases no family network will exist if the individual is the lone surviving member), but, for many, there may be no definitive boundary to the network, especially where the range of the network includes, for example, distant cousins who may be far removed both geographically and genealogically. Whatever the network boundary,

however, the connectedness and levels of interaction between individuals within the network will vary both in style and degree.

Elements (or 'nodes') within the networks of the sample populations were identified according to the nature of the family relationship, e.g. son, daughter, brother, sister, parent. The styles of contact between the respondent and individual family members identified the nature of the network links, and the frequency of contact gave some measure of the strength, or weakness, of that link. A spatial element in the network was recognised by the probability of the style and degree of contacts often being a function of distance.

Within the network analogy, as applied to the study populations in Worthing and Leicester, three issues are central to the discussion: first, the degree of spatial concentration or dispersal of the network, as identified by the location of members of the wider family; second, the characteristics and 'elements' of the network as identified by individual family members; and third, the styles and frequency of contacts within the network. Together, these issues identify the basic patterns of family contact within the study populations and within sub-groups of the populations.

Spatial characteristics of the network. The extent to which family members maintain contact with each other is dependent upon many factors, the actual physical proximity between them being one of the strongest controlling influences. A local social network within a family may be heavily dependent upon that proximity, and when one member of the network moves away, contact between them and the other members of the network may be severely reduced. Within the family, however, the strength of relationships lies not only in mutual interests and common activities but also in the very nature of the familial tie, the fact that someone is 'of the same blood', and holds a distinctive role within the family hierarchy. Thus, while contact between family members may be reduced when great distances separate them, the contact may be resumed on a fairly intensive level if a move should restore

geographical proximity. The contacts which are maintained over a distance are usually those sustained by emotional dependency or family duty. The locational factor in the establishment of the family network, therefore, is one of great importance in determining whether integration into the family exists aside from the demands of emotional dependency, or whether that dependency is one of the central features of the life style of the elderly.²⁷

Within the sample populations of Worthing and Leicester, the total numbers of family members mentioned were 277 and 386 respectively, an average of 2.7 and 2.8 per respondent respectively. In totalling the responses, certain procedures were adopted. Where 'son' or 'daughter' was mentioned, for example, there was no problem in identifying the numbers involved. In many cases, however, the respondents used the form 'son and his family' or 'daughter and three children' and, in such cases, these were counted as one family member only, since the association for the respondent was to the whole of the nuclear family mentioned, and contact would generally be to the whole family rather than through a succession of individual contacts to each member. Exceptions to this pattern occurred when, for example, a grandson was mentioned who was living away from home and where contact with the respondent (grandparent) was shown to be on a more individual basis.

All family members mentioned by the sample populations were grouped within 50-mile bands around the respective study areas, producing a grouping of family members directly related to distance. One category was allocated to those family members resident within the respective study areas, and another category to family members overseas. Table 8 (7) summarises these groupings and shows a marked contrast in the patterns of kin-proximity. Over half the family members mentioned by the Leicester sample (50.8%) lived within the city boundaries, compared to only 14.4% of those mentioned by the Worthing respondents who lived within the Worthing Borough boundary. A further 22.3% of the Leicester family members lived within 50 miles, compared to nearly half of the Worthing family network (42.6% - a distance which, in

27. see page 366

Table 8 (7) Residential distances of family members
Percentage in each distance band

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Same location	40	14.44	196	50.78
Up to 50 miles	118	42.60	86	22.28
50 - 100 miles	45	16.25	42	10.88
100 - 150 miles	27	9.75	37	9.59
150 - 200 miles	10	3.61	2	0.52
200 - 250 miles	11	3.97	3	0.78
250 - 300 miles	2	0.72	1	0.26
Over 300 miles in G.B.	4	1.44	1	0.26
Overseas	20	7.22	18	4.66
<hr/>				
Total	277	100.0	386	100.01

the case of Worthing, included the outer suburbs of South London). Among both study populations, therefore, the majority of family members mentioned lived within 50 miles. With reference to Table 8 (7), however, it can be seen that the distribution within the 50 mile band showed marked contrast between the study areas, and that this distribution pattern was repeated among those family members who lived beyond the 50 mile limit. In Worthing, of a total of 42.96% beyond the 50 mile limit, a considerable proportion lived beyond 150 miles from the study area, whereas in Leicester, of a total

27. see page 365. 'Dependency' is here used in the behavioural sense of meaning 'security'; see, for example, A. K. Rice: Learning for Leadership, London, Tavistock, 1973, p. 12.

of 26.94% living beyond 50 miles, the majority were within the range of 50 to 150 miles.

The individual locations of family members are plotted on Figure 8 (2), a representation which serves to underline two major conclusions concerning the locational characteristics of the families of the study populations. First, the locational patterns exhibit a marked contrast between the families of the 'migratory' elderly in Worthing, and the elderly in Leicester who were characterised by residential stability, many of them living close to their birthplace. The elderly in Worthing, for the most part, had chosen to move to a location which was some distance from their families, although not so far that they were more than a few hours journey time.²⁸ The general pattern of stability exhibited by the Leicester respondents, however, would seem to have been adopted and perpetuated by their wider families, of whatever generation. The contrast in mobility patterns, therefore, would seem to characterise not only the study populations but also their wider family environment.

Secondly, whether migration had or had not occurred, there remained if not a local then a distinctively 'regional' orientation to the family network among both study populations, the majority of family members living within 50 miles of study areas. (Among the family members mentioned by the Leicester sample living more than 150 miles away, 18 of the 25 lived abroad.) For Worthing, a 50 mile band drew in Surrey and the southern areas of Greater London, but did not include central London nor anywhere west of the Solent. The orientation, therefore, was towards the central, southern areas

28. The majority of elderly naturally have to consider both distance-time and distance-cost in visiting or receiving visits from their family. One elderly respondent in Worthing stood aside from the normal response to these considerations by stating that her son, who lived and worked in Brussels, could be reached quicker by jet from Gatwick airport than if he lived in the Midlands!

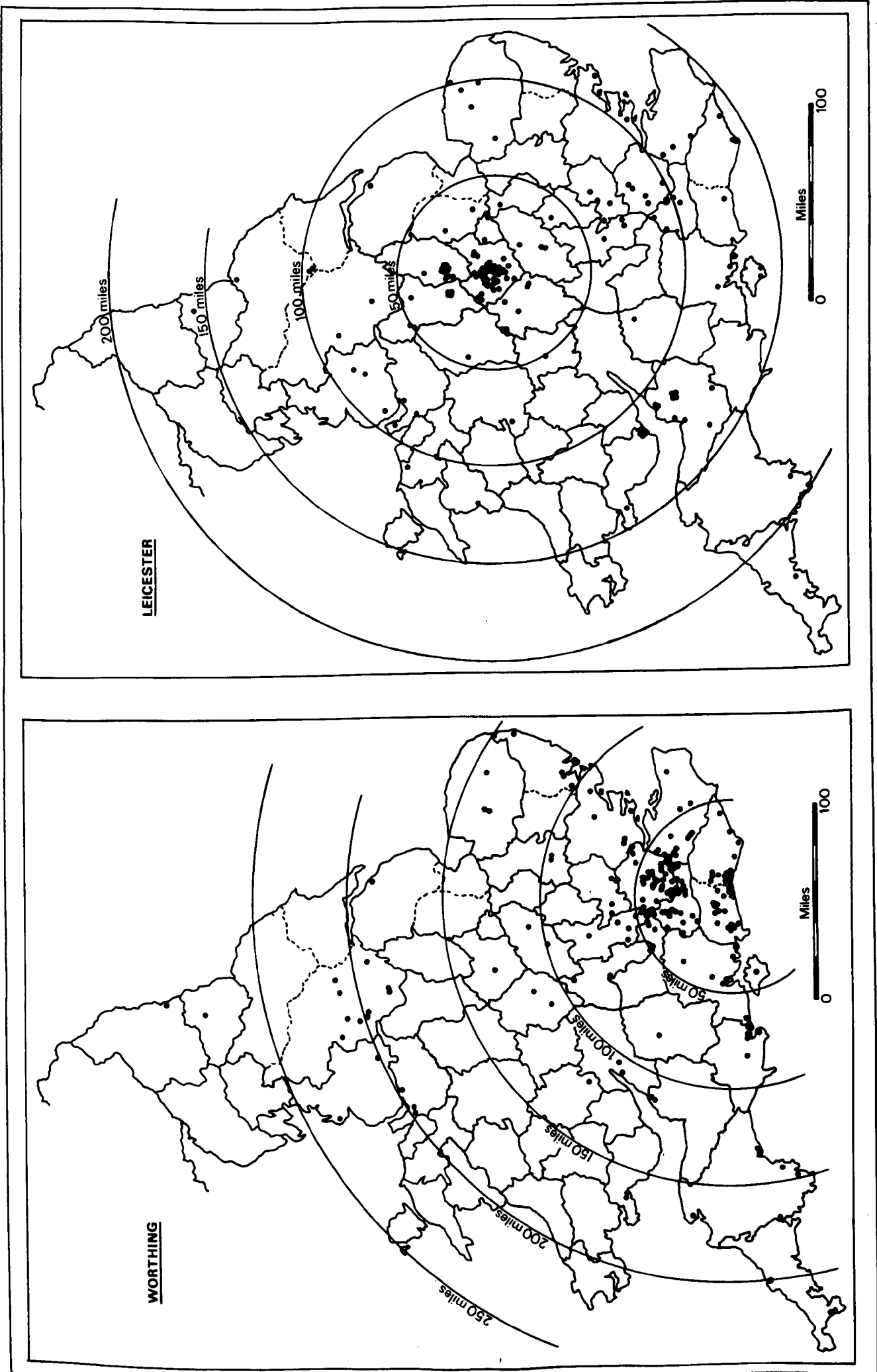


Figure 8 (2)

of the South East region. For Leicester, a 50-mile band gave an East Midlands orientation to the family network and also included places such as Nottingham, Coventry and Birmingham. In general, therefore, strong regional gravitational effects seemed to characterise the location of family members of the study populations.

Network elements. Having examined the basic spatial characteristics of the family network, an important issue concerns the type of family relation mentioned by the sample populations, and several aspects of this issue demand discussion. For example, did both study populations identify their own children as being the most important elements in the network, with a gradation through the family hierarchy of kin, to brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces? Where there were differences between the study populations and their sub-groups in the elements of the family network so identified, what characterised those differences?

Table 8 (8) summarises the totals of contacts with each type of family relation mentioned in each of the study areas. In Worthing, a total of 267 family members were mentioned, an average of 2.6 per respondent, virtually identical to the 2.8 average in Leicester derived from a total of 394 family members mentioned. Closer examination of Table 8 (8) reveals some similarities between the study populations in the pattern of family members mentioned, but with certain distinctive differences. First, as would be expected, sons and daughters were numerous among those mentioned, comprising 35.65% in Worthing and 42.6% in Leicester. Sons mentioned formed a similar proportion of the total in both areas: 21.0% in Worthing and 19.5% in Leicester. Daughters, on the other hand, formed 23.1% of the Leicester response, almost double the 14.6% of the Worthing response. This was a peculiarity which had no apparent immediate explanation. (There is some evidence that in the years following the First World War, when some of the respondents were beginning their families, the birth rate of males in relation to females increased, as a kind of natural adjustment to the loss

Table 8 (8) Family relation types of the sample populations:
total mentions.

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Son	56	21.0	77	19.5
Daughter	39	14.6	91	23.1
Brother	61	22.8	84	21.3
Sister	78	29.2	112	28.4
Grandchild	8	2.99	1	0.3
Nephew/Niece	11	4.1	21	5.3
Parent	4	1.5	1	0.3
Cousin	9	3.4	5	1.3
Other	1	0.4	2	0.5
<hr/>				
Total	267	99.9	394	99.5
<hr/>				

of males during the war. This may be part of the explanation in this case, but there would be no reason to expect the variation that was apparent between the two study populations.)

The second most notable feature concerned the high numbers of brothers and sisters within the total sample population responses. In Worthing these accounted for 52% of the response, and in Leicester, 49.7%. These responses were indicative of a number of factors, particularly the changing structure of the family through the twentieth century, and the fact that many of the respondents were members of large families and then, in their own turn, had comparatively fewer children. Within the family network, despite a growing emphasis on the dominance of the nuclear family, it would

seem that a heavy emphasis remained on family members of the same generation remaining an integrated part of the network.

The third most notable distinction between the sample populations concerned those more 'distant' members of the network such as grandchildren, nephews and nieces. The higher proportion (12.3%) in the Worthing response, (compared to 7.7% in the Leicester response), may indicate one or more of several explanations. It may be that the Worthing sample identified with more distant relatives as a compensation for having less children or that within the more mobile structure of the Worthing respondents' life-style, more distant relatives became a more important component of the total extended family network. Within the Leicester sample, family contacts were more informal within a smaller geographic area, and it may be that, in a population characterised by stability, distance was more important in determining the threshold and the boundaries of significant family contact networks than in a 'mobile' Worthing sample, for whom distance was less of an obstacle.

In response to the question raised by the comparative absence of daughters among the Worthing sample, the research data was examined for evidence of respondents who did not have any children. The total childless numbered 43 (42.2%) of the Worthing sample and 38 (27.5%) of the Leicester sample. Among the Worthing sample in particular this was a fairly high proportion of the response. The contribution of family and kin to the life-style of the elderly is frequently taken for granted. It is often the elderly who are childless who may not have access to or be part of an informal network of family care and help in old age, and who contribute most to the substance of problems of social care and loneliness.

Naturally, some of the childless respondents were single, unmarried elderly people. This category contained 20 and 22 respondents in Worthing and Leicester respectively. The total numbers of married childless respondents, therefore, were 23 (22.5%) in Worthing and 16 (11.6%) in Leicester.

The Worthing figure was nearly a quarter of the total sample and almost double the proportion of the Leicester sample. One can only speculate on the extent to which social class, mobility and childlessness are independent factors with a high degree of correlation, and therefore factors with significant implications for the development of social policy for the elderly. Conversely, there may be an extent to which mobility and patterns of family help provide vital roles for the elderly at an informal level.

The distance factor also was examined in respect of the individual family members mentioned to determine whether any significant patterns emerged. The findings are summarised in Table 8 (9). Major differences were apparent between the types of family member mentioned as living within the study areas. In Leicester, the largest single category was provided by an aggregate of sons and daughters, total of 93, with brothers and sisters ranking second (89) and others 9. In Worthing, however, the dominant category of response in respect of family members within the study area was provided by brothers and sisters with 28 mentions, substantially above sons and daughters with 9 mentions. As was noted in Chapter 7, some Worthing respondents moved to the town to live with brothers and sisters in retirement, but this factor did not account for the total pattern of response.

Within distance band two (up to 50 miles) the same pattern of response was maintained in Worthing, with brothers and sisters totalling 55, and sons and daughters, 40. This pattern was also reflected in the Leicester response, with brothers and sisters totalling 49, and sons and daughters 29. In distance band three (50 - 100 miles) the pattern was reversed in respect of both study areas, sons and daughters forming the dominant category of response. In distance band four (100 - 150 miles) the pattern was again reversed in favour of brothers and sisters in both study areas.

Within distance bands five to nine (above 150 miles), sons and daughters formed the dominant category of response in both areas, with total mentions of 19 and 16 in Worthing and Leicester respectively. Brothers

Table 8 (9) Locations of family membersWORTHING

	<u>Same place</u>	<u>Less than 50 miles</u>	<u>50-100 miles</u>	<u>100-150 miles</u>	<u>150+ miles</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Son	5	21	15	5	10	56
Daughter	4	19	5	2	9	39
Brother	8	29	9	18	7	61
Sister	20	26	10	12	10	78
Grandchildren		4		2	2	8
Nephew/niece		7	2		2	11
Parent		1	2		1	4
Cousin	1	5	1		2	9
Other		1				1
<hr/>						
Total	38	113	44	29	43	267

LEICESTER

	<u>Same place</u>	<u>Less than 50 miles</u>	<u>50-100 miles</u>	<u>100-150 miles</u>	<u>150+ miles</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Son	48	12	8	2	7	77
Daughter	45	17	17	3	9	91
Brother	37	21	3	20	3	84
Sister	52	28	8	19	5	112
Grandchildren	1					1
Nephew/niece	5	4	5	6	1	21
Parent	1					1
Cousin	2			3		5
Other		1		1		2
<hr/>						
Total	191	83	41	54	25	394

and sisters received 17 and 8 mentions in Worthing and Leicester respectively. Within this distance band it was also of note that the Worthing respondents identified 7 'other' relatives, including grandchildren, cousins, nephews, nieces and parents, contrasted with only one such response from the Leicester sample. This would appear to endorse the suggestion that the wider extended family network was of greater significance for the Worthing sample, as a whole, than for the Leicester sample among whom a denser, closer-knit family network was revealed. This characteristic of 'intimacy at a distance' would seem to be the consequence not only of extensive mobility patterns among the wider family,²⁹ but also of the elderly as a group having fewer immediate kin (sons, daughters), thus reducing the emotional distance between themselves and their more 'distant' relatives ('distant' in terms of both genealogy and geography).

Styles of Contact: network links. The index of family contact, discussed earlier in this chapter, incorporated four types of personal contact between the elderly respondents and individual members of their families. Within the descriptive framework of the network these may be described as the links and flows between the respondent (at the hub of the network) and the elements or nodes (family members) of the network. The links exist by nature of the relationship, but the strengths or weaknesses of the links vary according to the individual. The forces generating interfamilial contact and communication are complex, being a reflection of personality, of family history, of particular relationships of strength that have been built up over the years, of relationships which exist as a result of inertia from the past rather than the presence of genuine personal emotion, and those which are a tangible expression of love and

29. This conclusion is consistent with that cited by C. Turner: op cit., and E. Bott: op cit., that residential mobility is an important factor in determining the density or connectedness of the family network.

personal affection between individuals who share a 'blood-tie'. In identifying the frequency of certain types of family contact, one is outlining the patterns of activity involved and no attempt is made to probe beneath these patterns to determine the specific motivations and causes of individual cases.

The four styles of contact examined were letter, telephone, a visit of a few hours and a staying visit. A more accurate and detailed determination of the patterns of family contact could be achieved by a longitudinal study, perhaps of a 'diary-type' over several weeks. The questions posed during the survey work in Worthing and Leicester did contain their limitations, but it should be remembered that the object of these questions was, within the context of mobility among the elderly, that some preliminary and exploratory attempt should be made to determine contrasting or similar patterns of family contact within samples of 'migratory' and 'non-migratory' elderly.

Tables 8 (10) and 8 (11) summarise the basic responses of the two sample populations within the four categories of contact, related to frequency of contact. The absolute number of occurrences within each category are shown in Table 8 (11). The predominant form of family contact cited in Leicester was through the medium of the telephone, accounting for 42% of all contacts mentioned, and the second most frequent style of contact mentioned was that by letter (27.9%). Among the Worthing sample telephone, letter and a staying visit all drew between 26% and 30% of the total response. In both study areas, minimum family contact was provided by a visit of a few hours.

In order to make comparisons between the sample populations more meaningful, the data was standardised to a total score of 1000 in each of the study areas. (Worthing: $558 = 1000$; Leicester: $624 = 1000$). Each individual response in Worthing thus took on a value of 1.79 and in Leicester 1.60. Tables 8 (12) and 8 (13) reproduce the scores in standardised form with respect to frequency and aggregate of family types. A word of caution

Table 8 (10) Styles and frequency of family contactWORTHING

	<u>VISIT</u>	<u>TELEPHONE</u>	<u>LETTER</u>	<u>STAY</u>
Occasionally	65	79	61	100
Quarterly	12	23	7	14
Monthly	11	23	17	28
Weekly		19	58	25
Daily		6	10	

Total contacts: 558

LEICESTER

	<u>VISIT</u>	<u>TELEPHONE</u>	<u>LETTER</u>	<u>STAY</u>
Occasionally	53	55	57	62
Quarterly	16	36	6	7
Monthly	6	39	13	20
Weekly	7	116	78	12
Daily	3	16	20	2

Total contacts: 624

Table 8 (11) Total of contact styles

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Visit (few hours)	88	15.8	85	13.6
Staying visit	167	29.9	103	16.5
Letter	153	27.4	174	27.9
Telephone	150	26.9	262	42.0
Totals	558	100.0	624	100.0

Table 8 (12) Styles and frequency of family contact
- Standardised scores.

WORTHING

	<u>VISIT</u>	<u>TELEPHONE</u>	<u>LETTER</u>	<u>STAY</u>
Occasionally	116	142	109	179
Quarterly	22	41	13	25
Monthly	20	41	30	50
Weekly		34	104	45
Daily		11	18	

Total scores: 1000

LEICESTER

	<u>VISIT</u>	<u>TELEPHONE</u>	<u>LETTER</u>	<u>STAY</u>
Occasionally	85	88	91	99
Quarterly	26	58	7	11
Monthly	10	63	21	32
Weekly	11	186	125	19
Daily	5	26	32	3

Total scores: 1000

Table 8 (13) Frequency of family contacts

WORTHING (Standardised scores)

	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	105.8	93.3	134.4	15.4	1.8	57.3	546.6
2. Quarterly	19.8	12.6	23.4	35.9		9.0	100.3
3. Monthly	48.4	32.3	17.9	37.6		5.4	141.6
4. Weekly	37.7	55.6	28.7	32.3	7.2	14.4	182.8
5. Daily	3.6	9.0	5.4	10.8			28.7
	215.0	202.6	209.6	277.8	9.0	86.1	1000

LEICESTER (Standardised scores)

	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	65.6	84.8	97.6	100.8		14.4	363.7
2. Quarterly	14.4	38.4	14.4	33.6		3.2	104.1
3. Monthly	24	44.8	24	30.4		1.6	125
4. Weekly	105.7	120.2	38.4	62.4		14.4	341.3
5. Daily	12.8	43.2	3.2	4.8	1.6		65.7
	222.7	331.7	177.9	232.4	1.6	33.6	1000

is demanded in the interpretation of these results. The scores are standardised to average out the number of occasions of contact mentioned. Clearly, a weekly or daily contact is of much greater significance to the individual than an occasional contact of perhaps once a year. Yet, as a summary of the patterns present within the two study populations, the scores do highlight the contrasts between the two.

Among the Worthing sample, primary family contact was between the respondents and their sisters (154.0), their brothers (134.4), their sons (105.8) and their daughters (93.3), all on an occasional basis, in that ranked order, and occasional contacts of all kinds accounted for over half (546.6) of all contacts mentioned. Sisters were the most frequently mentioned family member, followed by sons, brothers and daughters. In contrast, weekly contacts of various types accounted for only 18% of all contacts (182.8) mentioned, and these were more with children (93.3) than with brothers and sisters (61.0). At the daily level, contact with sisters was highest (10.8), above that of daughters (9.0).

In Leicester, the pattern of response revealed different trends to those shown in Worthing. Primary contacts mentioned were weekly contacts with daughters (120.2) and sons (105.7), followed by occasional contacts with sisters (100.8) and brothers (97.6). While occasional contacts were still dominant (total: 363.7), they were not as extensively dominant as in Worthing since weekly contacts also provided a third of all contacts (341.3). There was a strong bias towards contact with female relations among the Leicester sample, with contacts among family members ranking from daughters (331.7) through sisters (232.4) and sons (222.7) to brothers.

It was clear that the Worthing population was more isolated within its family networks than the Leicester population, which had more than 50% of its contacts monthly or more frequently. This feature of the response could be related directly to the type of individual family member mentioned by the study populations, the Worthing sample containing a much lower proportion of

children and closer kin than the Leicester sample, as well as to the locational differences between the two samples. The greatest contrast between the two samples occurred in the daily and weekly contacts of the respondents. In Leicester, these frequent contacts were mostly with children on a daily basis, a style of contact not found within the Worthing sample where weekly contacts were more the norm.

Drawing these characteristics together, it can be seen that the dominant styles of contact within the Worthing sample were occasional contacts with children, brothers and sisters, with a strong secondary group emphasising weekly or monthly contacts with children, while in Leicester, this pattern was reversed.

When the patterns associated with certain relatives were regrouped to align with styles of contact, these preliminary conclusions were confirmed (see Table 8 (14)). In Worthing, various styles of contact with sisters of the respondents were the dominant feature of the pattern, in contrast to contacts with daughters among the Leicester respondents. In Worthing, the emphasis was on forms of contact readily associated with distance - letters and stays - the exception, perhaps, being with regard to telephone calls to sisters, a category which ranked third and one which may be associated with the relatively high number of sisters resident in the study area. In Leicester, in contrast, the emphasis was on short-distance contacts, mostly telephone calls, to children first and then to brothers and sisters.

Drawing together the three elements of frequency, styles of contact and family members involved, it was possible to arrive at a basic ranking of contacts on a threefold scale (see Table 8 (15)). From a potential of 120 different contacts in each of the study areas, Table 8 (16) ranks the 'top twenty' contacts in both Worthing and Leicester. The general patterns revealed details similar to those discussed above, and certain conclusions may be noted in highlighting the contrasts between the two study areas. First, the frequency of contacts in Leicester was much more intensive than

Table 8 (14) Styles of Family Contact

Actual and Standardised Scores

WORTHING

	<u>VISIT</u>		<u>TELEPHONE</u>		<u>LETTER</u>		<u>STAY</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>
Sons	24	(43.0)	30	(53.8)	33	(59.1)	33	(59.1)
Daughters	26	(46.6)	26	(46.6)	31	(55.6)	30	(53.8)
Parents			2	(3.6)	1	(1.8)	2	(3.6)
Brothers	12	(21.5)	38	(68.1)	32	(57.3)	35	(62.7)
Sisters	26	(46.6)	40	(71.7)	41	(73.5)	48	(86.0)
Others			14	(25.1)	15	(26.9)	19	(34.0)

Total contacts = 558 (1000)

LEICESTER

	<u>VISIT</u>		<u>TELEPHONE</u>		<u>LETTER</u>		<u>STAY</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>(SS)</u>
Sons	17	(27.2)	62	(99.3)	41	(65.7)	19	(30.4)
Daughters	38	(60.9)	83	(133.0)	55	(88.1)	31	(49.7)
Parents			1	(1.6)				
Brothers	11	(17.6)	45	(72.1)	33	(52.9)	22	(35.3)
Sisters	19	(30.4)	61	(97.8)	38	(60.9)	27	(43.3)
Others			10	(16.0)	7	(11.2)	4	(6.4)

Total contacts = 624 (999.8)

Table 8 (15a) Three-fold ranking of family contacts
(Standardised Data)

<u>WORTHING</u>							
	<u>VISIT</u>						
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	26.9	32.3	19.7	37.6			116.5
2. Quarterly	9.0	5.4	1.8	5.4			21.5
3. Monthly	7.2	9.0		3.6			19.7
4. Weekly							
5. Daily							
	43.0	46.6	21.5	46.6			157.7
<u>TELEPHONE</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	28.7	21.5	35.8	34.0	1.8	19.7	141.6
2. Quarterly	9.0	7.2	9.0	14.3		1.8	41.2
3. Monthly	10.8	5.4	12.5	10.7		1.8	41.2
4. Weekly	1.8	10.8	7.2	10.7	1.8	1.8	34.1
5. Daily	3.6	1.8	3.6	1.8			10.8
	53.8	46.6	68.1	71.7	3.6	25.1	268.8
<u>LETTER</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	16.1	9.0	34.1	35.8		14.3	109.3
2. Quarterly			3.6	5.4		3.6	12.5
3. Monthly	12.5	3.6	1.8	12.5			30.5
4. Weekly	30.5	35.8	16.1	10.8	1.8	9.0	103.9
5. Daily		7.2	1.8	9.0			17.9
	59.1	55.6	57.3	73.5	1.8	26.9	274.2
<u>STAY</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	34.1	30.5	44.8	46.6		23.3	179.2
2. Quarterly	1.8		9.0	10.8		3.6	25.1
3. Monthly	17.9	14.3	3.6	10.8		3.6	50.2
4. Weekly	5.4	9.0	5.4	17.9	3.6	3.6	44.8
5. Daily							
	59.1	53.8	62.7	86.02	3.6	34.1	299.1

(Total score: 999.8)

Table 8 (15b) Three-fold ranking of family contacts
(Standardised Data)

LEICESTER

<u>VISIT</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	20.8	25.6	16.0	22.4			84.9
2. Quarterly	3.2	16.0	1.6	4.8			25.6
3. Monthly	1.6	6.4		1.6			9.6
4. Weekly	1.6	8.0		1.6			11.2
5. Daily		4.8					4.8
	27.2	60.9	17.6	30.4			133.2

<u>TELEPHONE</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	9.6	22.4	20.8	28.8		6.4	88.1
2. Quarterly	8.0	20.8	8.0	19.2		1.6	57.7
3. Monthly	9.6	19.2	17.6	16.0			62.5
4. Weekly	65.7	57.7	22.4	32.0		8.0	185.9
5. Daily	6.4	12.8	3.2	1.6	1.6		25.6
	99.4	133.0	72.1	97.8	1.6	16.0	419.9

<u>LETTER</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	16.0	14.4	33.6	22.4		4.8	91.3
2. Quarterly		1.6	3.2	4.8			9.6
3. Monthly	6.4	3.2	3.2	8.0			20.8
4. Weekly	36.8	46.5	12.8	22.4		6.4	125.0
5. Daily	6.4	22.4		3.2			32.1
	65.7	88.1	52.9	60.9		11.2	278.9

<u>STAY</u>							
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Occasionally	19.2	22.4	27.2	27.2		3.2	99.4
2. Quarterly	3.2		1.6	4.8		1.6	11.2
3. Monthly	6.4	16.0	3.2	4.8		1.6	32.1
4. Weekly	1.6	8.0	3.2	6.4			19.2
5. Daily		3.2					3.2
	30.4	49.7	35.3	43.3		6.4	165.1

(Total score = 1000.1)

Table 8 (16) Ranking of family contacts

<u>WORTHING</u>		Standardised score total		
<u>RANK</u>				
1.	Sisters	occasional	stay	46.6
2.	Brothers	occasional	stay	44.8
3.	Sisters	occasional	visit	37.6
4.	Daughters	weekly	letter	35.8
5.	Sisters	occasional	letter	35.8
6.	Brothers	occasional	telephone	35.8
7.	Brothers	occasional	letter	34.1
8.	Sons	occasional	stay	34.1
9.	Sisters	occasional	telephone	34.0
10.	Daughters	occasional	visit	32.3
11.	Sons	weekly	letter	30.5
12.	Daughters	occasional	stay	30.5
13.	Sons	occasional	telephone	28.7
14.	Sons	occasional	visit	26.9
15.	Others	occasional	stay	23.3
16.	Daughters	occasional	telephone	21.5
17.	Brothers	occasional	visit	19.7
18.	Others	occasional	telephone	19.7
19.	Sons	monthly	stay	17.9
20.	Sisters	weekly	stay	17.9

<u>LEICESTER</u>		Standardised score total	
Sons	weekly	telephone	65.7
Daughters	weekly	telephone	57.7
Daughters	weekly	letter	46.5
Sons	weekly	letter	36.8
Brothers	occasional	letter	33.6
Sisters	weekly	telephone	32.0
Sisters	occasional	telephone	28.8
Brothers	occasional	stay	27.2
Sisters	occasional	stay	27.2
Daughters	occasional	visit	25.6
Daughters	occasional	telephone	22.4
Sisters	occasional	letter	22.4
Daughters	daily	letter	22.4
Daughters	occasional	stay	22.4
Brothers	weekly	telephone	22.4
Sisters	weekly	letter	22.4
Sisters	occasional	visit	22.4
Sons	occasional	visit	20.8
Daughters	quarterly	telephone	20.8
Brothers	occasional	telephone	20.8

Leicester:- Total score = 600.3
(60.03% response)

"Top ten": total score = 381.1

Worthing:- Total score = 607.5
(60.75% response)

"Top ten": total score = 370.9

in Worthing, nine of the twenty top contacts in Leicester being of more than 'occasional' frequency compared to only four in Worthing. It should be noted, however, that despite this difference the top twenty contacts accounted for about 60% of all contacts mentioned in both study areas. Second, the styles of contact reflected the distances involved in the respective study areas. The use of the telephone and the 'occasional visit' were the more usual forms of contact among the Leicester sample, while the Worthing respondents indicated that the 'occasional stay' was a more usual form of contact. Third, primary contacts among the Leicester sample as a group were between the elderly respondents and their sons and daughters, while the more secondary contacts were with brothers and sisters. Among the Worthing sample population as a group, the pattern was reversed. It was also of note that among the Worthing sample population, contacts with daughters scored more favourably than contacts with sons, this despite a greater number of sons than daughters within the family networks. It is perhaps an indication that the links between females within a family network are generally stronger than between males.

III. Conclusions

This chapter has focused on some of the more fundamental questions of family contact and family cohesion within retirement. It has attempted, by the use of various indices of contact, to examine not only the style of contact between elderly people and their families but also the intensity of contact between individual members of those families. This latter factor has been related not only to distance but to what might be described as the 'competing accessibility' of kin, that is, the extent to which the opportunities for family contact are available and sustained in practice. Most elderly respondents in the sample populations gave indication of primary family contacts in whom family dependencies normally reside. Usually, this would be the closest living relative, or relatives, be they sister, daughter,

brother or nephew. With regard to distance, the closer the family the greater the likelihood there was of contact between them. An important factor also seemed to be that of whether or not the family were available for contact. Sons and daughters of the sample populations were often absorbed in their own family routines with responsibilities to their own children. Contact, therefore, was often greater between sample respondents and their brothers or sisters than with their own children. This pattern was reflected in the styles of contact employed. In Leicester, telephone calls and letters between respondents and children were the primary style of contact, whereas in Worthing, the most frequent style of contact was in the form of visits with brothers and sisters.

Knowledge of these different patterns of primary contact was augmented by the findings that frequency of contacts were more intensive in the stable, non-migratory population of Leicester than in Worthing, and that, as expected, the distance factor did reflect the styles of contact employed. The concept of family contacts forming a network, with network elements, links and boundaries, was found helpful in distinguishing various components of the variations between and within the study populations.

Differences between the study populations were marked out further by several measures. Of the two sample populations, the Leicester sample generally felt family contact to be more important and were more concerned than the Worthing sample that family contacts should be sustained in retirement. Part of the explanation for these differences lies in the probability that the one time immediate family ties and opportunities of contact among the more migratory sectors of the population lessen with the increasing number of moves through the years. An equally important reason, however, as shown particularly within the Worthing sample, is that there are sectors of the elderly population who do not have large extended families and, therefore, the opportunities for sustaining or renewing family contacts are fewer.

This chapter has dwelt on the fact that, while distance is a relatively important factor in sustaining emotional ties between different generations within the family, it is a factor in the nature and extent of physical ties actually employed within the family. In the opening section of this chapter, the findings of previous research were noted to the effect that those who moved in retirement were those least likely to have family ties disrupted. The factors of distance and potential contact between the elderly and their families have found a common link in the discussion in the distinctively regional pattern and orientation of family locations. This was apparent in respect of both study areas. The mobility history of the study population in Worthing clearly had its roots in the south-east region, whereas those among the Leicester sample and their families who had moved were located within a distinctive midlands region.

The themes discussed within this chapter have significant implications in understanding the context within which elderly people contemplate the migration decision. The qualities of the area of potential residence are, in themselves, not sufficient data on which to base the decision, neither are the experiences of 'those who have gone before'. First, this chapter has revealed distinctive differences in the nature and styles of family contact. These differences have been seen before to be partially attributable to location and the different styles of contact that emerge over varying distances. One fundamental reason for the differences, however, lay in the different types of family members who were actually alive and with whom it was possible to sustain contact, the so-called 'elements' of the family network. The Worthing sample owed their independence partially to the fact of having smaller and more distant (genealogically) families. Second, where those of the Worthing sample having close (sibling) family ties had moved, the distance of the move to the Sussex coast was such to enable them to maintain ties within a distinctively south-eastern regional perspective, as the distances involved did not place them so very far away

from the immediate family. Third, and as an extension of these findings, it may be suggested that where the elderly do have close family, and where they move some considerable distance from the regional zone of the family network,³⁰ they may isolate themselves both emotionally and physically from the family in a way not experienced by some of those who either do not have the close family from whom they can be isolated, or who have moved but have remained within their particular regional family network.

In the opening section of this chapter, the findings of previous research were noted to the effect that those who moved in retirement were those least likely to disrupt family ties. This chapter has shown that more than one reason is appropriate as to why this conclusion is valid for some. It has also suggested that the conclusion need not necessarily hold true where the individual, by moving, disrupts his role within the structure and location of his family network. Conversely, the stable, non-migratory elderly (particularly of the Leicester sample) were shown to have retained their options for the possibilities of family contact, not only because they had never removed themselves from the family network but also because, in the first instance, they were more likely to be part of an extended family network. These findings combine to have important implications on the role of the family network in contributing to the success of, and personal adjustment to, a retirement move.

30. As is possibly the case with much of the migration of the elderly in recent years from the Midlands to the South West Region.

CHAPTER 9. MIGRATION, RETIREMENT AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY

I. Roles and Social Activity among the Elderly.

The changing roles of the elderly in retirement give rise to a number of suppositions concerning the manner in which the retirement years might be spent. These suppositions frequently take on a slightly romantic or optimistic note, since they have as their starting point the freedom from work and routine that the retirement event brings about.¹ Released from the constraints of working life, the argument goes, the elderly person is free to pursue an expansion of activity and interests by developing old activities and interests and adopting new. Central to the argument is the increased opportunity that accompanies an increase in leisure time. The individual, confronted with a change in status, an increase in leisure time and a host of new expectations as to the roles to be played, is caught in the midst of a set of complex and inter-related forces where the new status and opportunities find themselves in conflict and in question with expectations and realities derived from a lifetime of work and routine. In the midst of this uncertainty, a new equilibrium in personal and social life must be sought. Chapter 2 has identified some of these issues which influence this change in social status and it is germane to the development of this discussion that some of these themes briefly be recalled and expanded before considering questions of social activity within the two study populations.

Chapter 2 highlighted a quotation in which the nature of retirement was summarised within the three categories of 'event', 'status' and 'process'.² The discussion in this chapter focuses on the activities which go on within retirement, not the changes which occur through the retirement event and

1. This pre-supposition permeates the more popular guides to retirement, for example, M. Pilch (Ed.): The Retirement Book - A guide to living happily ever after, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1974, or B. Taylor and R. G. Russell: Retirement, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1965.

2. Chapter 2, p. 38.

process. The investigation, therefore, is concerned with activities which occur within the 'status' of retirement. "Retirement is a status, a new social position with its own unique roles, expectations and responsibilities", wrote Kimmel; "it is a negative change in social position despite the decreased role demands and increased leisure."³ Two major themes are implied within this statement under which the discussion will be continued. First, there is a recognition of the new social position of the retired in society in which mutual adjustment of roles and expectations takes place. The meeting point between the elderly and society as a whole is the point at which friction or uncertainty can cause a dynamic questioning and re-assessment of mutual roles. This is particularly true at a time of changing values and norms in society. Second, is the increased leisure in the life of the retired individual which, together with other changes in work-status, finance and self-expectation, identify the changes within the retired individual and his own personal frames of reference.

The relationship between society and the elderly is one of constant flux in which both actors and plot move with the mood of the times. The relationship is more often than not understood and acted out at a sub-conscious (rather than unconscious) level and when discussion breaks out it is a manifestation of the greater underlying uncertainties which are present. For example, the wider debate about euthanasia may be viewed within the framework of medical ethics as well as that of pragmatic-situational reasoning, but that the debate exists at all is symptomatic of significant changes occurring within a society that has long ceased to be patriarchal or matriarchal. The work of the pre-retirement association also voices the uncertainty that surrounds the nature and expectation of life as a retired person.⁴ A further

3. D. C. Kimmel: Adulthood and Ageing - An Interdisciplinary, Developmental View, John Wiley, 1974, pp. 255 - 256.

4. Reflected in the general philosophy of the contributors to M. Pilch: op cit.

question which finds discussion, usually within the financial and economic press, concerns the support of the growing elderly proportion of society by the declining proportions of economically active people. For example, the result of inflationary times has been to change the role of pension funds from being concerned with investments for the future to being more concerned with the immediate transfer of wealth from the working population to the retired. Numerous issues, therefore, arise when examining the position of the elderly within society as a whole.

Chapter 2 has outlined the nature of the theory of disengagement and showed strong evidence in rebuttal of certain aspects of the theory.⁵ The emphasis against the theory was not so much that elderly people do not disengage, for indeed they do reduce the number of their activities through the years, but that disengagement is a necessary part of successful ageing. To observe that certain characteristics exist is not to affirm that those observed characteristics are the most desirable, or desired, condition. If the shifts in activity and roles that accompany disengagement are voluntary on the part of the elderly, perhaps in response to physical and psychological changes that are part of the process of ageing, then little criticism is implied. But, if the changes are 'forced' as the result of tensions and pressures created by the expectations of society (or indeed the non-expectations) then the nature of the relationship between society and the elderly is not healthy at some point. There is, beyond doubt, a re-differentiation of roles that occurs through the process and within the status of ageing⁶ of which the retirement event signals the most dramatic change, the ending of paid work. If the disengagement premise is allowed to stand, however, it does so in contradiction to the premise that retirement is a release from work for the

5. Chapter 2, pp. 48 - 51.

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

adoption and extension of new and proven activities.⁷

The reasons for the undoubted dissociation between the elderly and society have been suggested by Eichorn and Ludwig within a North American context.⁸ Society, they argue, has certain values which are implied from youth. Currently, they centre around the "youthful-active-optimistic outlook" of a "utilitarian-scientific-technological orientation" in life. The personal experiences which accompany adult ageing "contradict the values which have been internalised in childhood and early adulthood".⁹ The "modification of roles, values, and disengagement are a process of disillusionment. The experiences of ageing result in a rejection of youth-oriented values and a strict adherence to the work-activity orientation at a time when society expects it to be relinquished."¹⁰ This rather stylised explanation does include mention of a distinction in individual sample responses between value differences attributable to cultural variations, and differences attributable to the ageing processes themselves. Some of the cultural differences may be reflected within different age groups, some evidence of the pace of contemporary change, and this general conclusion has been supported by other researchers. For example, a study on "Ageing and Social Participation" by Zborowski and Eyde concluded by referring to evidence that social withdrawal was not voluntary and that it "related not to chronological age but to an interdependent constellation of age, sex, socio-economic and occupational variables".¹¹

Related to the discussion on disengagement is the extent to which

7. See for example, M. Crawford: 'Retirement and Disengagement', Human Relations, Vol. 24, 1971, pp. 255 - 278.

8. R. L. Eichorn and E. G. Ludwig: 'Age and Disillusionment: A Study of Value Changes associated with Ageing', Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 22, Part 1, 1967, pp. 59 - 64.

9. *ibid*: p. 59.

10. *ibid*: p. 64

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

residential integration or segregation of the elderly contributes to personal and social adjustment. Rosow¹² argues that residential segregation of the aged is conducive to their social integration because friendships occur primarily among persons of the same generation and, while 'normal' or age-integrated residential areas are likely to contain many isolated elderly, the high age density of age-segregated neighbourhoods should offer the residents opportunities for new contacts and group memberships. Rosow allows those conditions under which the aged may be integrated into normal residential neighbourhoods:¹³ that the elderly are long-term residents, that the neighbourhood is socially homogenous and that the older person's local primary groups of family, friends and neighbours are reasonably intact. This type of reasoning is implied also within the pattern of family and social life of stable working-class communities which are hallmarked by proximity and continuity of relationships.¹⁴

The issue is related not only to the extent of neighbourhood integration but to the nature of housing type. Old people's homes and flatlets are considered to provide more opportunity for social contacts to develop than single family dwellings such as bungalows or houses or even multiple-family dwelling units. Numerous studies have concluded that spatial proximity is a significant factor in friendship choice.¹⁵

The second major issue arises with regard to the changing nature of leisure in retirement. As was noted in Chapter 2, the importance of much

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12. I. Rosow: Social Integration of the Aged, New York, Free Press, 1967, especially pp. 36 - 40.
 13. As summarised in Chapter 2, p. 45, from ibid., p. 84.
 14. See, for example, E. Bott: 'Urban Families, Conjugal Roles and Social Networks', *Human Relations*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1965, p. 382, and the classic study by M. Young and P. Willmott: Family and Kinship in East London, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.
 15. For example, 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, and E. P. Friedman: 'Spatial Proximity and Social Interaction in a Home for the Aged', *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 21, Part 4, 1966, p. 566.

leisure during the working life is that it is set in opposition to, and complementary with, work.¹⁶ In retirement, leisure takes on a new and ubiquitous quality which at no time is enforced but which is always present (unless the individual takes on a part-time job, possibly with no prospect of financial reward). Thus, when more time and energy are available for new activities, the rationale for pursuing unrewarded activities may slacken unless it is motivated by inherent interest or (in some cases) simply a striving to fill in time. Numerous studies¹⁷ have spoken of the testimony of retired people in which the first six months after the retirement event are compared to a vacation and then time is said to begin to weigh very heavily.

To summarise the dilemma, therefore, it is possible to identify numerous qualities which work provides, including the associations of productive activity and the values placed upon it, the personal and social interests and values that may be attendant at the place of work, and the complex and continuing challenge that work presents. Leisure, in this context, provides a contradiction to work values and a balancing to the work environment.¹⁸ It is not always possible, therefore, for the elderly person to find meaning or adjustment in his retirement leisure simply by the adoption of hobbies or activities to fill his time. Adjustment depends on the context of those activities, on the motivations and values which underlie them, and on the end to which they are directed.

It is against this wider context of work, leisure and roles in retirement that the nature of social activity within the study populations was examined.

16. See the discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 39 - 41.

17. See, for example, W. Donahue: Free Time - Challenge to Later Maturity, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1958.

18. See, for example, J. Dumazedier and A. Ripert: 'Retirement and Leisure', International Social Science Journal, Vol. 15, 1963.

II. Social Activity among the Study Populations.

The aim of this particular section of the study was a preliminary exploration of the nature of social activity within the two study populations, bearing in mind that the Leicester sample was expected to be a relatively stable elderly community while the Worthing sample was expected to be an eclectic association of in-migrants. Not only was there the expectation of a possible contrast in social activity patterns, but there was also the question of the extent to which different styles and levels of activity could be aligned with different styles and levels of personal adjustment.

The task, in the first instance, was to investigate the levels of social activity over a specific range of activities. These were presented to the sample populations in a format requiring responses structured around the frequency of participation in these specific activities. These activities included theatre and cinema visits, Sunday and midweek church activities, drives in the country, taking tea and visiting with friends and participation in sports, card games and club activities. (The detailed questionnaire schedule for the relevant questions is reproduced in Appendix IV.) These activities were presented as a single list for completion by the respondent. They were later defined as 'formal' activities (e.g. cinema, theatre and religious activities) where the activity involved association with a club or a pre-arranged meeting time either with friends or with a formally organised activity; and as 'informal' activities (e.g. watching T.V. and walks in the country) where the activity was more individual and spontaneous rather than pre-arranged and of necessity involving a timetable meshing with that of others. Second, the questionnaire format made provision for additional activities not covered in the general list to be included within the individual response, again with the provision of indicating the frequency of participation. In practice, as will be seen, respondents used this opportunity to indicate membership of societies, voluntary work and activities

such as gardening or do-it-yourself which were considered by the respondent to be of significance in the daily routine.

During the analysis, the relationship between 'formal' and 'informal' activities was examined by expressing one as a ratio of the other for individual respondents. It was then possible to assess this ratio between the two study populations and between different sub-groups of the two populations. Underlying this section of the research was the intention of uncovering some of the essential common themes and contrasts between the study populations in respect of social activities.

a. The Local Press and Television

Two of the most ubiquitous activities of contemporary life are the reading of the national and local press and the watching of television. Through them, time is passed or simply idled away and, in the process, opinions and views are moulded. The day for some individuals in retirement may be organised around the routine of events such as a walk to the newsagent or the timing of a television programme. As activities, they compete with other activities to fill part of the day. If the individual prefers reading novels or gardening or is devoted to a particular interest in the home, then the time spent in reading newspapers or watching T.V. may be correspondingly less than for the individual who finds it hard to fill the day.

There is a further aspect of these activities which bears on the themes of migration and adjustment within this thesis, and that is the degree of community awareness which is fostered by the reading of the local press. Purely local ideas and local concerns find their greatest expression in the local press (and more recently in local radio), and a regular reading of the local press usually reflects a certain interest in, and knowledge of, local matters and news.¹⁹

19. Local newspaper readership was one of the behavioural indicators measuring community involvement chosen by the Royal Commission on Local Government in England, Research Study No. 9, H.M.S.O., 1969.

Two questions relating to these topics were asked of the study populations. The first examined the frequency with which the respondent read the local press; the second questioned the 'average' number of hours spent each day watching television.

With respect to the local press, the two study areas were not comparable. The "Leicester Mercury" was published daily, six days a week, as an evening paper. The "Worthing Herald" and the "Worthing Gazette" were published as weekly newspapers on a Friday and a Wednesday respectively. For daily newspaper coverage the Worthing population depended on the London dailies or the "Brighton Evening Argus" which was published six evenings a week but which did not normally include coverage of the Worthing area in any great detail.

The responses to the question concerning the local press are tabulated in Table 9 (1) and, of course, are not directly comparable between the two samples because of the lack of a local daily paper for Worthing. It will be noted, however, that 88% of the Leicester sample 'read' the "Leicester Mercury" daily. In contrast, only 17.6% of the Worthing sample read one or other of the Worthing local papers each time they were published; i.e. weekly. Over three-quarters, however, (76.5%) indicated that they read the paper 'sometimes'. The pattern of readership that emerged, therefore, was that of an intense pattern of daily readership in Leicester and a predominantly occasional weekly readership in Worthing. (Of course, no account has been taken of readership of the national dailies.) In terms of time, therefore, the Leicester sample had information and news concerning the local area before them for a regular period each day - varying no doubt from a few seconds to many minutes - which, together with their long-term residence in the area, suggested a high degree of "community" awareness (though not necessarily indicating any degree of community involvement). In Worthing, however, the minority (17.6%) had regular weekly news and information passing through their homes and the majority saw this news only 'sometimes'. Taken

Table 9 (1) Frequency of Local Press Readership

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Daily	Not published		122	88.4
Weekly	18	17.6	2	1.4
Sometimes	78	76.5	7	5.1
Rarely	0	0	4	2.9
Never	0	0	3	2.2
Inadequate response	6	5.9	0	0
<hr/>				
Totals	102	100.0	138	100.0

in conjunction with the fact of the Worthing population being highly mobile, these findings indicated a low degree of community awareness in Worthing (though again saying nothing of community involvement).

Television and its effects permeate the whole of society. Only a small proportion of the general population are without access to a television set,²⁰ and among the study populations all the Worthing respondents possessed a television set while only 6.5% of the Leicester respondents were without. These differences apart, there was a close similarity in the pattern of response to the enquiry "How many hours a day do you watch television on average?". Clearly, daily viewing periods vary considerably even for the individual, but there was a polarisation between those who regularly watched

20. In 1973, 17.1 million licences were issued on behalf of the B.B.C.
Source: Social Trends No. 7, C.S.O., 1976, Table 10.20, p. 183.

for less than 1 hour/day - perhaps only the news - and those who regularly watched for 3 or more hours per day (Table 9 (2)). Apart from the minor regional variations offered by the B.B.C. and the varied timings of programmes as well as regional variations on I.T.V., the fare offered in both study areas was broadly similar. It must be recalled, too, that the surveys were carried out during the summer months and that a different pattern of viewing might have emerged had the surveys been conducted during the winter months.

A similar proportion of the response in both study areas indicated that between 1 and 3 hours was the usual daily period of viewing (48% and 47.8% in Worthing and Leicester respectively). About one-third of respondents in each study area indicated 3 to 5 hours as the average, and 4.9% in Worthing and 2.9% in Leicester watched for more than 5 hours per day on average. Small proportions, 5.9% and 7.2% in Worthing and Leicester respectively, indicated a viewing time of less than one hour per day. These results were remarkable for the similarity of response between the two study populations and, despite some differences in culture, mobility, education and class, it would appear that patterns of television viewing among the survey populations maintained a regularity unaffected by these wider influences.

Of these two measures, then, of the pattern of local press readership and of television viewing, it was the former which revealed most variation between the survey populations. Whether or not local press readership is any indication of a degree of community awareness, there was some evidence of a link between the measure and the survey adjustment score (Table 9 (3)). In Worthing, there was some evidence that a higher 'press' score was associated with a higher adjustment score, while among the Leicester sample the association was between those with a low 'press' score and a lower adjustment score. (With regard to television viewing, the most dominant trend was for those in the Leicester sample watching television for between 1 and 3 hours a day to register a higher adjustment score than those who watched

Table 9 (2) Frequency of Television viewing (average)

<u>Average hours/day</u>	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 1 hour	6	5.9	10	7.2
1 - 3 hours	49	48.0	66	47.8
3 - 5 hours	34	33.3	49	35.5
Over 5 hours	5	4.9	4	2.9
No television			9	6.5
Inadequate response	8	7.8		
Totals	102	99.9	138	99.9

Chi square: not significant

for longer periods.)

While any conclusions drawn from this discussion remain very tentative, it was possible to identify these trends within the sample populations, the most distinctive trend being that the greater the local press readership, the greater was the tendency towards a higher score on the survey adjustment measure. Although no such tendency was identified with regard to television viewing, it was of interest to note the similarity of response to the survey questions between the two study populations.

b. Indices of Informal and Formal Activities

Among the numerous activities pursued by any individual are those which are the consequence of premeditated, pre-arranged decisions. They may involve other people or may be associated with public provision of activities

Table 9 (3) Local Press Readership and the Survey Adjustment ScoreWORTHING:

<u>Class</u>	<u>Adjustment Score</u>	<u>Press Readership</u>	
		<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>
1	8-23	1	3
2	24-27		12
3	28-31	6	26
4	32-35	7	19
5/6	36-40	4	10

Total respondents = 87.

LEICESTER

<u>Class</u>	<u>Adjustment Score</u>	<u>Press Readership</u>	
		<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>
1	8-23	11	1
2	24-27	21	2
3	28-31	42	7
4	32-35	26	2
5/6	36-40	9	2

Total respondents = 123.

organised at a specific time, such as the cinema or a concert, to which the individual must conform if he is to enjoy the benefit of such provision. Such activities have been classified as 'formal' within the context of this study.

In contrast to these formal activities are those 'informal' activities entered on quite freely or spontaneously which remain entirely within the

control of the individual. Two such activities were defined and examined within the study populations. The first, watching television, has been considered in some detail. The second has been termed 'environmental recreation' and consisted of taking advantage of the physical environment by way of country walks, or walks on the promenade, or time spent in the local park. (The 'environment', in its broadest sense, was cited by numerous of the Worthing respondents as one of the major motivations in moving into the area.) These activities are informal in the sense that they can be entered in to quite freely without the requirements of advance appointments. The opportunity exists for spontaneous activity, even though it may in time develop into personal routine. (The activities may also be understood in a formal sense when, for example, two friends arrange to watch a television programme together, or where two neighbours in Worthing arrange to meet for a walk along the promenade.)

All activities specified within the questionnaire schedule were allocated scores on the basis of frequency of participation. The four categories of response were 'daily', 'weekly', 'monthly' and 'occasionally', and scored 4, 3, 2 and 1 respectively. A fifth category of response, 'never', carried a zero score. The nature of the physical environment in the study areas differed between that of the coastal and downland environment of Worthing to the countryside and urban parks of Leicester. In Worthing, therefore, the survey 'environmental recreation' measure was a reflection of 'drives in the countryside' and 'walks on the promenade' whereas in Leicester it was a reflection of 'drives in the countryside' and 'visits to the local parks'.

The general frequency scores on the measure showed slight variations between the study areas (see Table 9 (4)). Both had a concentration on the occasional nature of participation in these activities with 51.0% and 52.9% scoring two or less in Worthing and Leicester respectively. In Worthing there was a gradation from those (relatively few) who participated frequently in environmental activities, through the mid-range of scores to those who clustered with a high score of 7 or 8 (5.3%). In Leicester, however, there

Table 9 (4) Environmental Recreation Activities

Least Frequent	<u>Scores</u>	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
| Most Frequent	1-2	52	51.0	73	52.9
	3-4	26	25.5	7	5.1
	5-6	12	11.8	21	15.2
	7-8	5	4.9	2	1.5
	No and inadequate response	7	6.9	35	25.4
<hr/>					
	Total	102	100.1	138	100.1

was a peaking of response not only in the low scoring categories but in the score range 5 and 6. With a low scoring on categories 3 or 4 and 7 or 8 these results indicated a tendency towards greater polarisation of response (and habit?) among the Leicester sample.

The scores on the 'environmental recreation' measure, together with the scores on the 'T.V.' measure, were combined to produce an 'informal activity score' or index for each respondent. The distribution of responses within and between the two study populations revealed interesting variations when compared (see Table 9 (5)). Both study populations found their modal scores within the same category (Score of 4) but, while the Worthing sample registered half its response (50.0%) above the modal category, Leicester returned 44.1% with above-modal scores. Concomitantly, the Leicester proportion of those with lower than modal scores (31.1%) was much greater than the same category in the Worthing sample. The distributions as a whole were significantly different. It was apparent from these findings that the general tendencies within the mobile Worthing sample were towards a greater level of participation

Table 9 (5) Informal Activity Score

		<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>Scores</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Least Activity	1	4	3.9	5	3.6
	2	5	4.9	24	17.4
	3	11	10.8	14	10.1
	4	31	30.4	33	23.9
	5	14	13.7	29	21.0
	6	12	11.7	9	6.5
	7	11	10.8	4	2.9
	8	7	6.9	9	6.5
Most Activity	9+	7	6.9	10	7.2
Inadequate response				1	0.7
Totals		102	100.0	138	100.5
Chi-square = 17.95		Significance: .025			

in the informal measures studied than among the Leicester sample.

The relationships between the informal activity score and socio-economic groupings within the study populations were examined for evidence of discordant trends (see Table 9 (6)). The general pattern was that of each socio-economic class returning a modal peak somewhere in the midrange of 'informal' scores with no marked variations evident within each socio-economic class. Similarly, a fairly regular pattern was expressed in terms of tendencies of certain socio-economic groups to dominate certain activity scores. One of the only significant features was the absence of members of socio-economic group 1 registering scores lower than 4, although total numbers within the group were small and therefore the trend was suggested

Table 9 (6) Social class groupings of the Informal Activity Score

WORTHING

	<u>Scores</u>	<u>S.E.G.1</u>	<u>S.E.G.2</u>	<u>S.E.G.3</u>	<u>S.E.G.4/5</u>	<u>S.E.G.0</u>
Least Activity	1		1	2	1	
	2		3	1	1	
	3		3	4		4
	4	5	12	8		6
	5	1	6	6	1	
	6	1	4	5	1	1
	7	2	2	4	1	2
	8	1	1	5		
Most Activity	9		1	5		1
Inadequate response						
Totals		10	33	40	5	14

LEICESTER

	<u>Scores</u>	<u>S.E.G.1</u>	<u>S.E.G.2</u>	<u>S.E.G.3</u>	<u>S.E.G.4/5</u>	<u>S.E.G.0</u>
Least Activity	1		1	2		2
	2		4	13	3	4
	3		2	5	4	3
	4	1	5	19	4	4
	5		3	15	6	5
	6	1	2	5	1	
	7			3		1
	8	1	3	3	1	1
Most Activity	9		1	3	1	5
Inadequate response				1		
Totals		3	21	69	20	25

rather than substantiated.

When the informal activity scores were tabulated with scores for mobility, more significant trends emerged (see Table 9 (7)). In both samples there was a trend towards a high degree of mobility contributing towards a lower informal activity score. This was particularly true of the more 'mobile' Worthing sample in which, of a total of 11 respondents who had moved 5 or more times, only 3 registered scores of more than 5. Yet, among the respondents in both study areas who had moved once only since 1945, the same pattern of low scoring on the informal activities index was apparent.

Finally, the relationship between the informal activity score and the survey adjustment score was examined.²¹ In the Worthing sample, a positive relationship was observed with high activity scores tending to be aligned with high adjustment scores (see Table 9 (8)). The relationship was not so clearly marked among the Leicester sample, with the mid and high range of adjustment scores finding their peak in both high and low activity scores, the sample having polarised on this latter measure.

Very few positive conclusions can be drawn when viewing the informal activity score in isolation, since the measure was limited in scope and bore no relationship to a wider pattern of activities. As a balance, therefore, certain formal activities were defined in the survey, namely visits to the theatre and cinema, attendance at church on a Sunday and for midweek activities, and visits to, or taking tea with, friends. As with informal activities, response to the survey questionnaire was channelled into indicating the frequency with which the respondent participated in such activities on a daily, weekly, monthly or occasional basis, or never. The four activities were then aggregated into a single formal activity score for each respondent.

Cinema and theatre: Both study areas contained numerous cinemas and

21. The survey adjustment score, as described in Chapter 6, pp.268 - 269.

Table 9 (8) Informal Activity and Adjustment ScoresPercentage in each groupWORTHINGInformal Activity ScoresAdjustment Scores

	8-27	28-31	32-40
1-3	4.3	8.6	5.4
4	4.3	10.8	16.1
5-9	9.7	16.1	24.7

Total = 100% = 93 respondents

LEICESTERInformal Activity ScoresAdjustment Scores

	8-27	28-31	32-40
1-3	5.7	13.9	10.7
4	9.0	6.6	9.8
5-9	13.1	19.7	11.5

Total = 100% = 93 respondents

at least one local theatre as well as regular productions by local dramatic societies. The 'Haymarket', 'Phoenix' and 'Little' theatres in Leicester and the 'Connaught' theatre in Worthing all offered productions throughout the year. In Worthing, the Pier Pavilion also offered a wide range of activities for the whole community among which were amateur dramatic and musical offerings.

Neither of the study populations made great use of the cinema, only 1 respondent in Worthing and 2 in Leicester attending at all regularly (monthly). For the rest, 30% of the Worthing sample went 'occasionally', a higher

proportion than the 18.8% in Leicester.²² The theatre drew a more enthusiastic response, but again mostly on an 'occasional' basis from 55.9% of the Worthing sample and 31.2% of the Leicester sample. 2.9% of respondents in both study areas attended on a monthly basis while one respondent in each of the areas made it a weekly visit. The ascendancy of television as the dominant entertainment medium has undoubtedly had its effects on the changing pattern of entertainment of the elderly as well as the young. That the cinema featured so minimally in the life of elderly people, despite the introduction of special prices, probably had much to do with the changing character of contemporary films as well as the fact that many elderly liked to be home and settled before nightfall. The theatre played a more significant part in the life of the elderly, perhaps because of the attractions of live performances and the deeper cultural element to performances.

There was a marked and consistent variation between the proportions 'occasionally' involved in the theatre or cinema in each of the study areas. The Worthing sample were more inclined to attend on this occasional basis and, with regard to the theatre, this was probably a reflection of better education and greater wealth among the population than in Leicester.

Religious activity: The personal beliefs and public expression of religious beliefs by the elderly are an extensive topic. Though the religious motivations of the sample populations were not examined, it was possible to examine the external religious practice of the respondents in broad terms. The practices were divided between attendance at church on a Sunday (usually for public worship) and attendance at midweek church activities which might be for social reasons as much as for religious reasons (many old people's clubs and discussion groups meet under the auspices of the church as well as groups for discussion, prayer and Bible study). The

22. Numerous respondents in both study areas indicated their general dislike of the contemporary cinema.

frequency breakdown of responses for both study areas is reproduced in Table 9 (9).

Several features of the response should be noted. First, there was a very great similarity in response between the study areas despite substantial differences in profile characteristics. 46.1% and 47.1% of the Worthing and Leicester respondents respectively attended church on Sundays, and 26.4% and 28.9% were involved in some kind of midweek activity. Second, there was a clear polarisation between the extremes of participation in both study areas, almost all the respondents attending both Sunday and midweek activities either on a weekly or an occasional basis, with very few - about 3% in Worthing and 1% in Leicester - attending on a monthly basis. Third, there were certain distinctions to be drawn between the responses. In Worthing, almost twice as many (26.5%) attended church on a weekly basis as attended 'occasionally' (15.7%), whereas in Leicester the proportions were exactly the same (23.3%). With regard to midweek activities, again there was little comparison between the two samples. Greater proportions attended on an occasional basis in Worthing than attended weekly, whereas in Leicester the proportions were more similar - 12.3% and 15.9% respectively.

The reasons for the variations in midweek attendances were uncertain, but with regard to the attendance at Sunday worship the observed variations may have been the consequence of several influences. It could be that the more 'middle-class' respondents of Worthing were less 'religious' than the respondents in Leicester, but this would seem unlikely in the light of recent work in religious sociology.²³ It is more likely that the differences

23. Although there are considerable variations in religious practice across the population, and recent trends show a general decline in practice in recent years, some sociologists have argued that a residual 'folk' or 'common' religion continues to exist within the population despite both this decline and trends towards secularisation. See, for example, R. Towler: Homo Religiosus: Sociological problems in the study of religion, London, Constable, 1974, pp. 145 - 162.

Table 9 (9) Frequency of Participation in Religious Activities

	<u>WORTHING</u>				<u>LEICESTER</u>			
	<u>Church on Sunday</u>		<u>Midweek Activities</u>		<u>Church on Sunday</u>		<u>Midweek Activities</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Weekly	27	26.5	9	8.8	32	23.2	22	15.9
Monthly	4	3.9	3	2.9	1	0.7	1	0.7
Occasionally	16	15.7	15	14.7	32	23.2	17	12.3
Negative response	55	53.9	75	73.6	73	52.9	98	71.1
Total	102	100.0	102	100.0	138	100.0	138	100.0

were explained by two related trends. In the first instance, attachment to a church on a regular basis requires continuity and commitment which may be broken by repeated mobility (as in the case of the Worthing sample). In the second instance, mobility also helps to break down the vestiges of 'folk religion' which remain within the population and which are sustained in stable communities, where family attachments to a specific church may extend over several generations. This type of attachment gives rise to occasional church-going as was more the case in the Leicester sample.

Visits and 'teas' with friends: A vital part of the social life of the elderly is contact with neighbours and friends. Much of this may be spontaneous but it may also take place on a formal basis at pre-arranged times. In this sense, as an 'organised' activity, it was included as a formal activity. The responses for both study areas are tabulated in Table 9 (10). Again, the broad similarity of response between the two study areas was noticeable, with the Worthing sample slightly more inclined to this kind of activity

Table 9 (10) Frequency of Visits with Friends

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Daily	3	2.9	1	0.7
Weekly	26	25.4	29	21.0
Monthly	4	3.9	4	2.9
Occasionally	54	52.9	68	49.1
Negative & Inadequate response	15	14.7	36	26.1
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.0	138	100.0

(85.3%) than the Leicester sample (73.9%). Of special note, too, was the polarisation of response between the quarter or so of the sample who took this on as a regular weekly activity (25.4% and 21% in Worthing and Leicester respectively) and the half or so for whom it was an occasional activity only. A small proportion in both areas indicated that a daily or monthly arrangement was the norm.

It had been expected that the more 'middle-class' sample in Worthing, despite their mobility, would have registered a higher involvement in this kind of activity than the Leicester sample. These expectations, however, were unfounded, and the two areas returned very similar patterns and totals of response.

A 'formal activity score' was calculated on the same basis as the 'informal activity score'. Each formal activity was allocated a score on the basis of frequency of participation, with 'daily' scoring 4 and 'occasionally' scoring 1. The total formal activity score for each respondent was calculated as an aggregation of the scores on the individual activities (see

Table 9 (11)). Slight variations in the pattern of response for each of the study areas were noted, the most distinctive variation being the tendency for the Worthing respondents to cluster around the low (1 - 3) and the high (9+) scores in comparison with the tendency of the Leicester sample to spread across the middle range of scores. Although the variations were not statistically significant, the much higher proportion of respondents in Worthing scoring 9 or more (22.5%) when compared to Leicester (12.3%) was of special note.

It is possible that the tendency to polarisation within the Worthing scores may be explained by the influence of mobility on social activity patterns. Social adjustment is derived from a state of personal well-being and equilibrium in association with adjustment to the wider environment. For the individual or family who repeatedly move, adjustment may polarise into two forms. It may be that a life style and adjustment will develop that tends to be independent of all external influences and which depends on the informal routine and circumstances of the home. If, on the other hand, the individual requires social groupings to effect his adjustment, the kind of social environment which may develop informally over years in a stable community may be beyond reach. Friendship needs an object of mutual interest if it is to survive. If one cannot live in the same neighbourhood for several years, then the basis of friendship and social adjustment may be sought through formally constituted and organised groups which meet for specific and defined purposes. The polarisation within the samples, therefore, represent moves towards the extremes where social adjustment is either 'internalised' or 'externalised'.

The relationship between mobility and the formal activity score was explored with regard to the survey populations (Table 9 (12)). No firm conclusions were drawn from an examination of the responses in Leicester since they consisted of a very broad spread across the range of possible options. Among the Worthing sample, however, certain features of the response

Table 9 (11) Formal Activity Score

<u>Scores</u>	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1	12	11.8	13	9.4
2	11	10.8	14	10.1
3	16	15.7	15	10.9
4	9	8.8	18	13.0
5	6	5.9	14	10.1
6	8	7.8	13	9.4
7	6	5.9	10	7.2
8	7	6.9	10	7.2
9+	23	22.5	17	12.3
Inadequate response	4	3.9	14	10.1
<hr/>				
Totals	102	100.0	138	99.7

Chi-square not significant

were noted. Of those moving up to four times since 1945, those scoring 9 or more on the formal activity score were a dominant group in the one, two and four move categories. Of those moving more than four times, 7 of the 10 respondents scored three or less on the formal activity score and the others seven, eight and nine respectively, indicating a polarisation of response. It would appear, therefore, that the general conclusion holds that with increased mobility there is a tendency for adjustment to be sought either within the home in activities not involving extensive commitment to personal relationships or in formal activities outside the home. The

greater the degree of mobility, the less the tendency to get involved in formal group activities.

There was also some variation in formal activity scores between the social classes of the survey populations (see Table 9 (13)). In both study areas, S.E.G. 1 showed a marked tendency to cluster with high scores (8 and 9+) while S.E.G.s 3 to 5 spread across the range of possible scores. Members of S.E.G. 2 also spread across the range of scores, although in Worthing there was some clustering among those with scores of 9 or more. Generally, therefore, it might be concluded that the higher social groups in both areas tended towards a higher formal activity involvement.

Lastly, the data was examined for evidence of any relationship between the degree of involvement in formal activities and response to the survey adjustment score. In both study areas an examination of median scores within groups revealed that, in the upper ranges of the adjustment score, i.e. groups scoring 32 - 40 (see Table 6 (14)), the median scores on the formal activity index were in groups 8 and 9. In adjustment groups scoring below 32, the median score on the formal activity score was also low, in groups 1 to 5. It would appear, therefore, that there was some degree of direct relationship between the two measures.

The components and analysis of both formal and informal activities within the study populations were simple, yet revealed certain trends indicative of the way in which these activities relate to the processes of migration and adjustment. The underlying trends are suggested as being of importance though they possess something of an explanatory, provisional nature. Though restricted in composition, the formal and informal activity indices provided a concept on which to begin to interpret the different styles of activity within the sample populations.

Formal and informal activity ratios: The analysis of these indices may be extended by the direct comparison of one against the other. Thus, the formal activity score for each respondent may be expressed as a standardised constant value of one and the informal activity score as a ratio to it.

Table 9 (13) Social class groupings of the Formal Activity ScoreWORTHING

<u>Formal Activity</u> <u>Scores</u>	<u>S.E.G.1</u>	<u>S.E.G.2</u>	<u>S.E.G.3</u>	<u>S.E.G.4/5</u>	<u>Other</u>
1	1	3	4	2	2
2		4	4		3
3	1	4	8	2	1
4	1	3	5		
5		3	2		1
6		3	4		1
7	1	3			2
8	1	1	5		
9	5	8	6		4
Inadequate response		1	2	1	
Totals	10	33	40	5	14

LEICESTER

<u>Formal Activity</u> <u>Scores</u>	<u>S.E.G.1</u>	<u>S.E.G.2</u>	<u>S.E.G.3</u>	<u>S.E.G.4/5</u>	<u>Other</u>
1		5	5	2	1
2		1	8	2	3
3		2	7	4	2
4		3	10	2	3
5		3	7	1	3
6		2	3	4	4
7		1	8		1
8	2		5	1	2
9	1	3	9	1	3
Inadequate response		1	7	3	3
Totals	3	21	69	20	25

For example, an informal score of 2 and formal score of 4 would give a standardised ratio of 0.5:1, while an informal score of 3 and a formal score of 6 would give the same ratio. The ratio cannot directly reflect high or low individual scores on either measure but simply their relationship. The ratio expresses this relationship in the form of a continuum ranging from a low informal score in relation to formal score, through the pivotal ratio of equal scores (1:1), to a high informal score in relation to formal scores. At one end of the continuum is the ratio 0:1, and, at the upper end, empirical cases of and in excess of 4:1. As one moves up the ratio, therefore, the individual registers the extent of his bias towards informal activities as measured by the specific items of this survey.

Table 9 (14) shows the range of scores for both study areas, for which there was no significant difference between the variations in response. The responses are grouped, and group 0.6 to 1.0: 1 contains those who achieved an equilibrium ratio of 1:1, achieved by 17 (16.7%) and 15 (10.9%) respondents in Worthing and Leicester respectively.

A total of 54 (53.0%) and 72 (52.2%) respondents in Worthing and Leicester respectively scored the equilibrium ratio or below, while a minority of 48 (47%) and 66 (47.8%) respectively scored above the equilibrium ratio, that is to say they showed a bias towards informal activities. The proportions of the populations grouped around the equilibrium ratio were as follows:-

	Below 1 : 1	1 : 1	Above 1 : 1
Worthing	37 (36.3%)	17 (16.7%)	48 (47%)
Leicester	57 (41.3%)	15 (10.9%)	66 (47.8%)

It had been expected that the Worthing population, for reasons expressed earlier, would have shown a greater dependence on formal activities, but in fact this bias was seen to be more characteristic among Leicester respondents. The reasons for this were uncertain, although the difference between the two populations was accounted for by those who registered a 1 : 1 ratio rather than those who registered a higher dependence on informal activities. On

Table 9 (14) Ratio of Informal : Formal Activities

<u>Class</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1	0 to 0.5 : 1	22	21.6	32	23.2
2	0.6 to 1.0 : 1	32	31.4	40	29.0
3	1.1 to 1.5 : 1	11	10.8	18	13.0
4	1.6 to 2.0 : 1	13	12.7	22	15.9
5	2.1 to 2.5 : 1	5	4.9	4	2.9
6	2.6 to 3.0 : 1	7	6.9	7	5.1
7	3.1 to 3.5 : 1	1	1.0	0	
8	3.6 to 4.0 : 1	3	2.9	5	3.6
9	4.1 : 1	8	7.8	10	7.2
Totals		102	100.0	138	99.9

Chi-square not significant

Ratio of 1 : 1

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Worthing	17	16.7%
Leicester	15	10.9%

the whole, the respondents in both study areas revealed a greater dependence on informal activities than on formally constituted activities. Of course, this trend was evident only within the context of the activities specifically investigated.

The ratio scores were examined for evidence of variation within the context of three variables, those of class, mobility and the survey adjustment score. In respect of socio-economic class, the modal category of activity-ratio in both study areas shifted in consistent fashion between the classes.

The modal scores of S.E.G.1 were within Class 1 (ratio 0 to 0.5:1), indicating a higher scoring on formal than on informal activities, while S.E.G.2 and S.E.G.3 in both study areas found their modal score in Class 2 (ratio 0.5 to 1:1), indicating a lesser preference for formal activities over informal activities. S.E.G. 4 and 5, however, found their modal scores in Class 4 in Worthing (ratio 1.6 to 2.0:1) and Class 3 in Leicester (ratio 1.1 to 1.5:1), indicating a preference for informal activities. There was a definite trend, therefore, of higher socio-economic groups scoring an activity ratio inclined towards greater dependence on formal activities and lower socio-economic groups scoring a ratio reflecting greater dependence on informal activities. In contrast to the findings of the ratio-scores as a whole, this finding did conform with the expectation that the generally higher socio-economic groups would be more dependent on formal activities than on the generally lower socio-economic groups. Furthermore, this trend was evident not only in Worthing, as expected, but also among the Leicester sample.

Similarly, any indications of variations in response due to varying rates of mobility observed within the scores of the populations as a whole became clearer when the activity ratio was examined specifically in relationship with the mobility variable. Within the Leicester sample no trends were specifically evident since most respondents were clustered within mobility groups 1, 2 and 3 (3 or less moves since 1945). Of the three respondents in Leicester who had moved more frequently, one was within ratio Class 1 (0 to 0.5 : 1) and two were within Class 2 (0.5 to 1.0 : 1). While showing a 'preference' for formal activities, the numbers involved in high mobility rates were too small to be identified with any distinctive trend. Among the Worthing sample, however, greater variations than these could be observed. Within mobility groups 1 to 3, as in Leicester, there was a spread of ratio scores throughout the whole range possible, but in groups 4 and above, of a total of 28 respondents only 6 registered an activity ratio of more than

2.0 : 1, of whom 3 registered very high ratio scores of 3.6 : 1 and above. The majority of 'frequent' migrants (22 respondents, 78.6% all those moving 4 or more times since 1945), however, were clustered in the range of scores 0 to 2.0 : 1 and, of these, the majority (some 14 in number) registered ratio scores of 1 : 1 or less. These findings would appear to confirm in some measure the general hypothesis, that those who migrate frequently tend to find their levels of activity, and hence their medium of social adjustment, primarily within formal reference groups where there is a well defined area of common interest. A few individuals who migrate frequently, however, would appear to find their adjustment at the opposite end of the social spectrum, by withdrawing almost totally from activities which require social relationships to be developed and maintained at a formal level, and concentrating on activities that do not necessarily require the company of others. Such conclusions are not unrelated to the basic psychological characteristics of the individual and whether or not there is a tendency to be introverted or extroverted by nature.

The final area of investigation was with regard to the relationship between the activity ratio and the survey adjustment score. Of those with a ratio in favour of formal activities (Classes 1 and 2) a greater proportion of respondents registered scores higher than the adjustment mode than below the mode. In ratio Class 3 and above (ratio 1 : 1 upwards) the dominant category of adjustment was the modal category itself (and in Leicester those scoring below the mode - 15.4% - were in fact greater in number than those scoring above the mode - 10.6%). It would appear, therefore, that involvement with formal activities contributed towards better adjustment, as measured by the survey adjustment score.

It has been noted that the Worthing sample population responded to the measures of activity in such a way that a polarisation of behaviour towards 'formal' or 'informal' activities was apparent. It was suggested that the reason for this polarisation might lie in the well defined set of social

activities that emerge with recurrent mobility. In Chapter 8, it was noted that the Leicester sample maintained more intensive and regular contacts with family members than did the Worthing sample. The Leicester sample also revealed a greater dependence on those 'informal' activities which did not necessarily involve other members of the family. These various strands of behaviour consistently pointed towards a general pattern of activities associated with each of the study populations. The Worthing sample was characterised by activity which was not wholly dependent on regular or sustained contact with kin and which tended to be carried out either in formal groups or in informal expressions. The Leicester sample, in comparison, with its history of residence in the same area, began to indicate a pattern of activity which was fairly dependent upon proximity to the family, which consisted of limited involvement in formal activities and which revealed a more balanced structure of formal and informal activities.

There are many possible interpretations which might be put on these variations. That chosen here has stressed the relationship between the different levels of mobility between the sample populations and the different styles of life and activity which, while due to influences such as class and the residential proximity of children, also reflect the pressures and habits that accompany varying degrees of mobility.

c. The wider pattern of social life.

The foregoing section has investigated certain well defined activities within the study populations, their frequency of participation and their relationship to each other within the defined categories of 'formal' and 'informal'. The whole question of social activity was broadened by the provision in the survey questionnaire of an open-ended response to the question, "In what other activities do you regularly participate?" The sample populations were invited to enter any activities, other than those discussed above, that they considered important to their pattern of everyday

life. It may be argued that this approach gives rise to an inconsistency in response in that, for example, 'reading' or 'playing Scrabble' may be included within one person's response but not that of another, when both may actually participate in such activities. In reply to this charge, however, it may be said that, with the question of inclusion or non-inclusion remaining the decision of the individual, the criteria for inclusion becomes a subjective matter, and only those matters considered to be important will be stated. It may be, therefore, that reading as an activity is significant in the daily pattern of activities of some individuals but not important to others. Whether or not it is felt to be so will be left to the individual to decide. Respondents were not limited in the number of activities they were able to mention nor in the type of activity. Within the framework of the question, however, they were asked to define the frequency with which they participated in the specified activities on the same scale of the formal and informal activities above, that is, monthly, weekly, daily or occasionally.

In analysing the survey responses, the activities were scrutinised for suitable categorisation and the following classes emerged: first, participation in "sports and games" included competitive or physically active sports such as golf, tennis or swimming, and physically passive games such as Scrabble, bridge or other card games. Second, membership of "clubs and societies" indicated a further involvement in formal group memberships. (Membership of a club may not necessarily involve participation in the activity around which the club is based; for example, a golf club may be joined for social rather than for sporting motives!) Third, were "other" activities, too diverse in their nature to be accurately grouped but generally reflecting highly individual interests such as photography or 'do-it-yourself', and general everyday activities such as reading or gardening. Each activity specified in the response was counted as one 'mention'. The number of 'mentions' in the total response was 145 in the Worthing sample and 182 in the Leicester sample, an average of 1.42 and 1.32 per respondent in each

area respectively (see Table 9 (15)). Of the 'mentions', the majority in both study areas referred to the third category of "other activities" with 63.7% and 47.8% of the sample populations in Worthing and Leicester respectively mentioning these activities. Membership of clubs or societies ranked second in response (47.1% and 44.2% sample mentions in Worthing and Leicester respectively) with sports and cards ranking third (31.4% and 34.9% respectively).

Not all respondents mentioned activities within all three categories and, indeed, 19.6% Worthing sample and 26.1% Leicester sample specified no further activities (see Table 9 (16)). The majority of respondents mentioned activities within one category only, the proportions being broadly similar in both study areas (36.3% in Worthing and 31.9% in Leicester). Of these, the minority registered activities within the categories of "sports and cards" or "clubs and societies", the majority expressing involvement in individual activities. This was particularly so in Worthing, perhaps reflecting the polarisation of activity patterns and, in particular, the pole of informal activity.

25.5% of the sample in Worthing and 26.8% in Leicester indicated their involvement in activities within two of the three categories. The dominant combination was that of membership of "clubs and societies" with "other" individual activities drawing nearly one-half of the Worthing response and over one-third of the Leicester response. The Leicester response was identical to the combination of "sports and games" with "clubs and societies", and almost identical to a combination of "sports and cards" with "other" activities. In Worthing, however, response to these two combinations fell well below response to the dominant one, again perhaps reflecting a polarisation of activity.

Less than one-fifth of the sample populations (18.6% in Worthing and 15.2% in Leicester) indicated involvement within all three categories of activity, thus expressing a very broadly balanced structure of social activity, in addition to a high degree of involvement. These respondents,

Table 9 (15) Social Activity 'mentions' among the Survey Populations

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>Total mentions</u>	<u>% of sample mentioning (100%:102)</u>	<u>Total mentions</u>	<u>% of sample mentioning (100%:138)</u>
A. Sports & Games	32	31.4	55	39.8
B. Clubs & Societies	48	47.1	61	44.2
C. Other activities	65	63.7	66	47.8
<hr/>				
Totals	145		182	
	Average mentions = 1.42/respondent		Average mentions = 1.32/respondent	

Table 9 (16) Categories of social activity response

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>mentions by</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>mentions by</u>	<u>%</u>
No activity	20	19.6	36	26.1
1 Activity	37 A=3 B=7 C=27	36.3	44 A = 9 B+14 C=21	31.9
2 Activities	26 A+B=7 B+C=15 A+C=4	25.5	37 A+B=13 B+C=13 A+C=11	26.8
3 Activities	19	18.6	21	15.2
<hr/>				
Totals	102	100.0	138	100.0

however, were a small proportion of the total sample population and were at the opposite end of the social spectrum from the majority of the elderly sample who had little or no involvement in social activities. 55.9% of the Worthing sample and 58.0% of the Leicester sample, it should be remembered, were involved in none or only one social activity. The majority of the elderly people studied, therefore, had limited interests in the wider pattern of social life.

The specific responses within each category covered an extensive range of activities. "Sports and games" are summarised in Table 9 (17), in rank order of response. Eight items received a total of two or more mentions among the Worthing sample, compared to ten items among the (larger) Leicester sample. Seven of the items were common to both study areas, although there were variations in the rank-response, whist being the only common activity in the top three. The exception of the list - swimming - is explained by the location of Worthing by the sea and the practice of numerous retired people in having a 'daily dip' during the summer months.²⁴ The three activities mentioned two or more times in Leicester but not in Worthing were snooker and dominoes and watching cricket or football (the last were mentioned once in Worthing). This difference may be a reflection of the different cultural interests within the different social classes of the samples. A number of activities were mentioned only once, and in Worthing they tended to reflect the environmental opportunities of the area (cycling, tennis, walking, etc.), in contrast to the 'cultural' bias of the Leicester activities (darts, dancing, bingo).

Responses within the category "clubs and societies" are summarised in Table 9 (18). They included references to sporting clubs (golf and bowls) where membership of the club rather than the playing of the sport itself

²⁴. Verbal evidence from numerous Worthing respondents.

Table 9 (17) Activities: Sports and Games

<u>WORTHING</u>			<u>LEICESTER</u>		
<u>Rank</u> <u>Order</u>		<u>Sample</u> <u>mentions</u>	<u>Rank</u> <u>Order</u>		<u>Sample</u> <u>mentions</u>
1	Scrabble	7	1=	"Card games"	11
2=	Bowls	6	1=	Whist	11
2=	Whist	6	1=	Cricket/football	11
4=	Swimming	5	4	Bridge	8
4=	Bridge	5	5	Scrabble	7
6	"Card games"	4	6=	Snooker	4
7	Angling	3	6=	Fishing	4
8	Golf	2	8	Bowls	3
			9	Golf	2
			10	Dominoes	2

With one mention:

Walking, tennis, cycling, snooker
chess, racing, cricket.

With one mention:

Crib, darts, old time dancing, Bingo,
swimming, sailing.

was the stressed characteristic. Nine activities in Worthing and eight in Leicester drew three or more responses, but very few items appeared in both lists, membership of just three types of club being common to both study areas (namely Old People's Clubs, Bowling clubs and Music clubs). For the rest, the Worthing clubs expressed civic and community interests (Townswomen's Guild, Church activities, Rotary, Luncheon clubs and citizens' associations) as did the Leicester responses (Local Tories and National Trust). Of great interest, however, was the fact that the two activities heading the list in each study area did not receive significant mention in the other. Horticultural groups (reflecting interests in plants and

Table 9 (18) Activities: Clubs and Societies

<u>WORTHING</u>			<u>LEICESTER</u>		
<u>Rank Order</u>		<u>Sample mentions</u>	<u>Rank Order</u>		<u>Sample mentions</u>
1	Horticulture	10	1=	Adult Education	11
2	Townswomen's Guild	9	1=	Working Men's Club	11
3	Church activities	8	3	Elderly	8
4	Bowls	6	4=	Bowling	4
5=	Rotary	3	4=	National Trust	4
5=	Luncheon club	3	4=	Golf Club	4
5=	Old People's	3	4=	Conservative Club	4
5=	Music	3	8	Music Club	3
5=	Citizens	3			

Other mentions:

Civil service club
 Archeological Society
 National Trust
 Red Cross
 Art Club
 Conservative Club
 Toc H.
 Fishing Society

Other mentions:

Luncheon club
 Archeological Society
 Friendship Club
 Blind-deaf association
 Footpaths club
 Townswomen's Guild
 Church clubs

gardening) and membership of the Townswomen's Guild ranked highest in Worthing, of which only the latter received any mention in Leicester. Adult Education Classes and Working Men's Clubs ranked highest in Leicester, only the former receiving mention in Worthing (twice) within the specific context of the particular interest (Art and Archeology).

The third category of "other activities" remained open ended in definition by virtue of the variety of activities mentioned. Despite the variety, however, it was remarkable that the rank order of items within the two study populations showed great similarities (see Table 9 (19)). Gardening ranked highest in both cases with mentions by 35.3% of the Worthing sample and 22.5% of the Leicester sample. The other three activities with highest rank - reading, walking, and 'musical interests'- were identical in both study populations although the rank order was different. Similarly, the activities ranking 5 to 9 were identical in both areas although once again there was some variety in rank order. Of three other activities scoring two or more mentions in either of the study areas, only photography was common to both, with Worthing mentions of birdwatching and involvement in the residents' association, as against Leicester mentions of theatrical activity and regular pub attendance.

The similarity of response between the two study areas in respect of these activities was remarkable, particularly in view of the differences of profile characteristic between the study populations. It will be noted that most of the activities fell within an individual and informal definition, with only music, charitable and theatrical activities and involvement in a residents' association committing the respondents to formal meetings. It is when compared with the different interests thrown up within the more formal categories of "clubs" and "sports and games" that the contrasting patterns of response were most marked. It would appear that the selectivity and choice which determines activity showed most variation within the context of formal group activities where the choice of group tended to reflect interests which may be attributed to class, education or mobility, in other words, a particular cultural life-style. Within the other activities, however, which tended to be more informal, there appeared to be a 'core' group of activities which were selected by and participated in by the elderly population at large. These core activities did not seem to bear any relation to other factors in the

Table 9 (19) Further Activities

<u>WORTHING</u>			<u>LEICESTER</u>		
<u>Rank</u> <u>Order</u>		<u>Sample</u> <u>mentions</u>	<u>Rank</u> <u>Order</u>		<u>Sample</u> <u>mentions</u>
1	Gardening	36	1	Gardening	31
2	Walking	14	2	Reading	14
3	Reading	13	3	Music	7
4	Music	9	4=	Walking	6
5	Charity	8	4=	D.I.Y.	6
6	Travel	4	6=	Charity	5
7=	D.I.Y.	3	6=	Painting	5
7=	Painting	3	8	Knitting	4
7=	Knitting	3	9	Travel	3
10=	Birdwatching	2	10=	Photography	2
10=	Residents' Assoc.	2	10=	Theatricals	2
10=	Photography	2	10=	Pub visits	2

first instance. Between the two study populations, therefore, with their variations in mobility, class and education, a similar pattern of core activities was exposed and the extent to which this pattern reflects the notion of a standardisation of cultural and activity expectations would require further study.²⁵

25. Such a standardisation might indicate processes at work similar to those implied by the concept of 'standard motives', see Chapter 2, pp. 28-29.

III. Discussion and Conclusions

The pattern of social activities revealed within the study populations was complex. Social activity is related to the seeking of a personal social equilibrium by the individual and, although the social life-style of the individual is unique, certain wider patterns of community activity were identified within the survey populations. The differences in mobility patterns between the two study populations were expected to give rise to variations in social participation and in practice the findings were not always as expected.

Certain specific activities were examined across the two study populations for evidence of the intensity and frequency of participation. They were defined as being of a formal or an informal nature. It was expected that the Worthing sample, given to greater mobility and a higher ranking on social class measures, would tend towards participation in formal activities to a greater extent than the less mobile, long-term residents of Leicester. The research findings, however, showed that selectivity did not operate on the basis of mobility alone but was a reflection of the interdependence of numerous factors. Mobility, in itself, seemed to give rise to a polarisation of response with the individual tending to adopt a pattern of activities almost wholly in one or other of the two activity categories. Across the whole spectrum of activity, the Worthing sample showed greater tendency to participation in informal activities while the Leicester sample, in comparison, revealed a greater dependence on formal activities. This was a trend which went against expectations, particularly as formal activities were more likely to be associated with higher ranking on social class and higher scoring on the survey adjustment measure. Although the results themselves contained limitations as a consequence of the limited scope and purpose of the activity measures, the consistent patterns of collective behaviour that emerged from the study were sufficiently distinctive to form a basis on which to develop understanding of social behaviour among the elderly.

The extent of participation in a wider range of freely specified activities was also studied. The activities divided fairly naturally into three distinctive groups, namely 'sports and games', 'clubs and societies' and all other activities. Previous categorisations of leisure activities have developed the theme of leisure in relation to work.²⁶ In the absence of the work element, however, leisure stands as a broad field without external reference points. An alternative perspective to sub-categorisation may be suggested by the notion of the 'active' or 'passive' orientation of the social activity. Thus, for example, 'sports and games' may be divided between those activities which are physically active such as golf, walking or tennis, and those which are physically passive such as Scrabble or card games where the emphasis is more in mental than physical activity.

Membership of clubs and societies may usually be defined further by the underlying themes which are represented. Certain clubs exist primarily for social reasons (e.g. Working men's clubs or 'Evergreen' clubs), or for sporting reasons (e.g. bowls, golf). Certain groups may be attributed to educational functions (e.g. Adult Education classes or Musical clubs) while others reflect community functions and interests or purely recreational activities. Similarly, the "other activities" mentioned contain several subclasses of activity. For example, purely individual activities for relaxation may be identified (e.g. reading) in addition to activities which have the object of their activity in both individual need and in their contribution to the wider community (e.g. voluntary work with charities).

These categorisations have their usefulness in uncovering the basic themes of activity among the elderly. Where they have their major limitation, however, is in the extent to which they further understanding of the social roles of the elderly. This chapter has been primarily concerned with

26. See the discussion around the work of Kelly and Kimmel, Chapter 2, p. 41.

studying the patterns of activity that may be identified within the elderly community. The activities themselves are the 'object' of the individual working out his understanding of the role, expectations and responsibilities of retirement. The 'subject' of this activity remains in the specific motivations of the individual in joining, or associating with, the activity. For some, the activities will be pursued as the consequence of an active and life-long interest in the topic which forms the basis of the group activity. Others may attend through the need to fill time, or to meet friendship needs within the context of a well-defined activity.

While certain activity themes have emerged from this study, it is important to realise that, while it is possible to define the activities in themselves it is also possible to define the participation rather than the activity. In the latter case, the boundaries to each activity are not fixed but are flexible according to the needs of the individual or the dynamics of the group. Thus, for example, an individual attending an adult education class may have as a primary aim the fulfilment of an interest in the subject in hand, while other attenders may find social and recreational dependencies being met. Indeed, a group constituted for any purpose may be meeting not only the (various) primary dependencies of each individual member of the group, but also secondary dependencies. The boundaries of the activity are not clearly defined, therefore, and an understanding of the central motivating rationale of both individual and group is essential to a full understanding of the different and varied roles that are met and fulfilled within the context of one primary activity.

These thoughts arise as a development from the current study in which the primary aim was to uncover the basic groupings of social activity within the sample populations and to discover the effects of mobility on the social life of the elderly. As has been seen, mobility contributed to a polarisation of social adjustment among the elderly, between those who found their adjustment within group activities and those who retreated into an individual and

informal adjustment within the home and among unorganised social contacts. Movement along the social continuum, and establishing the point of personal and group equilibrium, have to be faced by the elderly both as individuals, in their search for personal adjustment, and as a group, as they respond to the changing pressures and roles put on them by society. Society's pressures are in constant flux and the individual behaves independently, although contributing to, the elderly group norm. In such a behavioural climate, a precise definition of the extent to which social activity contributes to social adjustment is one which remains elusive.

CHAPTER 10. ADJUSTMENT TO RESIDENTIAL CHOICE

I. Introduction

This study has approached and interpreted the migration of the elderly from three principal perspectives. First, it has identified the emergence of regions and areas characterised by high proportions of elderly migrants; second, it has attempted to discover some of the basic assumptions, motivations and aspirations underlying this migration; and third, it has discussed the social and familial characteristics of the elderly within the context of the act of migration. One final issue, and by no means the least important, concerns the extent to which elderly people, both individually and corporately, benefit by migration, and the extent to which migration itself can be an agent of adjustment.

Concepts of residential adjustment embrace a wide spectrum of ideas, referring in part to the influence of the physical and material environment on the individual and the capacity of the individual to adjust to external and internal factors of social and psychological dissonance. There is also an assumption, at least in theory, that, given a state of maladjustment, the individual has a certain degree of opportunity to exercise personal choice and to attempt to achieve adjustment by a change of inner expectation, a direct change in the external environment, or indirectly by adopting a new or modified environment through migration. Migration, in this sense, may be an agent of adjustment. One of the basic assumptions of this study has been to recognise the twin themes of social and spatial adjustment and the role of migration in contributing to individual and group adjustment behaviour. Part II of the study has shown how, at a national level, there has been a growing polarisation in the location of the elderly, in particular their concentration in certain coastal locations. Migration has been seen to be one of the dominant demographic processes in this redistribution. The social characteristics of the elderly have been examined among samples of population who, in aggregate, tended to show a propensity towards the extremes of

migration behaviour. At the same time, the survey adjustment score provided a basic measure of individual and group adjustment. Numerous other social indicators have been discussed and, in particular, those highlighting the various degrees of family and social contacts have been shown to align quite closely with the basic measures of mobility and the general population profile characteristics.

A problem remains, however, once these characteristics have been examined on a systematic basis, namely that of relating these numerous and disparate elements to each other to provide an integrated understanding of their inter-relationship and the overall pattern which they present. Such an integration is desirable not only for the purposes of explanation but also to provide a framework in which future studies may be developed. The problem was approached by a speculative application of a discriminant analysis to certain 'mobility-adjustment groups' within the study populations. The analysis, by initially assuming the groupings which derive from the sample population responses on the two measures of the survey adjustment score and the mobility indicator, examined the extent to which the variables identified as showing critical variation accounted for the observed groupings. Such an exercise serves not only to integrate the diverse aspects of the topic but also to provide the basis of a behavioural understanding of what characteristics are likely to contribute to both successful adjustment through migration and a higher level of personal adjustment by non-migration.

A related theme concerns those qualities in the environment which enhance or detract from the personal well-being of the individual within his own residential area. As the motivations for migration were seen primarily to reflect concerns either in housing conditions or the general environment, so these factors may also contribute to the present level of residential satisfaction of the individual. Thus, before discussing the application of discriminant analysis in the context of mobility and adjustment characteristics of the study populations, this chapter first discusses the attitudes of

the study populations towards their immediate environments.

II. Residential Satisfaction

A number of attitudes towards the home and the general residential environment were explored among the study populations. With regard to general satisfaction with the home, the question was asked: "Do you feel that your present home is adequate for your needs?"¹ and the responses are summarised in Table 10 (1), showing significant variation between the two study areas. Of the Worthing sample, most of whom had moved into the study area on the basis of seeking residential adjustment, only 4 respondents (3.9%) expressed the view that their home was inadequate in any sense, a proportion trebled by the numbers in Leicester (16 respondents, 11.6%) who felt that their home was not adequate. On inquiring into the reasons for the negative responses, it was discovered that in Leicester most related to the large size of the residential property. In contrast, three of the Worthing responses indicated that rooms were too small, two adding that they would like the provision of a second toilet, while the fourth found that, following her husband's death, loneliness was the main cause of her dissatisfaction. Among the Leicester respondents, five gave the fact of the house being too large as the cause of their dissatisfaction, while others cited the large size of the garden. As in Worthing, there were two Leicester respondents who would have liked the provision of a second, downstairs, toilet, but there were also three respondents for whom the lack of any indoor toilet facilities was the main cause for complaint. A further two Leicester respondents, suffering from arthritis, would have preferred to live in a bungalow rather than in a house with stairs, but no bungalows were available nearby.

1. For the questionnaire format of this and other questions referred to in this section, see Appendix IV.

Table 10 (1) Perceived satisfaction with housing

	<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Home adequate	98	96.1	122	88.4
Home inadequate	4	3.9	16	11.6
<hr/>				
Total	102	100.0	138	100.0
Chi-square=	4.520.	Significance:	.05	

With 96.1% in Worthing and 88.4% in Leicester finding no cause to state dissatisfaction with their home, it is clear that the majority of the sample populations were generally satisfied with their homes. That a significant variation existed between the sample responses would seem to support the claim that mobility does effect residential adjustment in terms of the property.

In view of the general stability of the Leicester sample, a hypothetical question was asked to determine what type of ideal move might be considered: "If you could choose to move home tomorrow and had free choice of the type of dwelling to move into, what sort of home would it be and where would it be situated? Or would you choose to stay in your present home?". Of the responses, summarised in Table 10 (2), over half (55.1%) indicated that they would choose not to move and a further 31.1% thought that a bungalow or smaller home would better suit their needs. Of these, the majority (22.4% of the total sample) would have wanted to remain close to their existing home, either remaining within Leicester close to other family members or in a 'better neighbourhood'. A further 8.7% of the sample specified a 'bungalow or smaller home' as best suiting their ideal move, either outside of Leicester or in an unspecified location. There were only 3 respondents (2.2%) who specifically would have chosen a move into the Leicestershire countryside

Table 10 (2) LEICESTER - Type of 'ideal' move

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Stay in present home	76	55.1
Bungalow or smaller home in same area	9	6.5
Bungalow or smaller home in different part of Leicester	22	15.9
Bungalow or smaller home elsewhere (specified)	5	3.6
Bungalow or smaller home elsewhere (unspecified)	7	5.1
Leicestershire countryside	3	2.2
Coast	5	3.6
Other	3	2.2
No response	8	5.8
<hr/>		
Total	138	100.0

and only 5 (3.6%) specified a coastal retirement area. Perhaps the most surprising feature of these responses was the predominantly local orientation which the Leicester respondents retained in the face of a set of ideal opportunities. This was due probably not to the fact that they lacked imagination but rather that, after a lifetime largely constrained by local horizons, they were realistic in wanting to retain the familiar in their ageing years. The extent, therefore, to which there was a desire for an idealistic move among the Leicester sample was not very great.

In contrast, the majority of the Worthing sample, by their decision to move, had taken a step they considered necessary in improving their level of residential satisfaction. Therefore, rather than questioning the Worthing sample on what prospective move, if any, they would consider (and undoubtedly some would have moved on to either new properties in Worthing

or to areas outside of the town, a fact evidenced by the local migration data), they were questioned as to what aspects of life they still missed from their former home area. Fifty-one respondents were forthcoming, summarised in Table 10 (3). The largest single response (19; 37.3%) referred to the family and friends with whom contact had been reduced or ceased as a consequence of the move to Worthing. A further 5 responses (9.8%) made mention of 'business associates' and 'social life'. Nine responses (17.6%) made mention of London as a centre for activities of various kinds, and in 6 of these cases the theatres were cited. Other factors referred to former home areas possessing 'better shops' and having 'greater accessibility to transport', and while five respondents mentioned the rural nature of their former home area, three respondents from Lancashire and Yorkshire identified the local character of their respective areas as being most missed. Generally, the characteristics mentioned were related to a general pattern of life which had been lost, rather than to the local physical environment, lending support to the idea that, what is of primary importance in the personal adjustment of the elderly is achieving an equilibrium in respect of the total physical and social environments. To make provision for the physical environment without consideration of the social environment is to invite an imbalance in personal expectation. However, this is not to deny the importance of the physical environment as a factor in the adjustment of the elderly.

An assessment of the physical environment as perceived by the respondents was sought in an attempt to identify those factors which are purely local in origin and significance and those which have a more general awareness within the life of the elderly. Two questions were asked in each of the study areas investigating, first, "the things ... you particularly like about Worthing/Leicester and its area as a place to live in?" and second, "What don't you like about Worthing/Leicester and its area?" Items listed in response to the first question were characterised as 'positive' character-

Table 10 (3) WORTHING - Things missed from former home area

	<u>Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
Friends and relatives	19	37.3
London theatres	6	11.8
Shopping facilities	5	9.8
Rural nature of area	5	9.8
Transport facilities	4	7.8
'Area characteristics'	3	5.9
Proximity to London	3	5.9
Business associates	3	5.9
General social life	2	3.9
Less expensive to live	1	1.9
<hr/>		
Total	51	100.0

istics within the environment, while 'negative' characteristics emerged in response to the second question.

The positive characteristics are enumerated in Table 10 (4), from which it can be seen that a total of 193 items were specified among the Leicester sample population and 313 in Worthing, averages of 1.4 and 3.0 per respondent respectively. Such a contrast in the volume of factors voluntarily suggested by the two sets of respondents was, perhaps, indicative not only of genuine environmental differences between the two study areas but also of the fact that Worthing generated a more positive attitude from its respondents, as evidenced by the fact that many of them moved to the town for specific environmental reasons. In contrast, 'negative' characteristics drew fewer responses: 134 in Leicester and 139 in Worthing, averages of 0.97 and 1.36 mentions per respondent respectively (Table 10 (5)). On the basis of this evidence, it was apparent that the Worthing respondents were generally more

Table 10 (4) Items specified as 'positive' characteristics of the environment.

<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	Responses		Responses
Downland & countryside	56	Parks	38
Sea and/or seafront	36	Surrounding countryside	18
Shopping	35	"Nothing"	18
Sun - climate	28	Local history	16
Friendliness of people	24	Shopping	16
Well laid out - clean	23	"Born in town"	15
Flat	20	Friendliness of people	14
Recreation & activities	15	Clean	11
Cultural activities	14	Amenities - culture	11
Quiet tempo of life	13	Bus services	7
Proximity to London	8	Proximity to family	7
Friendly shop assistants	7	Not too large	7
Character of Findon Valley	4	Museums	5
Moderate size	4	Town Hall Square	5
Sporting activities	4	Trades & businesses	4
"Pleasant"	3	Central location	4
Many retired people an advantage	3	Pleasant streets	3
Location of home	2	Sporting activities	3
Proximity to old friends	2		
Residential rather than holiday town	2	Other items	9
		TOTAL: 193 items	
Other items	10		
(including good parking, good soil, Southern out- look, tree-lined streets, well-run borough, local produce, mobile library, good bus service.)			
TOTAL:	313 items		

Table 10 (5) Items specified as 'negative' characteristics of the environment.

<u>WORTHING</u>		<u>LEICESTER</u>	
	Responses		Responses
Seaweed and flies	31	Tower Blocks	28
Bus services	18	Untidy streets & general 'mess'	19
Bus fares	11	Urban renewal areas	19
Poor seafront	16	Immigrants	18
Council and rates	9	Rough pavements	8
"Too many elderly"	9	Unfriendliness - rudeness	6
Winds and gales	8	"Planning"	5
Social services and doctors over-crowded	4	Traffic	4
Traffic	4	Empty offices	4
Beechams' factory smell	3	Supermarkets & shopping precincts	4
General lack of facilities	3	Bus service	3
Rough pavements	3	Subway vandalism	2
Lack of theatres & culture	2	'Slums'	2
Dogs	2	Poor use of rates	2
Large population increase in recent years	2		
Too quiet and relaxing	2	Other items	10
Sewage smell	2		
Too conservative	2	TOTAL	124
Other items	8		
		"Nothing"	25
TOTAL	139		
"Nothing"	16		

alert not only to the qualities but also to the perceived defects of their environment, and were more articulate than the Leicester respondents in expressing these observations and sensitivities within an open-ended question framework.

The 'positive' characteristics identified in the Worthing environment were very closely aligned with its location and the attributes of the town as identified by the respondents who had chosen to move into the town.² Six characteristics were each mentioned by more than 20% of the respondents, namely 'the Downlands and nearby countryside' (mentioned by 54.9%), 'the sea and seafront' (35.3%), 'shopping facilities' (34.3%), 'the climate' (27.5%), 'the friendliness of the people' (23.5%) and 'the cleanliness and well laid out nature of the town' (22.5%). In contrast, only one item drew more than a 20% response rate from the Leicester sample, namely the 'local parks' which were mentioned by 27.5% of the total sample. Among the other major features identified as being attractive by the Worthing sample were the physically 'flat nature of the area' (mentioned by 19.6%), 'the recreation and amenities' available to residents (14.7%), certain specific 'cultural activities' (13.7%), and the generally 'quiet tempo of life' (12.7%). Five factors were also identified by 10% or more of the Leicester sample, namely 'the surrounding countryside' (13.0%), 'local history' (11.6%), 'shopping facilities' (11.6%), the fact that some were 'born in the town' (10.9%)³ and 'the friendliness of their neighbours' (10.1%). Of special note is the fact that few of these items may be attributed only to the specific area in question, but that they reflect the attractiveness of certain environmental qualities which may be repeated elsewhere. Furthermore, the only two factors to receive mention

2. See Chapter 7, pp. 322 - 327.

3. "I suppose I am just used to it." This comment by one respondent sums up the response of many who had never lived away from their birthplace and for whom there was no reason to do so.

by more than 10% of both sample populations were 'shopping facilities' and the 'friendliness of people', both of which may exist independently of a precise location in the study areas.

It was with reference to their dislikes with an area that both sets of respondents were more incisive in the nature of their comments. There was one item in each of the study areas mentioned by more than 20% of the respective sample populations, namely 'the seaweed and flies' of the Worthing seafront⁴ and the 'tower blocks' of flats and offices which form an ever-increasing part of the Leicester townscape. The items identified by the Leicester respondents almost exclusively referred to the more negative aspects of the urban environment. The presence of extensive areas of urban renewal close to the city centre, vandalism in subways, and the 'untidy streets and general mess' of some areas of the city were all cited by several respondents. On the other hand, the items of dislike cited by the Worthing respondents were of greater variety and, while the major complaints in Leicester referred to the urban environment, the major complaints in Worthing were related to the coastal location. While 'seaweed and flies' on the seafront was the highest ranking complaint, a 'poor seafront and seashore' and 'winds and gales' were frequently mentioned. Public transport within the town, whether in terms of services or fares, received heavy criticism,

4. The problems associated with the less acceptable sides of seaside life have received extensive discussion over recent decades. In 1956, the Borough Council resolved "that the Borough Engineer be authorised to take action at his discretion during the present year to deal with deposits of seaweed and any recurrence of the fly nuisance" after it had been reported that "experts stated that it would be an impracticable proposition to destroy the seaweed at source" (Borough of Worthing, Seaweed Report 1956, 17th October, Town Clerk's Office). A decade later, the same Borough Engineer had "permission authorised to experiment with a system employed on the continent using compressed water forced up in the form of jets from pipes on the sea-bed forming a barrier which has been successful in the prevention of silting...." (Borough of Worthing, Minutes of the Town Council, 1966-7, p. 258) Heavy storms in the English Channel have been known to leave deposits of seaweed on the beach reaching a height of 6 feet or more.

and this fact may be connected with public awareness on the matter being fostered by a debate in the local press in the weeks prior to the survey. Also, the local council was criticised for high rates and the way in which they spent the money. Local bus services and the council were also both mentioned by the Leicester respondents (and possibly are the butt of criticism in most communities). More significantly, however, 13.1% of the Leicester respondents identified (new commonwealth) immigrant residents in the city as a feature of which they did not approve, although the survey work was carried out in areas of the city where the numbers of immigrant residents were few.⁵

Among the Worthing sample there were a number of individual and idiosyncratic complaints, for example, the town was criticised for being 'too conservative' and 'too quiet and relaxing', and a number also complained about 'the smell from the Beechams' factory'.⁶ These aside, the other most interesting comments involved the town's role as a centre for retirement. Of the total number of respondents, 8.8% thought the high density of elderly to be disadvantageous for the town, while a further 3.9% thought that the town's social services and medical facilities were overburdened. Apart from the obvious irony behind these comments, in that the respondents themselves were all above retiring age and the future geriatrics of the town, they did serve to underline the very real psychological differences in attitude and life style between the newly retired, generally in their late sixties and early seventies, and the very elderly who are of sufficient numbers and

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5. Leicester has been one of the major receiving areas of, for example, Ugandan Asians in recent years.
 6. As with the problem of seaweed, the discussions surrounding the unpleasant odours that, from time to time, emanate from the Beechams' laboratory in East Worthing have continued over a decade or more. Between 1968 and 1972 there was strong local opposition to proposed expansion of the plant to the point where the Council recommended "that the Town Planning Committee ... consider with-holding permission for further development ... until such a time as the problems of odour and noise have been satisfactorily resolved". (Borough of Worthing, Minutes of the Town Council, 1968-9, p. 236.) The problems repeatedly called for extensive Council discussions.

intensity to create an explicit social division within the retirement area itself. It was also of note that 18.1% of the Leicester sample and 15.7% of the Worthing sample found 'nothing' that was unattractive about, or detracted from, their satisfaction with their local area.

In deriving these general attitudes and responses to the environment, it has been seen that the characteristics identified as either enhancing or detracting from individual adjustment may be allocated to two principal categories. First, there were some characteristics which were not place-specific, in that they referred to certain qualities of the environment rather than specific objects within it. Second, there were qualities more specific to the individual locations of the respective study areas. Moreover, the qualities of the environment cited by Worthing respondents who had moved into the area were very similar to the qualities which contributed to the migration decision.⁷ However, as if to underline the individual and contradictory attitudes present within the sample populations, some individual characteristics drew both positive and negative responses in both study areas. The bus services in Worthing, for example, while drawing criticism from 28.4% of the respondents, also drew some form of support from 1% of the respondents, and in Leicester a criticism of the bus services by 2.2% of the respondents was outweighed by support from 5.1% of the respondents. Similarly, 15.7% of the Worthing respondents had cause to complain about some aspect of the seafront, but 35.3% indicated that it was one of the features of the town which they most appreciated. There were 2.9% of the Worthing respondents who were dissatisfied with the high numbers of elderly people within the town, but 8.8% felt the age density to be a positive advantage. Similarly, whereas 10.8% of the Leicester respondents thought their city to be generally 'clean', some 13.7% thought it to be a 'dirty' place.

7. See Chapter 7, pp. 322 - 327.

In the light of this diversity of opinion, it would be difficult to identify those specific factors within the general environment which contribute to residential satisfaction. Perhaps the broadest level of general appreciation shown by the study populations was with regard to 'natural amenities' within the environment (for example, parks, downland, the coast). The foundations of personal adjustment and residential satisfaction, however, must lie more within the behavioural disposition of the individual than with the intrinsic qualities of the environment, and some of the individual variations in levels of personal adjustment, for example, may also be explained by different levels of social and familial activity, mobility, occupational status and educational background. It is to point towards such a threshold of explanation, to the limitations of this particular study, and so to the areas in which future work may be developed, that this chapter now turns.

III. Future Perspectives

The consequences of migration among the elderly are the reflection of a complex series of interactions between the social and attitudinal characteristics of the migrants themselves and their role within the community as a whole. Having examined certain characteristics on a systematic basis, the problem of attempting a more integrated understanding of their inter-relationship was resolved by an application of discriminant analysis to those characteristics which showed significant variations between the two study populations. This final section outlines the technique of discriminant analysis and its application within the context of this study.

a. The Technique of Discriminant Analysis.⁸

The technique of discriminant analysis involves the classification of individuals into one of two or more mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories on the basis of their scores on a set of independent variables. The mathematical basis of discriminant analysis is akin to that of multiple regression analysis and seeks to estimate how much of the total variation in the dependent variable can be explained by all of the independent variables acting together. In discriminant analysis, the dependent variable is group membership, thus its objective "is to weight and linearly combine the discriminating variables in some fashion so that the groups are forced to be as statistically distinct as possible".⁹ The technique seeks to determine a number of discriminant functions on which are based the analysis of variables and classification into groups. The maximum number of functions derived is either one less than the number of groups or equal to the number of discriminating variables, whichever is the smaller. This is because the classification boundary is generally an $n - 1$ dimension in n space, for example, if $n = 3$, the boundary is a two dimensional plane in three dimensional space.¹⁰

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8. This study made use of numerous references covering the theoretical basis and empirical application of discriminant analysis, in particular:
- a. P. R. Lohnes: 'Test Space and Discriminant Space Classification Models and Related Significance Tests. Educational and Psychological Measurement, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1961, pp. 559 - 574.
 - b. W. W. Cooley and P. R. Lohnes: Multivariable Procedures for the Behavioural Sciences, John Wiley and Sons, 1962, especially Chapter 6, pp. 116 - 123.
 - c. L. J. King: Statistical Analysis in Geography, Prentice-Hall, 1969.
 - d. D. G. Morrison: 'On the Interpretation of Discriminant Analysis', Journal of Marketing Research, Vol. 6, 1969, pp. 156 - 163.
 - e. M. E. Harvey and S. M. Bhardwaj: 'Spatial Dimensions of Modernisation in a Rural Environment - Rajasthan, India'. Tijdschrift voor Econ. en Soc. Geografie, Vol. 64, No. 3, 1973, pp. 145 - 159.
- The computer programme used in this study was that available on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), Version 6.0, available on file from the University of Manchester Regional Computer Centre. A full description is available in W. R. Klecka: 'Discriminant Analysis', in N. H. Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Revised Edition, McGraw, 1975, pp. 434 - 467.
9. W. R. Klecka: op cit., p. 435.
10. See D. G. Morrison: op cit., p. 156.

The discriminant function¹¹ (in linear form) is expressed as

$$Y = b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + \dots + b_p X_p$$

where Y is the discriminant score

b is the discriminant coefficient score

X is the standardised value on p independent variables.

A mean Y score can be obtained for each group in the analysis by inserting in the equation the mean values of X for each group respectively. The discriminant function is, therefore, basically a regression equation with a dependent variable that represents group membership. The resulting equation, the discriminant function, maximally discriminates the individual members of the sample population and indicates to which group each member probably belongs. The importance of the discriminant function is measured by the relative percentage of the eigenvalue associated with the function, the sum of the eigenvalues being "a measure of the total variance existing in the discriminating variables".¹² The eigenvalue is an absolute measure of the power of a function, measured by the single eigenvalue score expressed as a percentage of the sum of eigenvalues.

A second criterion for gauging the importance of discriminant functions is to test for the statistical significance of discriminating information not already accounted for by the earlier functions. "As each function is derived Wilk's Lambda is computed, lambda being an inverse measure of the discriminating power in the original variables not yet removed by the discriminant function."¹³ Lambda is thus a test of the null hypothesis, tests of which should precede computation of the multiple discriminant analysis.

11. See, for example, *ibid*: p. 156.

12. W. R. Klecka: *op cit.*, p. 442.

13. *ibid*: p. 442.

The discriminant functions are derived in such a way that the first function gives maximum possible separation to the groups. Subsequent functions are derived to obtain maximum separation of groups after orthogonal rotation from the previous axis. The discriminant scores are computed by adding together the product of each discriminating variable multiplied by its respective coefficient. Each case has a score computed on each function and, for the purposes of comparability, coefficients and scores are calculated in standardised form (mean = 0; standard deviation = 1). Aggregation of individual scores allows computation of a group mean for each function, and a group centroid which is the mean of all functions in discriminant function space.

The technique measures the power of the discriminating variables to discriminate between groups when combined into discriminant functions. Furthermore, coefficient scores for each variable are loaded on each function and allow recognition of which variables are most successful in differentiating along the respective functions. Functions are so arranged in order of decreasing importance that the first function exhibits maximum discriminating power and each successive function its optimal discriminating power. The criteria by which independent variables were selected for inclusion in this analysis was that of the overall multivariate 'F' ratio of variance estimates applied to the differences among the group centroids.¹⁴

Certain problems of distortion have to be considered if the analysis is to be valid, the most important being that high degrees of correlation

14. The SPSS programme utilised in this analysis allowed various options as to the basis on which independent variables were selected for inclusion in the analysis. For example, one option allowed the variables to be entered into the analysis concurrently and the discriminant functions to be derived from the whole set of independent variables regardless of their individual discriminating power. The option chosen incorporated a step-wise selection process, enabling individual variables to be entered into the analysis on the basis of their discriminating power.

between the independent variables should be avoided.¹⁵ If two or more independent variables with a high degree of correlation are included in the analysis, the variances of the discriminant coefficients will be unnecessarily large and it will be more difficult to interpret the contribution of each independent variable to the coefficient score.

However, despite these potential problems, a discriminant analysis has several advantages to commend it.¹⁶ First, it can produce the optimal classification of individual cases into a number of a priori sub groups, and this is the aspect of the technique which is most suited to testing the validity of certain groupings derived from the survey analysis in this study. Second, it can assign previously unclassified cases to one of a set of existing groups, and is the point at which the technique possesses predictive powers, a theme that will receive discussion at the end of this chapter where the potential of the tool in further research is examined. Third, it may be used in determining the importance of the independent variables in contributing to the discrimination between different sub-groups of the total population. In summary, therefore, the technique has applications to this study, particularly in terms of analysis and classification.

b. Analysis of the Study Populations

Discriminant analysis tests the classification of individuals into one of two or more a priori groups on the basis of their scores on a set of independent discriminating variables. The groups in this instance were derived from the 'mobility score'¹⁷ and 'survey adjustment scores'¹⁸ and the independent variables are those which, individually, showed significant

15. D. G. Morrison: op cit., p. 162

16. See, for example, the discussion in M.E. Harvey and S. M. Bhardwaj: op cit., p. 149.

17. See Chapter 7, pp. 297 - 300.

18. See Chapter 6, pp. 268 - 270.

variation between the two study populations during the course of analysis (as discussed in Chapters 6 to 9).

From a cross-tabulation of the mobility score and the survey adjustment score, nine groups of respondents were identified (see Figure 10 (1)). The modal class on each measure was adopted as the central measure, thus groupings polarised around these axes with 'above modal' and 'below modal' scores forming the more extreme groups. The nine groups should not be regarded as definitive groupings of the survey respondents at a pre-analysis stage, but rather as representing the disposition of individuals towards a particular location on the social and mobility continua. The discriminating variables were derived from the survey analysis rather than being devised specifically for the discriminant analysis. In summary, therefore, the application of this technique is to be seen as a cross-check between respondents' locations on the two continua and the significance of the independent variables in distinguishing between those individuals who were, or who were likely to have been, good or bad adjusters to migration.

Discriminant analysis is concerned with the power of the independent variables to statistically account for the subdivision of the total population into the pre-determined sub-groups. The sample populations were combined for the analysis, giving total sample groupings as shown in Table 10 (6a). It was, of course, essential that a complete data set on the independent variables be available for any individual case included within the analysis. The combining of the two sample populations gave a potential analysis on 214 cases (89.2% of the total sample populations) but in practice, and depending on which groups were specified for analysis, the number of cases included in the analysis were lower.

Table 10 (6b) sets out the group membership of the Worthing and Leicester samples. The largest single group among the Worthing sample was that of 'above average adjustment' and 'above average mobility', whilst ranking second and third were those groups with a modal class score on the adjustment

Figure 10 (1). Mobility - Adjustment Groups

		Mobility		
		Low (Below Modal Score)	Average (Modal Score)	High (Above Modal Score)
Adjustment	Low	GROUP 1 Low Adjustment Low Mobility	GROUP 2 Low Adjustment Average Mobility	GROUP 3 Low Adjustment High Mobility
	Average	GROUP 4 Average Adjustment Low Mobility	GROUP 5 Average Adjustment Average Mobility	GROUP 6 Average Adjustment High Mobility
	High	GROUP 7 High Adjustment Low Mobility	GROUP 8 High Adjustment Average Mobility	GROUP 9 High Adjustment High Mobility

Table 10 (6a) Group Memberships

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>COMBINED SAMPLE MEMBERSHIP</u>
1	Low Mobility - Low Adjustment	20
2	Average Mobility - Low Adjustment	22
3	High Mobility - Low Adjustment	10
4	Low Mobility - Average Adjustment	27
5	Average Mobility - Average Adjustment	33
6	High Mobility - Average Adjustment	22
7	Low Mobility - High Adjustment	26
8	Average Mobility - High Adjustment	19
9	High Mobility - High Adjustment	35
<hr/> TOTAL		214

Table 10 (6b) Sample Group Membership

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>WORTHING</u>	<u>LEICESTER</u>
1	1	19
2	8	14
3	8	2
4	3	24
5	15	18
6	15	7
7	2	24
8	11	8
9	29	6
<hr/> TOTAL		122

measure and an average or above average mobility score. Among the Leicester sample, however, the three top ranking groups were those scoring below the modal class on mobility, with no distinction in numbers between those in the modal and above modal adjustment classes. The major variation between the samples, therefore, was on the basis of mobility, with only secondary variation occurring around the adjustment score. The significance of the variations observed in the combined sample tabulation was statistically confirmed by a chi-square test (value 11.66, Significance: 0.025).

The discriminant analyses were performed on the survey data. The first considered all nine a priori classification groups, during which it became evident that there was a stronger relationship between the independent variables and those groups which represented the non-modal extremes of mobility and survey adjustment scores, than with those groups which in some measure embraced a modal score on one of the dimensions. The exception to this pattern was that group which combined modal scores on both the mobility and survey adjustment measures. The second analysis, therefore, considered the four groups which represented a propensity towards an extreme score, together with the 'all-modal' group. As both analyses possessed certain features in common they will be discussed comparatively and referred to as Analysis I and Analysis II respectively.

Total numbers of respondents within each of the a priori classification groups varied considerably (see Table 10 (7)), and inclusion within the analysis was dependent upon complete data sets. The largest groups were those which combined average adjustment scores with low or average mobility scores (Groups 4 and 5), while lowest group counts reflected a combination of low adjustment scores and average or high mobility scores. Membership of each group was consistent for both analyses, but as Analysis II utilised only five of the nine groups there were variations in the sample totals for each analysis.

The variables included within the analysis were those which showed

Table 10 (7) Group Counts on Analysis

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>GROUP COUNT</u>
* 1	Low Mobility - Low Adjustment	11
2	Average Mobility - Low Adjustment	7
* 3	High Mobility - Low Adjustment	7
4	Low Mobility - Average Adjustment	21
* 5	Average Mobility - Average Adjustment	20
6	High Mobility - Average Adjustment	12
* 7	Low Mobility - High Adjustment	16
8	Average Mobility - High Adjustment	12
* 9	High Mobility - High Adjustment	16

* Groups included in Analysis II.

significant variations between and within the sample populations during the systematic analysis of topics. Of a potential 18 significant variables, certain had to be eliminated from the analysis for reasons of close inter-correlation. Six variables were omitted for this reason, giving twelve for inclusion in the discriminant analysis, namely, the age at which full-time education ceased, socio-economic class, health at the time of retirement, the number of years resident in the home, the type of home and type of tenancy, satisfaction with the home, an index of family contact, the number of hours per day spent watching television, an index of informal activity, and two attitude measures relating to the new life style of retirement and the changing roles of the elderly in society (see Table 10 (8)).

The analysis first analysed the standard deviations of scores on each variable and formed scores on Wilks' lambda (U - statistic) and the F - ratio test of variance. These statistics are summarised in Table 10 (9). The total sample for Analysis I registered lower mean scores on certain variables (Variables I, II, III, IX and XI - see Table 10 (8)) indicating a slightly

Table 10 (8) The Discriminating Variables.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Derived from</u>
I	Age at which full-time <u>education</u> ceased	Chapter 6
II	<u>Socio-economic class</u>	Chapter 6
III	<u>Health</u> at the time of retirement	Chapter 6
IV	<u>Years</u> resident in the home	Chapter 7
V	<u>Type of home</u>	Chapter 7
VI	Type of <u>tenancy</u>	Chapter 7
VII	<u>Satisfaction with home</u> - suited to housing needs	Chapter 10
VIII	<u>Index of Family Contact</u>	Chapter 8
IX	Hours/day watching <u>Television</u>	Chapter 9
X	<u>Index of Informal Activity</u>	Chapter 9
XI	Attitude to <u>New Life Style</u> of Retirement	Chapter 6
XII	Attitude to changing <u>roles</u> of the elderly	Chapter 6

higher composition of better-educated, higher socio-economic group and better adjusted residents than Analysis II. Standard deviation scores in Analysis II were higher in respect of only four variables (namely II, IV, VI and XI), indicating that in general there was a greater clustering of characteristics than in the more numerous Analysis II.

In calculating within-group correlation values, there were no significant relationships between variables within groups in Analysis I or II. Having calculated the total covariances, the analysis moved on to the determination of the discriminant function scores. The method employed was a stepwise selection of variables, the value of F being used as a criteria for inclusion in the analysis, the basis of selection being to minimise Wilks' lambda at each step. Provision was made for the exclusion of any

Table 10 (9). Discriminating Variables: Summary StatisticsANALYSIS I

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Total group Mean</u>	<u>Total group Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Wilks' Lambda</u>	<u>F</u>
I	3.68	1.06	.83	2.96
II	2.75	.73	.92	1.29
III	1.82	.38	.93	1.13
IV	4.86	1.33	.40	20.79
V	2.84	1.17	.81	3.29
VI	1.31	.70	.86	2.26
VII	1.09	.28	.89	1.74
VIII	3.25	1.31	.85	2.45
IX	2.59	.92	.97	.51
X	4.89	1.96	.95	.69
XI	1.91	1.12	.67	6.94
XII	2.34	1.15	.72	5.36

ANALYSIS II

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Total group Mean</u>	<u>Total group Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Wilks' Lambda</u>	<u>F</u>
I	3.73	1.01	.83	3.35
II	2.77	.78	.92	1.38
III	1.83	.38	.94	1.05
IV	4.76	1.37	.33	32.66
V	2.80	1.08	.70	6.78
VI	1.31	.73	.88	2.19
VII	1.07	.26	.91	1.53
VIII	3.19	1.28	.84	3.15
IX	2.63	.89	.94	1.00
X	4.86	1.92	.95	.77
XI	1.94	1.18	.56	12.96
XII	2.26	1.13	.63	9.35

variables which were closely inter-correlated or not significant to the analysis, but none were excluded. Table 10 (10) is a summary of the stepwise selection process in rank order of selection. In Analysis I, Variables IV (years resident in home), XI ('New life style' attitude) and XII (attitude to 'changing roles') emerged as the most powerful variables on the basis of their close association with the two dimensions of mobility and social adjustment. Variables I, II and III, the profile variables, showed themselves to be of less significance, ranking sixth or below on the selection process. In Analysis II, the four top-ranking variables were identical with those in Analysis I, (Variables IV, XI, XII and VI), but considerable differences emerged with regard to the middle-ranking variables. In particular, Variables VII (Home satisfaction), X (Index of Informal Activity) and II (Socio-economic class) rose in significance in the selection process, with corresponding falls in rank for the other variables.

The eigenvalues associated with each function on each analysis and their respective contributions in accounting for intra-class variability, are summarised in Table 10 (11). In Analysis I, the first function accounted for 55.6% of the variability, compared with 64.1% discriminating power on the first function of Analysis II. Only the first two functions in each analysis were significant in their discriminatory power, and when combined, accounted for 82.5% and 92.1% of variability in Analyses I and II respectively.

The Discriminant function coefficients were computed in standardised form to allow estimation of the influence of each variable on the composition of each function. Eight functions were derived for Analysis I and four functions for Analysis II. These are reproduced in Table 10 (12), with the exceptions of functions seven and eight in Analysis I which did not contribute significantly to the analysis and will not be included in further discussion.

Table 10 (10) Stepwise Selection of Variables: Summary

<u>Step No.</u>	<u>Analysis I</u>	<u>Analysis II</u>
1	Variable IV	IV
2	Variable XI	XI
3	Variable XII	XII
4	Variable VI	VI
5	Variable VIII	VII
6	Variable III	X
7	Variable I	II
8	Variable II	VIII
9	Variable V	IX
10	Variable VII	I
11	Variable IX	III
12	Variable X	V

Table 10 (11) Summary of EigenvaluesANALYSIS I

<u>Function</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>	<u>Percentage of Trace</u>
I	1.87	55.6
II	.91	26.9
III	.24	7.2
IV	.15	4.6
V	.11	3.2
VI	.06	1.8
VII	.02	.7
VIII	.00	.1

ANALYSIS II

<u>Function</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>	<u>Percentage of Trace</u>
I	3.13	64.1
II	1.36	28.0
III	.24	4.9
IV	.15	3.1

Table 10 (12). Loadings on Discriminant Functions: Standardised Scores

ANALYSIS I

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Function 1</u>	<u>Function 2</u>	<u>Function 3</u>	<u>Function 4</u>	<u>Function 5</u>	<u>Function 6</u>
I	.08	-.13	.27	-.62	-.04	-.24
II	.15	-.30	-.20	.21	.46	-.67
III	-.08	-.04	.32	.71	-.21	-.06
IV	-1.39	-.08	-.27	-.46	-.04	-.19
V	.20	-.08	-.58	-.01	.31	-.01
VI	-.40	-.20	-.05	-.03	-.41	.22
VII	-.16	-.04	-.21	.10	.60	.25
VIII	-.11	.06	.60	.06	.43	.49
IX	-.06	.23	.11	.08	-.47	-.19
X	-.10	-.05	.15	-.31	.27	-.38
XI	-.11	.89	.34	.10	.19	-.46
XII	-.01	.77	-.21	-.23	-.28	.47

ANALYSIS II

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Function 1</u>	<u>Function 2</u>	<u>Function 3</u>	<u>Function 4</u>
I	.07	-.18	.08	-.74
II	.05	-.39	-.47	-.27
III	-.19	-.01	-.13	.37
IV	-1.57	.23	.43	-.32
V	.24	.06	-.08	.03
VI	-.44	-.01	.29	-.06
VII	-.30	-.17	-.55	-.05
VIII	-.19	.01	-.55	.25
IX	.03	.30	.29	.05
X	-.22	-.17	-.33	-.69
XI	.03	.97	-.49	-.50
XII	.42	.75	.55	.29

(i) Function I: in both analyses the function was dominated by the loadings on Variable IV (years resident in the home), affirming the connection between the dimension of mobility and the factor of length of residence.

(ii) Function II: in both analyses the function was dominated by the two adjustment variables (XI and XII) which combined to reflect general outlook on life. The social adjustment dimension from which the groups were initially derived was closely aligned with the ideas underlying this function, especially a positive attitude towards the role of the elderly in general and the opportunities of retirement in particular.

(iii) Function III: certain differences were observed between the two analyses. Analysis I showed two variables (V - type of home, VIII - index of Family Contact) combining in strength to characterise the function as one reflecting personal life style, although neither of the variables was directly related to either mobility or social adjustment. Analysis II also featured Variable VIII (index of Family Contact) but the second variable receiving a major loading was Variable VII (satisfaction with home) rather than the 'type of home'. It would seem that attitude rather than status was here a more significant factor in locating individuals within discriminant space.

(iv) Function IV: had high loadings on two personal status variables, namely I (Education) and III (Health at the time of retirement) in Analysis I. Analysis II was also partially dominated by the education variable on this function, but the importance of health at the time of retirement was outweighed by the index of informal activity (Variable X). Thus, rather than being characterised by 'personal status', Function IV in Analysis II was better described as reflecting 'personal activity status' and the distinction is significant in that it places greater emphasis on involvement in the informal social environment rather than simply recognising a level of personal status.

(v) Functions V and VI. Each successive function possesses diminishing power of discrimination and in Analysis I the contribution of Functions V and VI to the analysis was not at any level of significance. Function V was characterised by a high coefficient score on Variable VII (satisfaction with home) while Function VI was characterised by a high coefficient score on Variable II (Socio-economic class). As such, they may be interpreted as extensions of the residential and personal components of Functions III and IV.

The analysis then proceeded by combining discriminant scores on each function for individual cases within each group, thus producing a centroid score for each group on each function (see Table 10 (13)). A centroid score locates the mean group score for each function on a statistical range covering all contingencies, in other words, it may be described as a spatial mean of the distribution in discriminant space. In Analysis I, Function I was closely aligned with the mobility dimension and its centroid scores followed a consistent, expected pattern for each group. The group centroid which deviated most strongly from the average was that of Group 3, suggesting that too frequent mobility may be unsettling and contribute to low adjustment. Although Function II was generally aligned to the adjustment dimension, the group centroid scores did not wholly reflect this alignment, the highest variance occurring in the three groups with the lowest adjustment scores. There was also a high degree of variance in the group combining high mobility with low adjustment (Group 3). A different pattern, however, emerged in respect of Function III, where the greatest variance occurred in Groups 8 (high adjustment - average mobility), 1 (low adjustment- low mobility) and 4 (average adjustment - low mobility). The three very mobile groups (3, 6, 9) all registered low variance on the centroid score, as if to emphasise that life style exists essentially independently of the various changes of residence. In respect of Function IV, most variance was shown among the low adjustment groups while least variance was maintained by those groups with

Table 10 (13) Centroids of Groups in Reduced Space

ANALYSIS I

<u>Group</u>	<u>Function</u> <u>1</u>	<u>Function</u> <u>2</u>	<u>Function</u> <u>3</u>	<u>Function</u> <u>4</u>	<u>Function</u> <u>5</u>	<u>Function</u> <u>6</u>
1	-1.72	1.73	.58	.08	-.01	-.40
2	.22	1.22	.25	-.95	.42	.29
3	2.40	1.60	-.04	.77	.24	.36
4	-1.42	.04	-.69	-.04	.13	.15
5	.42	.01	-.16	-.22	-.64	.01
6	1.40	.15	-.28	.39	-.05	-.19
7	-1.41	-1.15	.21	.38	.11	-.01
8	.31	- .79	.94	-.03	-.07	.30
9	1.50	- .86	-.09	-.30	.33	-.31

ANALYSIS II

<u>Group</u>	<u>Function 1</u>	<u>Function 2</u>	<u>Function 3</u>	<u>Function 4</u>
1	-1.59	2.00	-.20	-.40
2	3.04	1.24	-.59	.64
3	-2.21	- .88	-.21	.35
4	1.28	-1.15	-.30	-.44
5	.55	.09	.72	.06

low or average mobility. This latter pattern was also reflected on Function V, where the other most notable feature was the high variance shown by the group showing average mobility and adjustment scores in respect of satisfaction with the home, perhaps reflecting their position between societal extremes.

One of the principal objectives of discriminant analysis is to be able to predict group membership on the basis of a set of discriminating variables. Table 10 (14) summarises the actual and predicted membership of individual cases (respondents) on the basis of discriminant scores for Analysis I. In total, 60.7% of the cases were correctly classified within their a priori groups. Certain features of the distribution should be noted, however, particularly with regard to the predicted group memberships. First, that the majority of group memberships which did not concur with the a priori groupings fell into one of the immediately (territorially) adjacent groups (see Figure 10 (2)). Thus, for example, of the 16 cases of group 7, 13 were correctly located in that group by the analysis and, on the basis of probability, two were predicted as falling within group 4 and one into group 8. There were some exceptions to this pattern, however, particularly three cases which actually fell into one of the low adjustment groups and were predicted as falling within one of the high adjustment groups. There was one case which actually fell within group 9 (high adjustment and high mobility) but, on the basis of probability, was allocated to group 2 (low adjustment - average mobility). Second, the groups which comprised the 'extreme' measures of 'high' and 'low' possessed a greater consistency for accurate prediction than those with one 'average' measure. Figure 10 (2) exhibits the 'territoriality' of the groups, together with group centroid locations, within discriminant space on the first two functions. The dominance of groups 1, 3, 7 and 9 stands in contrast to the rather more restricted and ill-defined location of groups 2, 6 and 8 and their centroids.

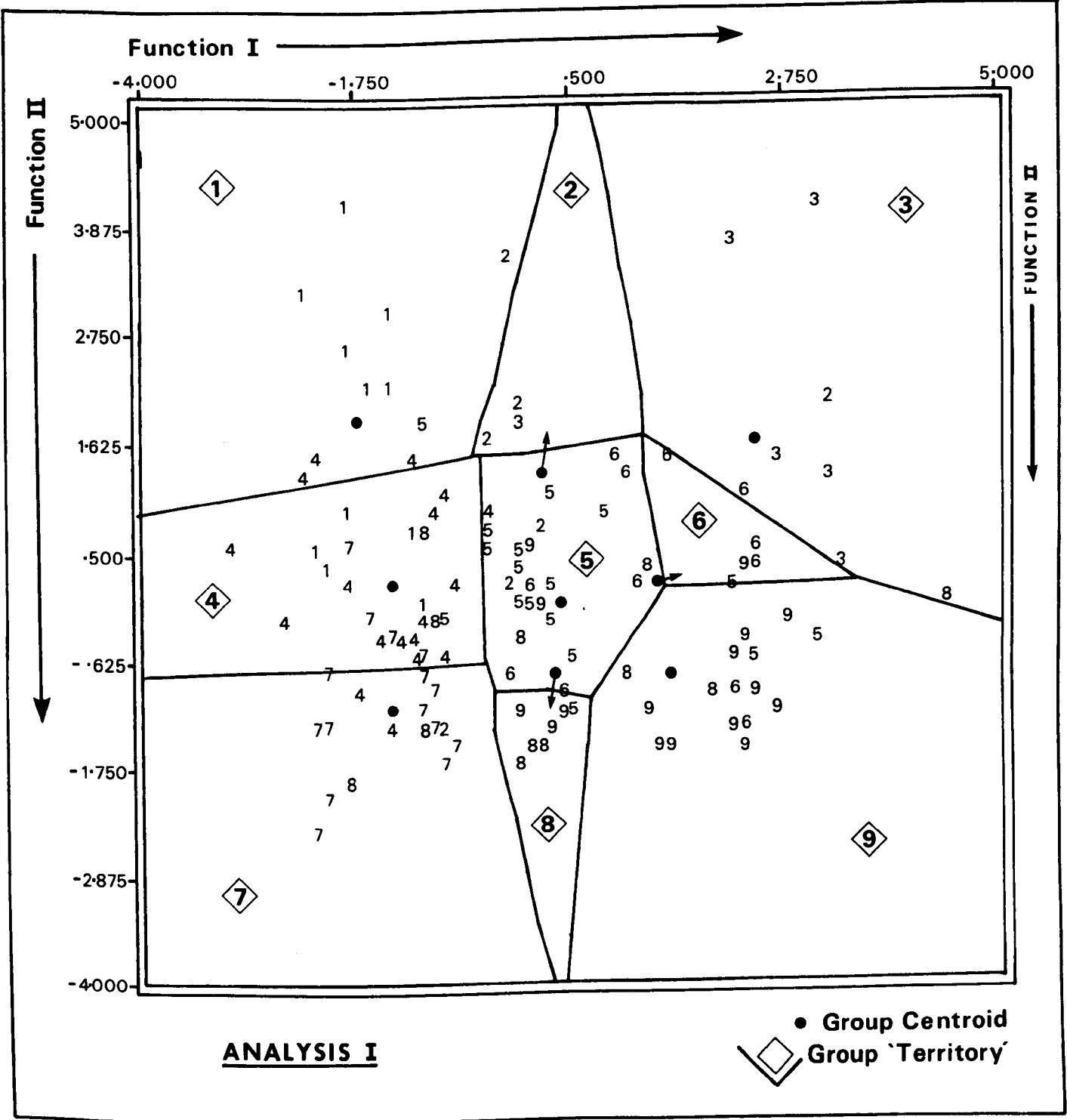
In Analysis II, a study of the location of the group centroids in discriminant space revealed similar results to those of Analysis I, and

Table 10 (14) Predicted Group Membership - Analysis I.

<u>Actual Group</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Predicted Group Membership</u>								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	11	6	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	-
2	7	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	-
3	7	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	1
4	21	1	-	-	13	1	-	6	-	-
5	20	1	-	1	1	14	1	-	-	2
6	12	-	-	1	-	4	5	-	-	2
7	16	-	-	-	2	-	-	13	1	-
8	12	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	7	1
9	16	-	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	10

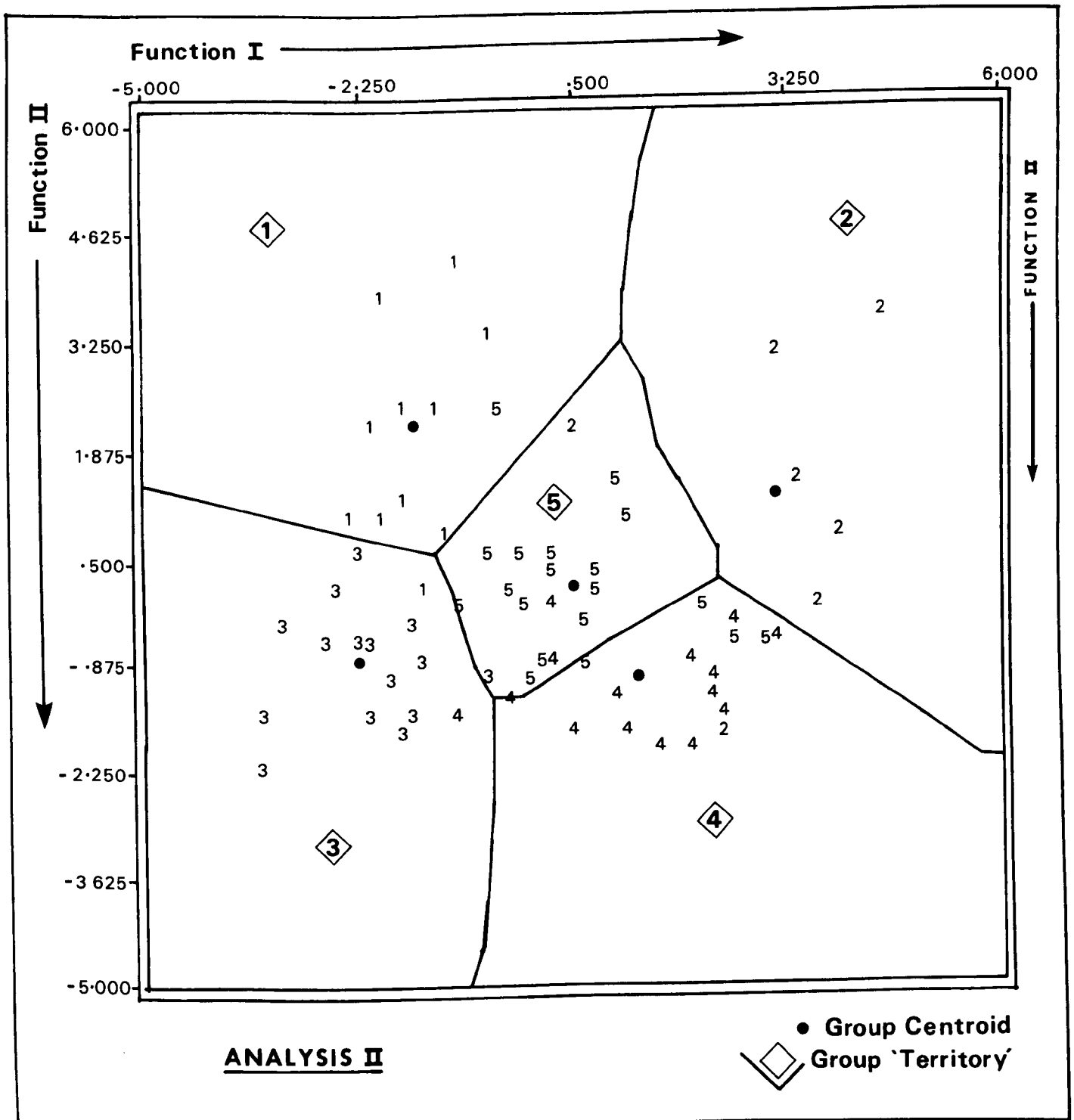
60.7% Cases correctly classified

with fewer analysis groups each was able to define its legitimate territory more clearly (see Figure 10 (3)). Consequently, the predictive value of the exercise rose (from 60.7% in Analysis I) to a correct a priori grouping of 81.4% of all cases in the analysis (see Table 10 (15)). The predicted group membership naturally identifies a location on each function. In 10 of the 13 incorrectly located cases, the predicted group membership implied shifts along the continua of both Functions I and II. Two cases involved adjustment on Function I only, and one case involved adjustment on Function II only. The implication of this detail is that, where cases were incorrectly classified, it was due to substantial variations in their characteristics rather than minor variations on one measure. These variations notwithstanding, a correct prediction of over 80% on the polarised extremes of the mobility-adjustment continua gives a substantial basis on which to



Group Locations in Discriminant Space - Analysis I

Figure 10 (2)



Group Locations in Discriminant Space - Analysis II

Table 10 (15) Predicted Group Membership - Analysis II

<u>Actual Group</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Predicted Group Membership</u>				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	11	9	-	2	-	-
2	7	-	5	-	1	1
3	16	-	-	16	-	-
4	16	-	-	2	12	2
5	20	1	1	-	3	15

81.4% Cases correctly classified

assess the potential of discriminant analysis as a technique in the context of residential adjustment studies.

It has already been stated that the groups themselves should not be regarded as expressing definitive boundaries of membership but, rather as expressions of certain predispositions of location of individual cases or groups within mobility-adjustment space. In Analysis I it was clear that group boundaries were most tightly defined where there had been most polarisation towards the extremes of mobility and adjustment. It was for this reason that Analysis II concentrated on the more extreme groups (the exception being the modal group, 5), and showed satisfactory a priori groupings on 81.4% of the analysis sample.

c. Discussion and Implications.

The principal features of an application of discriminant analysis to samples of elderly people selected on the basis of their general mobility characteristics have been described. Certain variables were chosen for inclusion in the analysis as discriminating variables on the basis of their having proved significant in accounting for some of the observed variations

in characteristic. The discriminant groups were derived 'a priori' from a two-dimensional relationship between mobility and a measure of social adjustment. In discussing the use of the technique it is useful to distinguish between the experimental application of the analysis in testing the validity of the locations of sample groups in social adjustment-mobility space and the long term application and suitability of the technique to problems of this nature.

Certain constraints restricted the operation of the technique. For example, the input data for the analysis was derived from earlier discussions and conclusions on the sample survey, and was dependent upon being in a format suitable for computer analysis. The type and number of input variables were thus limited.

In beginning to provide an explanatory statement of the sufficiency of the characteristics studied within this study in locating individuals and groups within mobility-social adjustment space, the analysis showed that the set of variables emerging as significant within the confines of sample populations with varying mobility rates had wide powers of discrimination. In particular, when dividing the sample population on the basis of two measures, mobility and adjustment, over 60% of the variation between a 9 group subdivision was explained by the power of the discriminating variables and, more satisfactorily, over 80% of the variation between a 5 group subdivision of the sample representing polarisation towards the 'extremes' of the two continua along which the samples were grouped. Furthermore, major discriminatory power lay in just two discriminant functions.

Two weaknesses in the analysis have to be considered before accepting the conclusions of the exercise. First, the independent variables could be said not to be sufficiently independent, although a certain amount of selection had taken place before the discriminating variables were chosen. It is not that the power of the analysis is diminished if the major part of the discriminatory power is found to lie in one or two of the variables

in particular; in fact, this serves to underline the strength of the analysis in determining the critical value of those variables. It is rather that, in this particular analysis, the variables giving the power to Function II in both analyses were indirectly related to the social-adjustment continuum and thus were not wholly independent. The second weakness involves the survey adjustment score itself. As pointed out in Chapter 6, the measure is valid within the confines of this study but would require refinement and extension before any wider application.

One of the major values of the analysis is its ability to identify those independent variables which possess discriminatory power, especially between the more extreme groupings. It almost goes without saying that the measures akin to residential mobility and social adjustment were of primary importance. Of the other variables, those indicating tenancy, satisfaction with the home, socio-economic class, and the degrees of family and informal activity were of greater significance than those indicating education, type of home or health at the time of retirement. General attitudes, therefore, and the measures reflecting those attitudes were seen to be of greater importance than measures of status.

There is great potentiality in the implications of this analysis for further study. Certain independent variables have proved to be of value in discriminating between different mobility groups. Further research could uncover additional critical variables which might then make possible a rigorous classification of types into which individual cases could be allocated with a high degree of confidence. Such an application of a refined technique could be seen to be beneficial to three areas of enquiry in particular.

First, it would be of value in achieving systematic identification of sub-groups of the population within a priori groups on the basis of their dominant characteristics. The boundaries of the sub groups could be redefined according to the nature of a particular study and need not be

confined to the mobility or social adjustment continua.

Second, with a proven set of discriminating variables tested across, between and within various subgroups of the population, the allocation of unknown cases to membership of particular groups could be made on a consistent rather than ad hoc basis.

Third, a practical application of such a rigorous technique could involve consideration of the status of individuals who were thinking of migrating during their latter years and whose membership of a probable adjustment group could be considered and predicted on the basis of a set of personal discriminating variables. In other words, a consultative model of behaviour could be developed in which the probability of individuals adjusting or not adjusting to the projected migration could be made on the basis of their profile characteristics, including such factors as past migration behaviour and certain traits of family and social behaviour. The basis of an inductive predictive model would be derived deductively from a large multi-group sample of successful and unsuccessful migrants. The development of such a model of behaviour would most certainly be complex and require rigorous definition but could have empirical value as input to the decision-making process of those contemplating a move in the latter stages of their lives. Discriminant analysis provides the tool around which development of a model would be possible.

PART IV

'... the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.'

T. S. Eliot
Little Gidding

CHAPTER 11. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the migration of the elderly from numerous perspectives. Various conclusions have been drawn at the end of each chapter and it is not proposed to repeat those here. Certain themes, however, have recurred throughout the study and it is with regard to these major thematic conclusions that the final discussion will rest. In addition, this chapter will make some brief assessment of the constraints and limitations of the study as well as suggest major areas of future work on the migration of the elderly.

The theoretical basis of this study was principally drawn from two major fields of enquiry - human geography and social gerontology. Only by reaching beyond the theories unique to geography was it possible to explore certain contextual and integrating themes which are relevant to an understanding of both the patterns and processes of the migration of the elderly but, because the study spanned the spatial and social dimensions of the topic in particular, it is appropriate that the major locus of enquiry rest within social geography.

Part II of this study has examined the characteristics and growth of the patterns of ageing in England and Wales, and the role of migration in more recent years in contributing to the emergent pattern. Numerous features of this migration pattern may be identified, in particular the balance between males and females in the major 'retirement' flows, the dominance of females in all other categories and the more intensive flows of elderly migrants generated from particular urban areas to specific receiving areas. Behind these general conclusions, however, a number of broader issues may be recognised.

First, it was seen to be of importance to distinguish between the absolute growth of the elderly population in coastal retirement areas and the relative changes in those areas given the changing age structure of the national population. During many phases of 'growth' of the elderly population, certain areas have maintained a stable or even declining place

within the national pattern while others have experienced a growing concentration of the elderly population, both absolutely and relatively. The second issue concerns the two major themes of concentration and polarisation which were seen to characterise the changing spatial patterns of ageing at various scales of analysis. In particular, these themes were evident in the changing national patterns, with distinctive moves from the centre to the peripheries of England and Wales. In examining the growth of coastal retirement areas at a regional level a third issue emerged, namely the timing at which major growth occurred. Growth was seen not to have taken place simultaneously across the country, but to have occurred first in the South East region, then later developing in other regions such as the South West and North West and, more recently, East Anglia. The fourth broad issue concerns the local expansion of coastal retirement areas. In a selected study area, the Sussex Coast, the growth of retirement areas could be interpreted both spatially and temporally by analogous reference to the ideas of the spatial diffusion process, with individual centres developing a high density of the elderly at different times and to different degrees of intensity.

Within the broad perspectives of the changes in the spatial characteristics of the growth of retirement areas, the study then pursued aspects of a behavioural understanding of this growth in the context of the migration decision and the characteristics of a sample of elderly persons from both a retirement area and a non-retirement area. Within the two study areas two themes were seen to link directly with those evident at a national scale. First, the spatial concentration of the elderly, at the national scale evident in the density of elderly in retirement areas, was repeated within the Worthing study area in particular, with certain neighbourhoods possessing very high densities of elderly in contrast to other neighbourhoods where very low densities were recorded. Although not investigated in depth, the main reason for local concentrations to have developed appeared to lie in the

nature and structure of the housing market. Second, the processes of spatial and temporal growth of retirement areas were broadly represented by the contrasts between the study areas. The consequences of both mobility and stability were, therefore, under study.

The motivations of migrants into Worthing were examined and showed a rationalisation of the decision in terms of the general environment, housing requirements or individual specific reasons. There was some overlapping of motivation, however, with numerous Worthing respondents having chosen the area on environmental grounds, having moved away from the former area of residence because of the lack of suitable housing nearby. It was also of interest that, where a migration decision had been contemplated by non-migratory respondents, similar motivations were in force. The study also suggested that adjustment to the act of migration may be understood within the terminology of 'dissonance' theory. For example, where housing conditions or environmental qualities cause dissatisfaction with the residential location, the dissatisfaction may be resolved by migration, but the act of migration may also disturb other areas of the individual's equilibrium of adjustment.

The study also examined, therefore, as a development of these themes, the basic levels of family contact and social activity among the study populations in order to expose the contrasts evident along the mobility-stability continuum. Adjustment levels within the family network are optimised when integration within the family network is maintained at certain social, emotional and spatial levels. The migrants among the Worthing sample were seen, on the whole, not to have removed themselves from the family network by migration, for a distinctively local and regional pattern of contacts was maintained among close relatives. However, the migrants generally had fewer close family members than the non-migrants with whom to maintain contact in the first instance, and the family network, therefore, was less intensive among the Worthing migrants than among the non-migrants

of the Leicester sample who maintained higher levels of integration into the family network. The implications of these contrasts are considerable on the potential adjustment of intending migrants if migration removes the individual from relatively balanced levels of contact within a local family network. In terms of social activities, the long-term residents of the Leicester sample maintained a broad structure of social involvements, whereas the migrants among the Worthing sample showed evidence of a polarisation of social activity to either intensive involvement in formal group activities or a reliance on informal, personal, unorganised activities. The nature of social involvement, too, has consequences for the adjustment levels of the migrant.

In integrating the numerous and varied aspects of this study, a Discriminant Analysis was applied to particular mobility-adjustment sub-groups within the study populations. The characteristics which showed significant variations between the two sample populations were used as independent variables within the analysis, forming the basis on which discrimination was applied. The validity of the mobility-adjustment groups within the terms of the variables studied was generally upheld, particularly those groups which represented the extremes of mobility and adjustment behaviour. Furthermore, the analysis was sufficiently meaningful to suggest itself as the basis on which a behavioural model could be developed, integrating various themes of mobility, social activity and adjustment, a model which might have consultative value in resolving the problems of individual migration decisions.

Numerous constraints have had their impact on the design and execution of this study, and it is appropriate that these be stated to set the context within which the conclusions summarised above are stated. This study had its primary reference point in the object of study, the migration of the elderly, and the methods of study were selected to further understanding of that topic from the perspectives chosen. In casting a fairly wide

theoretical and methodological net, it is inevitable that many issues have received some mention but little development in the discussion. The main themes of the study, however, have been carried through the investigation. Many of the topics receiving little more than cursory mention are those which would be worthy of further study. In many respects the net cast wide draws in more data than can be used, and that discussed here represents only a portion of the data handled during the research. For example, the growth profiles of numerous retirement areas could have been compared, particularly with common reference to the development of the retirement function, and only brief reference has been made to any of the unstructured comments and information gathered during conversations with the survey respondents.

Constraints in the availability, form and quality of data have also contributed to the substance of this study. Some of the limitations of published data, such as the availability of migration statistics for areas larger than the local administrative area, have been referred to in the preceding discussion. Other constraints were also in operation, for example, the availability of regional migration reports, upon which the early parts of this study were dependent. The discrepancies between the estimated and actual date of publication of various volumes of the 1971 Census have been the bane of many contemporary researchers' work, and certain regional migration reports became available only towards the end of the present writer's research work. Had publication of these reports been on schedule, the balance of Chapter 4, for example, would have been different from that presented here.

The problems of sampling among the elderly have been discussed at some length in Chapter 6 and need not be repeated here. Suffice to say, the sample forming the basis of Part III of this study were of moderate size, constrained as they were by the opportunities and resources open to the present writer. Given these constraints, however, the conclusions to Part III of

this study are valid within the context of the two study areas, while the conclusions to Part II remain valid for England and Wales as a whole.

The use of a discriminant analysis to test the composition of the sample mobility-adjustment groups was exploratory, arising as it did from the need to integrate various aspects of the study. The formulation of a consultative model of behaviour by the technique of discriminant analysis would require development with specific applications in mind, and with the discriminating variables chosen, ideally, from a wide range of possible variables.

The opportunities for further study on the migration of the elderly suggested by this study are numerous, but principally seem to concern three areas of work. First, the findings and conclusions of the survey work are here valid for the two study populations in question. Application of similar survey work in other retirement areas and other communities of non-migratory elderly could serve to confirm or deny the applicability of these findings in general. The motivations for migration suggested by the survey work in Worthing would seem to be generally in the same areas as those uncovered by what work has so far been published on this subject. However, the aspects of family and social involvement studied here have not previously received examination in the context of both migratory and non-migratory elderly people, and further studies in greater depth might contribute to further understanding.

Second, as indicated at the conclusion of Chapter 10, the tool of discriminant analysis holds the potential around which a consultative model of behaviour might be developed, which might then be applied in an advisory capacity in contributing to the decision of intending migrants, taking into account their social, familial, mobility and adjustment profiles. As indicated above, each of these areas would require rigorous development before inclusion in such a model.

Third, and in relation to the availability and quality of data

concerning migration streams within England and Wales, considerable opportunity exists for a more detailed treatment of local migration flows, particularly in terms of the relationship between particular areas of origin and specific areas of destination, the information channels influencing those migration flows, and the channelling of migrants towards particular destinations. This opportunity exists not only in terms of a closer examination of published migration statistics but also in terms of further empirical studies among elderly migrants.

The realities and problems associated with retirement and ageing in our society are likely to increase rather than diminish in the years ahead. This study has focused on one aspect of these developments, the migration of the elderly, in the past decades. It is a subject worthy of continued study and investigation for it concerns a period of life in which most people will find themselves actively involved.

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APPENDIX I. POPULATION STATISTICS

A. ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES

Counties, and their sub-divisions, are named as in 1971.
Statistics, however, are for the administrative counties as constituted at the time of the respective Census.

(i) <u>Populations</u>	<u>1921</u>		<u>1971</u>	
	<u>Total</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Population:</u> <u>% of</u> <u>England &</u> <u>Wales</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Population:</u> <u>% of</u> <u>England &</u> <u>Wales</u>
Anglesey	51744	0.137	59760	0.123
Bedfordshire	206462	0.525	464275	0.952
Berkshire	294821	0.778	636855	1.307
Breconshire	61222	0.162	53375	0.109
Buckinghamshire	236171	0.623	587560	1.206
Caernarvonshire	130975	0.346	123065	0.252
Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely	203419	0.537	303045	0.622
Cardiganshire	60881	0.161	54880	0.113
Carmarthenshire	175073	0.462	162560	0.334
Cheshire	1025724	2.707	1546385	3.171
Cornwall	320705	0.846	381670	0.784
Cumberland	273173	0.721	292185	0.599
Denbighshire	154842	0.409	185190	0.379
Derbyshire	714662	1.886	885130	1.815
Devon	709614	1.873	898405	1.842
Dorset	228160	0.602	361920	0.743
Durham	1479033	3.904	1476915	3.030
Essex	1470257	3.881	1358030	2.786
Flintshire	106617	0.281	175770	0.361
Glamorgan	1252481	3.306	1258730	2.583
Gloucestershire	757651	2.000	1076710	2.209
Hampshire	910252	2.403	1565485	3.210
Herefordshire	113189	0.299	138640	0.285
Hertfordshire	333195	0.879	924630	1.895
Huntingdon and Peterborough	101700	0.268	202625	0.416
Isle of Wight	94666	0.250	109510	0.226

	1921		1971	
	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Population: % of England & Wales</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Population: % of England & Wales</u>
Kent	1141666	3.013	1399465	2.870
Lancashire	4927484	13.006	5118425	10.498
Leicestershire	494469	1.305	772100	1.584
Lincolnshire (inc.CB)	108250	0.286	232550	0.478
Lincolnshire (Holland)	85254	0.225	105690	0.217
Lincolnshire (Lindsey)	408690	1.079	470910	0.966
London	5737525	15.144	7452345	15.286
Merionethshire	45087	0.119	35330	0.072
Monmouthshire	450794	1.164	462170	0.948
Montgomeryshire	51263	0.135	43120	0.088
Norfolk	504293	1.331	617615	1.268
Northamptonshire	302404	0.798	468625	0.962
Northumberland	746096	1.969	795750	1.633
Nottinghamshire	641149	1.692	976415	2.002
Oxfordshire	189615	0.500	381590	0.784
Pembrokeshire	91978	0.243	98970	0.203
Radnorshire	23517	0.062	18280	0.037
Rutland	18376	0.049	27470	0.055
Shropshire	243062	0.642	337100	0.691
Somerset	465710	1.229	682665	1.401
Staffordshire	1348877	3.560	1858355	3.811
Suffolk (East)	291073	0.768	381460	0.782
Suffolk (West)	108985	0.288	164735	0.358
Surrey	930086	2.455	1002890	2.057
Sussex (East)	532187	1.405	747975	1.534
Sussex (West)	195810	0.517	492495	1.009
Warwickshire	1389977	3.669	2082230	4.271
Westmorland	65746	0.174	72835	0.150
Wiltshire	292208	0.771	486745	0.999
Worcestershire	405842	1.071	693255	1.422
Yorkshire (East)	460880	1.216	543315	1.114
Yorkshire (North)	456436	1.205	725660	1.489
Yorkshire (West)	3181174	8.397	3785015	7.764

(ii) Index of the Elderly

Index Value 100: 1921 = 7.84
 1931 = 9.62
 1951 = 13.78
 1961 = 14.88
 1971 = 16.07

	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Anglesey	141.8	136.3	120.5	114.6	106.6
Bedfordshire	124.7	116.4	94.5	84.3	78.2
Berkshire	129.5	125.7	106.3	91.6	81.7
Breconshire	102.8	101.3	101.5	105.8	113.7
Buckinghamshire	125.6	115.3	98.8	87.1	82.6
Caernarvonshire	136.7	130.8	128.2	140.3	146.1
Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely	138.6	123.6	107.9	101.3	103.2
Cardiganshire	161.3	153.2	135.7	129.9	129.8
Carmarthenshire	92.7	89.8	99.5	106.6	117.0
Cheshire	94.1	98.4	95.9	99.1	96.4
Cornwall	146.6	142.1	122.0	128.7	133.4
Cumberland	107.4	104.6	95.9	95.9	101.7
Denbighshire	106.9	110.2	110.6	116.2	125.6
Derbyshire	88.9	87.9	92.0	93.2	100.2
Devon	136.5	133.2	125.0	131.9	139.7
Dorset	135.7	131.5	121.0	125.9	133.5
Durham	70.9	75.8	85.6	87.2	90.2
Essex	98.0	94.6	97.2	96.8	97.3
Flintshire	106.0	104.4	100.6	108.0	110.6
Glamorgan	65.6	76.7	90.5	94.1	99.0
Gloucestershire	119.3	116.2	101.6	99.7	100.6
Hampshire	113.0	113.6	109.4	111.2	107.5
Herefordshire	144.6	137.7	109.8	105.8	109.8
Hertfordshire	118.6	108.8	96.7	80.4	79.4
Huntingdon and Peterborough	134.9	128.1	98.2	87.9	80.6
Isle of Wight	151.9	155.3	137.1	144.0	156.3
Kent	116.9	115.8	108.2	109.4	112.1
Lancashire	84.4	89.1	97.8	99.7	103.1
Leicestershire	102.8	99.1	96.9	96.8	94.6

	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Lincolnshire (inc.CB)	131.1	122.5	97.2	95.4	97.0
Lincolnshire (Holland)	129.7	106.7	97.7	96.6	106.8
Lincolnshire (Lindsey)	109.5	105.2	100.9	97.9	96.9
London	96.4	99.4	98.1	98.5	102.1
Merionethshire	146.7	128.4	119.4	123.5	136.1
Monmouthshire	67.4	78.3	90.3	90.6	93.5
Montgomeryshire	136.1	126.8	111.3	112.3	119.1
Norfolk	139.1	132.6	111.9	113.0	118.8
Northamptonshire	119.5	118.2	108.3	104.2	99.1
Northumberland	79.8	84.8	93.5	95.4	104.6
Nottinghamshire	93.8	90.2	89.0	89.8	92.2
Oxfordshire	142.8	124.9	97.6	91.3	86.8
Pembrokeshire	121.3	116.1	100.7	100.1	103.3
Radnorshire	152.5	124.8	118.6	123.9	129.5
Rutland	143.1	141.4	105.4	91.4	88.1
Shropshire	128.1	120.7	95.8	95.5	97.4
Somerset	144.6	139.1	121.4	120.4	121.2
Staffordshire	82.2	81.3	82.5	81.8	83.1
Suffolk (East)	127.0	124.1	116.2	114.1	115.4
Suffolk (West)	150.0	146.1	112.3	105.0	99.6
Surrey	114.7	108.1	107.2	104.5	99.2
Sussex (East)	146.6	153.1	154.0	165.8	165.8
Sussex (West)	149.1	147.9	152.2	151.6	154.2
Warwickshire	85.8	86.4	85.5	83.5	86.9
Westmorland	137.6	125.3	120.6	124.4	126.5
Wiltshire	126.4	125.5	96.7	93.8	93.5
Worcestershire	113.0	107.8	94.9	94.0	95.6
Yorkshire (East)	100.1	96.5	96.5	98.6	105.0
Yorkshire (North)	101.1	106.1	94.0	92.8	92.5
Yorkshire (West)	89.0	90.7	96.4	97.9	101.1

B. RETIREMENT AREAS

Areas are named as in 1971. Statistics, however, are for the administrative areas as constituted at the time of the respective Census.

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly

	1921		1971		1921-71
	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Elderly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Elderly</u>	<u>Change in</u>
	<u>Population</u>	<u>in</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>in</u>	<u>% Elderly</u>
		<u>Population</u>		<u>Population</u>	

BRECONSHIRE

Builth Wells UD.

Hay UD.

Llanwrtyd Wells UD.

CAERNARVONSHIRE

Conway MB.

Criccieth UD.

Llandudno UD.

Llanfairfechan UD.

Penmaenmawr UD.

Lleyn RD.

CARDIGANSHIRE

Aberaeron UD.

Newquay UD.

Tregaron RD.

CARMARTHENSHIRE

Newcastle Emlyn UD.

(ii) Index of the Elderly

Index Value 100: 1921= 7.84
1931= 9.62
1951=13.78
1961=14.88
1971=16.07

	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
	143.5	131.9	136.8	140.0	155.5
	153.0	153.0	143.8	155.5	161.8
	175.0	157.0	168.2	213.1	165.0
	123.6	110.4	135.5	162.7	174.3
	179.1	182.3	156.4	163.6	190.1
	119.4	129.9	147.3	190.2	200.1
	139.1	132.9	141.6	146.9	150.9
	129.4	131.4	154.7	172.8	170.7
	156.1	143.1	131.0	141.9	146.0
	207.0	209.8	181.9	177.9	182.4
	224.9	181.4	183.3	202.9	228.1
	182.5	156.1	130.5	138.6	142.9
	159.2	132.2	139.5	166.0	201.0

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued

<u>1921</u>		<u>1971</u>	
<u>Total</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>% Elderly</u> <u>in</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>% Elderly</u> <u>in</u> <u>Population</u>

(ii) Index of the Elderly continued

<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
<u>Change in</u> <u>% Elderly</u>				

CORNWALL

Bude-Stratton UD.

Falmouth MB.

Launceston MB.

Liskeard MB.

Looe UD.

Newquay UD.

Penzance MB.

St. Ives MB.

Camelford RD.

Truro RD.

CUMBERLAND

Keswick UD.

DENBIGHSHIRE

Abergele UD.

Colwyn Bay MB.

Ruthin MB.

DERBYSHIRE

Bakewell UD.

DEVON

Torbay CB.

Ashburton UD.

Buckfastleigh UD.

Budleigh Salterton UD.

Dartmouth MB.

Dawlish UD.

17.8	152.7	140.4	151.9	173.3	185.1
12.6	134.4	133.6	114.3	119.8	144.0
10.8	166.3	159.9	135.7	139.8	148.3
11.5	166.9	157.4	157.7	160.7	153.0
15.2	165.4	165.5	146.4	168.6	175.7
13.9	147.7	152.0	147.1	156.2	158.5
12.0	158.8	155.5	127.8	138.2	152.5
13.5	166.9	162.5	151.6	151.4	165.3
12.2	139.5	133.7	119.4	140.8	144.0
9.5	174.1	161.1	133.0	134.9	143.7
12.6	151.2	147.4	142.8	145.6	152.4
19.7	137.6	163.2	142.6	162.0	189.9
21.1	144.1	163.3	183.8	195.9	201.3
12.6	128.5	133.5	125.3	139.6	141.2
14.1	118.2	122.6	121.6	127.3	145.6
*	*	*	*	*	190.4
10.5	166.8	148.2	129.6	146.0	146.7
15.3	152.6	151.4	138.9	156.1	169.9
27.1	202.1	189.4	221.8	245.1	267.2
17.1	103.7	118.0	129.7	141.5	157.0
13.4	192.8	182.1	147.4	171.1	177.4

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued				(ii) Index of the Elderly continued				
1921				1921-71				
Total Population	% Elderly in Population	Total Population	% Elderly in Population	Change in % Elderly				
				1921	1931	1951	1961	1971
<u>DEVON continued</u>								
Exmouth UD.	14.4	25825	29.8	183.0	183.7	175.4	183.5	185.5
Ilfracombe UD.	13.7	9860	31.6	174.9	181.7	157.1	175.2	196.8
Kingsbridge UD.	13.0	3545	24.3	165.7	184.8	122.5	124.9	150.9
Lynton UD.	10.0	1985	23.7	127.6	143.2	138.0	165.8	147.3
Newton Abbot UD.	12.1	19400	23.8	153.7	149.4	128.7	141.7	148.3
Northam UD.	11.1	8115	29.5	141.0	156.5	143.6	150.1	183.2
Okehampton MB.	9.2	3915	23.8	117.9	128.8	184.3	137.1	147.8
Ottery St. Mary UD.	13.4	5835	26.3	171.2	148.8	136.5	142.6	163.6
Salcombe UD.	13.7	2495	28.7	174.5	167.5	164.1	164.6	178.3
Seaton UD.	15.0	4140	42.2	190.5	202.7	200.3	224.4	262.2
Sidmouth UD.	13.0	12070	44.3	165.1	178.2	207.3	178.1	275.6
Teignmouth UD.	13.6	12575	31.6	173.5	193.7	182.3	188.1	196.9
Totnes MB.	13.2	5770	24.9	168.0	144.3	127.2	143.3	154.7
Axminster RD.	12.7	15315	22.9	162.2	149.0	141.2	147.8	142.1
Kingsbridge RD.	12.2	12895	25.2	154.9	145.1	128.1	135.1	156.8
Newton Abbot RD.	12.0	30505	26.8	153.4	137.4	133.8	153.3	166.4
Okehampton RD.	11.8	11065	24.8	150.8	138.2	129.1	137.1	154.0
Totnes RD.	11.7	15165	24.8	149.3	137.6	135.4	145.1	154.0
<u>DORSET</u>								
Bridport MB.	13.7	6370	28.3	175.0	148.5	149.1	149.4	175.8
Lyme Regis MB.	12.9	3405	33.6	164.5	175.8	151.7	164.1	209.2
Swanage UD.	9.7	8555	30.2	123.4	146.7	159.7	167.4	187.6
Wimborne Minster UD.	13.6	4995	22.9	173.0	162.3	143.6	132.1	142.6
Beamminster RD.	12.4	8295	22.6	158.3	137.5	122.1	126.4	140.6
Bridport RD.	12.9	8775	31.2	164.5	158.8	148.4	165.0	193.9
Sturminster RD.	13.6	10725	23.4	173.7	157.8	134.8	138.2	145.6
Wimborne & Cranborne RD.	12.4	41975	23.0	158.5	149.0	138.2	139.1	143.4

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued				(ii) Index of the Elderly continued				
	1921		1971	1921-71				
	Total	% Elderly		Total	% Elderly	Change in		
	Population	in Population		Population	in Population	% Elderly		
ESSEX								
Southeast-on-Sea CB.	106010	8.8		162770	23.7	14.9	112.0	127.6
Brightlingsea UD.	4500	12.2		6515	24.7	12.5	155.2	184.8
Clacton UD.	17051	9.6		38070	36.4	26.8	123.1	146.5
Frinton & Walton UD.	6696	8.4		12475	40.8	32.4	106.6	140.4
West Mersea UD.	*	*		4150	26.9	*	*	180.1
								160.4
								167.8
								167.1
FLINTSHIRE								
Prestatyn UD.	4083	11.9		14515	32.3	20.4	151.7	179.1
Rhyl UD.	13490	9.5		21820	25.7	16.2	120.9	124.8
								174.2
								136.9
								148.3
								159.9
HAMPSHIRE								
Bournemouth CB.	91761	13.0		153870	30.2	17.2	165.9	167.3
Christchurch CB.	6993	10.2		31465	28.6	18.4	129.6	133.6
Lymington MB.	4600	12.1		35735	31.9	19.8	154.4	148.4
Ringwood & Fordingbridge RD.	13604	12.3		31585	24.5	12.2	156.9	140.3
								129.9
								145.7
								152.6
ISLE OF WIGHT								
Ryde MB.	11294	14.5		23205	26.6	12.1	184.9	185.2
Sandown & Shanklin UD.	15029	12.1		15890	30.8	18.7	154.5	173.2
Ventnor UD.	6059	14.0		6930	30.7	16.7	179.0	178.3
Isle of Wight RD.	30910	12.0		22270	26.8	14.8	152.9	153.6
								149.1
								149.9
								166.7
KENT								
Broadstairs & St. Peters UD.	15471	12.3		20050	32.7	20.4	156.7	149.5
	12998	9.5		25430	22.7	13.2	121.6	138.3
Deal MB.	37535	10.0		43800	26.5	16.5	128.0	140.3
Folkestone MB.	11872	11.6		25200	36.8	25.2	147.9	172.6
Herne Bay UD.								192.7
								227.2
								228.8
								203.4
								129.2
								141.3
								165.1
								228.8

* Exact figures unavailable

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued

	1921		1971		1924-71 Change in % Elderly
	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>% Elderly in Population</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>% Elderly in Population</u>	

KENT continued

Hythe MB.	7767	10.2	11960	30.1	19.9	130.6	143.1	161.1	178.2	187.5
Margate MB.	46480	7.9	50345	31.2	23.3	100.1	122.9	143.8	174.4	193.9
Ramsgate MB.	36531	9.7	39560	24.8	15.1	123.3	129.8	127.5	144.5	154.0
Tenterden MB.	3438	13.9	5930	27.3	13.4	176.9	147.9	147.8	152.2	169.9
Whitstable UD.	9842	12.2	25450	27.5	15.3	155.4	170.2	183.4	191.3	171.1
Elham RD.	7910	13.1	11780	24.9	11.8	167.1	164.9	147.4	148.8	154.7

LANCASHIRE

Blackpool CB.	99639	9.5	151860	25.9	16.4	120.5	133.4	140.5	151.9	161.0
Southport CB.	76621	10.9	84575	25.5	14.6	138.3	146.2	158.0	164.5	158.4
Grange UD.	2920	13.9	3475	45.5	31.6	177.7	199.1	231.3	257.3	282.8
Lytham St. Anne's MB.	10835	11.9	40300	29.1	17.2	151.4	161.2	170.5	170.9	181.1
Morecambe & Hensham MB.	19178	12.7	41910	31.4	18.7	162.0	179.1	160.2	174.9	195.5
Presall UD.	1867	9.7	3985	38.3	28.6	123.6	129.3	175.0	169.1	238.0
Thornton Clevellys UD.	6182	8.6	26835	27.9	19.3	109.7	118.6	158.3	168.7	173.3
Trawden UD.	2762	7.0	1865	22.8	15.8	89.5	94.2	136.3	125.4	141.8
Lancaster RD.	9734	10.4	17130	26.0	15.6	133.1	133.9	125.8	141.2	161.6

LINCOLNSHIRE (LINDSEY)

Alford UD.	2194	15.7	2280	23.5	7.8	200.5	173.2	172.8	158.4	146.0
Mablethorpe & Sutton UD.	2852	10.8	6180	31.3	20.5	138.1	155.9	155.0	162.6	194.8
Skegness UD.	9246	8.9	13580	26.8	17.9	113.5	113.3	119.4	145.9	167.0
Woodhall Spa UD.	1635	18.8	2260	27.2	8.4	239.4	164.2	175.9	169.9	169.3
Spilsby RD.	21804	12.1	22445	22.8	10.7	154.5	136.8	121.0	125.1	141.6

MERIONETHSHIRE

Barmouth UD.	3553	9.6	2105	26.1	16.5	122.0	130.8	136.5	147.3	162.5
Tywyn UD.	4413	11.9	3820	27.5	15.6	152.0	162.5	122.7	140.0	171.0
Dolgellau RD.	8365	12.1	6555	24.6	12.5	154.8	148.3	104.5	140.2	153.3

(ii) Index of the Elderly continued

	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Hythe MB.	130.6	143.1	161.1	178.2	187.5
Margate MB.	100.1	122.9	143.8	174.4	193.9
Ramsgate MB.	123.3	129.8	127.5	144.5	154.0
Tenterden MB.	176.9	147.9	147.8	152.2	169.9
Whitstable UD.	155.4	170.2	183.4	191.3	171.1
Elham RD.	167.1	164.9	147.4	148.8	154.7
Blackpool CB.	120.5	133.4	140.5	151.9	161.0
Southport CB.	138.3	146.2	158.0	164.5	158.4
Grange UD.	177.7	199.1	231.3	257.3	282.8
Lytham St. Anne's MB.	151.4	161.2	170.5	170.9	181.1
Morecambe & Hensham MB.	162.0	179.1	160.2	174.9	195.5
Presall UD.	123.6	129.3	175.0	169.1	238.0
Thornton Clevellys UD.	109.7	118.6	158.3	168.7	173.3
Trawden UD.	89.5	94.2	136.3	125.4	141.8
Lancaster RD.	133.1	133.9	125.8	141.2	161.6
Alford UD.	200.5	173.2	172.8	158.4	146.0
Mablethorpe & Sutton UD.	138.1	155.9	155.0	162.6	194.8
Skegness UD.	113.5	113.3	119.4	145.9	167.0
Woodhall Spa UD.	239.4	164.2	175.9	169.9	169.3
Spilsby RD.	154.5	136.8	121.0	125.1	141.6
Barmouth UD.	122.0	130.8	136.5	147.3	162.5
Tywyn UD.	152.0	162.5	122.7	140.0	171.0
Dolgellau RD.	154.8	148.3	104.5	140.2	153.3

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued

(ii) Index of the Elderly continued

	1921		1971		1921-71 Change in % Elderly					
	Total Population	% Elderly in Population	Total Population	% Elderly in Population		1921	1931	1951	1961	1971
MONTGOMERYSHIRE										
Llanfyllin MB.	1579	12.2	1120	25.9	13.7	155.8	134.9	119.5	117.6	161.1
Llanidloes MB.	2519	10.4	2335	25.1	14.7	133.1	135.1	133.3	142.6	155.8
Machynlleth RD.	1870	9.1	1770	20.9	11.8	116.6	125.3	122.0	128.1	130.0
NORFOLK										
Cromer UD.	5436	9.4	5375	31.2	21.8	119.8	132.7	147.5	168.5	193.8
Downham Market UD.	2342	14.2	3615	23.5	9.3	180.7	160.7	137.6	143.4	146.3
Hunstanton UD.	4289	10.7	3910	32.7	22.0	135.8	159.7	152.9	110.6	203.6
Sheringham UD.	4771	11.2	4705	32.5	21.3	143.0	162.4	173.6	171.3	202.3
Wells next the Sea UD.	2649	12.7	2345	26.7	14.0	161.7	172.7	130.2	129.8	165.8
Docking RD.	17111	12.0	16455	24.4	12.4	152.6	148.1	175.0	114.0	152.0
Erpingham RD.	17890	10.9	18705	26.8	15.9	139.5	141.3	125.0	139.8	166.8
NORTHUMBERLAND										
Belford RD.	5654	10.0	4610	24.6	14.6	127.4	130.3	127.4	130.0	153.1
Norham & Islandshires RD.	5996	9.8	3450	23.3	13.5	125.2	133.6	121.6	121.3	145.1
Rothbury RD.	5054	9.5	4970	23.7	14.2	121.3	125.3	126.2	131.1	147.7
PEMBROKESHIRE										
Narbeth UD.	1142	9.8	935	28.9	19.1	125.0	128.2	124.5	138.9	179.6
Tenby MB.	4832	12.4	4995	23.8	11.4	157.8	147.8	137.8	137.5	148.2
RADNORSHIRE										
Llandrindod Wells UD.	4596	14.1	3380	25.9	11.8	179.7	134.0	137.6	145.2	161.0
SOMERSET										
Burnham on Sea UD.	5571	13.0	11905	27.6	14.6	165.9	185.4	140.1	144.4	171.9
Minehead UD.	6013	11.6	8055	35.3	23.7	147.6	153.8	180.1	197.3	219.3
Weston Supermare UD.	31643	12.0	50895	27.6	15.6	153.4	164.4	160.5	167.2	172.0

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued				(ii) Index of the Elderly continued							
1921				1971		1921-71	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971
Total Population		% Elderly in Population	Total Population	% Elderly in Population	Change in % Elderly						
SOMERSET continued											
Chard UD.		12615	11.0	12675	23.1	12.1	140.6	132.6	115.2	129.0	143.5
Williton RD.		11947	12.7	14895	23.6	10.9	162.4	144.4	136.7	138.9	146.8
SUFFOLK (EAST)											
Aldeburgh MB.		2889	11.1	2790	31.2	20.1	141.7	141.4	154.7	149.3	194.0
Eye MB.		1781	15.3	1660	29.5	14.2	194.7	172.2	160.7	180.9	183.6
Felixstowe UD.		11686	9.1	18925	24.3	15.2	115.4	133.3	141.5	145.4	151.4
Southwold MB.		3370	12.1	2000	43.7	31.6	154.3	174.9	199.9	233.5	272.1
SURREY											
Haslemere UD.		3865	10.5	13275	23.3	12.8	134.2	142.1	132.2	137.4	145.0
SUSSEX (EAST)											
Brighton CB.		142430	10.6	161350	23.0	12.4	135.4	142.1	137.9	144.0	142.9
Eastbourne CB.		62030	10.7	70920	33.4	22.7	136.5	152.8	169.0	200.5	207.7
Hastings CB.		66495	14.0	72410	29.4	15.4	177.9	189.4	173.4	192.7	183.2
Bexhill MB.		20363	11.8	32900	44.2	32.4	150.5	161.4	203.5	248.8	275.2
Hove MB.		46505	15.8	73085	33.6	17.8	202.0	188.3	190.0	207.5	209.0
Rye MB.		3920	11.9	4450	24.2	12.3	152.2	160.2	130.0	127.8	150.3
Seaford UD.		6989	8.3	16225	33.4	25.1	106.2	140.2	173.4	192.9	207.8
Battle RD.		6291	13.1	33700	27.4	14.3	166.8	126.3	149.0	161.3	170.5
Chailley RD.		12769	12.3	31805	24.5	12.2	157.3	140.5	145.0	162.7	152.4
Hailsham RD.		18462	11.7	53585	33.3	21.6	149.6	138.0	151.2	181.0	207.2
SUSSEX (WEST)											
Arundel MB.		2742	12.3	2435	27.5	15.2	157.1	159.1	145.7	162.9	171.2
Bognor Regis UD.		13302	9.6	34450	31.0	21.4	122.5	151.1	163.0	191.2	192.9

(i) Changes in Proportions of Elderly continued

	<u>1921</u>		<u>1971</u>		<u>Change in % Elderly</u>
	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>% Elderly in Population</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>% Elderly in Population</u>	

SUSSEX (WEST) continued

Littlehampton UD.	11287	9.3	18695	25.9	16.6
Southwick UD.	4847	9.7	11865	22.9	13.2
Worthing MB.	35215	14.5	88405	38.8	24.3
Chancetonbury RD.	18621	11.5	28430	27.6	16.1
Chichester RD.	26857	11.2	63100	23.6	12.4
Worthing RD.	7449	12.1	50560	33.6	21.5

WESTMORLAND

Lakes UD.	*	*	5815	23.6	*
Windermere UD.	6495	11.1	8065	23.9	12.8

WILTSHIRE

Mere & Tisbury RD.	11984	7.0	11070	23.3	16.3
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YORKSHIRE (EAST)

Bridlington MB.	22764	11.1	26775	31.2	20.1
Filey UD.	4549	9.6	5335	33.6	24.0
Hornsea UD.	4279	10.1	7030	24.5	14.4
Bridlington RD.	8154	10.0	8160	23.8	13.8

YORKSHIRE (NORTH)

Scalby UD.	1437	12.5	8685	25.2	12.7
Scarborough MB.	46179	11.8	44440	26.7	14.9
Masham RD.			1470	24.8	
Pickering RD.	6116	12.3	4820	22.6	10.3
Reeth RD.	2532	12.7	1645	26.1	13.4
Scarborough RD.	6452	10.6	11535	22.7	12.1

* Exact figures unavailable

(ii) Index of the Elderly continued

	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
SUSSEX (WEST) continued					
Littlehampton UD.	118.8	132.7	120.2	148.8	161.4
Southwick UD.	124.1	133.3	132.4	130.5	142.6
Worthing MB.	184.4	194.0	215.2	244.2	241.2
Chancetonbury RD.	146.7	130.2	138.9	145.3	171.4
Chichester RD.	142.9	134.2	113.4	123.8	146.7
Worthing RD.	154.9	135.8	175.9	213.2	209.0
WESTMORLAND					
Lakes UD.	*	*	132.3	139.1	147.1
Windermere UD.	141.7	144.2	144.5	158.0	148.5
WILTSHIRE					
Mere & Tisbury RD.	89.1	153.5	124.2	125.9	144.7
YORKSHIRE (EAST)					
Bridlington MB.	141.1	151.3	152.8	179.1	193.9
Filey UD.	122.5	140.4	121.4	149.8	208.8
Hornsea UD.	128.4	143.0	163.2	164.2	152.2
Bridlington RD.	127.0	124.6	115.9	135.9	148.3
YORKSHIRE (NORTH)					
Scalby UD.	158.8	158.7	153.2	152.0	156.9
Scarborough MB.	151.0	150.9	139.8	157.6	166.0
Masham RD.			126.1	124.2	154.5
Pickering RD.	157.2	142.5	130.3	130.5	140.7
Reeth RD.	161.6	153.9	158.2	157.4	162.6
Scarborough RD.	135.7	134.8	118.2	150.6	141.3

C. RETIREMENT AREAS 1971: (i) DEATH RATES
(ii) PERSONS OF PENSIONABLE AGE IN ONE AND TWO PERSON (PRIVATE) HOUSEHOLDS

(i) DEATH RATES			(ii) ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS					
Crude rate per 1000	Compara- bility Factor	Local Adjusted Rate	Total elderly in 1+2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H	% in 2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H of all Males 65+ Females 60+		
14.0	0.89	1.07	6340	54.5	45.5	6.4	28.5	
19.6	0.82	1.39	240	58.3	41.7	6.3	37.5	
16.4	0.67	0.95	230	63.0	37.0	4.3	43.5	
20.0	0.66	1.14	85	52.9	47.1	5.9	23.5	
15.1	0.79	1.03	19910	51.7	48.3	4.8	29.8	
15.9	0.67	0.92	2630	43.0	57.0	3.4	25.9	
20.1	0.70	1.21	340	50.0	50.0	2.9	32.4	
18.6	0.61	0.98	3735	47.1	52.9	3.9	29.2	
16.4	0.62	0.88	560	51.8	48.2	5.4	29.5	
16.8	0.69	1.00	845	49.1	50.9	4.7	29.6	
17.4	0.79	1.19	2205	52.6	47.6	6.1	26.5	
13.8	0.81	0.96	7805	54.2	45.8	5.9	29.5	
30.8	0.68	1.81	285	49.1	50.9	5.3	29.8	
21.1	0.57	1.04	215	58.1	41.9	2.3	41.9	
16.0	0.70	0.97	615	57.7	43.3	7.3	30.1	
14.2	1.00	1.22	20230	52.1	47.9	5.4	26.2	
16.4	0.88	1.24	160	50.0	50.0	3.1	28.1	
14.3	0.81	1.00	57015	47.7	52.3	5.0	25.3	
16.6	0.67	0.96	1205	46.5	53.5	4.6	25.7	
13.3	0.81	0.93	2815	47.6	52.4	4.4	26.1	
17.4	0.49	0.74	750	50.7	49.3	4.0	26.7	
19.0	0.44	0.72	855	45.6	54.4	4.1	27.5	
18.6	0.62	0.99	870	43.7	56.3	4.0	24.1	

(i) <u>DEATH RATES</u> continued				(ii) <u>ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS</u> continued			
<u>Crude rate per 1000</u>	<u>Compara- bility Factor</u>	<u>Local Adjusted Rate</u>	<u>Total elderly in 1 + 2 person H-H</u>	<u>% in</u>		<u>% in 1 person H-H of all</u>	
				<u>1 person H-H</u>	<u>2 person H-H</u>	<u>Males 65+</u>	<u>Females 60+</u>
<u>CORNWALL</u> continued							
Newquay UD.	0.61	0.74	1965	47.6	52.4	4.3	27.5
Penzance MB.	0.82	0.99	3575	49.9	50.1	4.6	29.7
St. Ives MB.	0.68	1.05	1835	47.4	52.6	3.3	27.5
Camelford RD.	0.69	1.11	1190	43.3	56.7	5.9	21.0
Truro RD.	0.80	1.07	5195	46.4	53.6	5.0	23.6
<u>CUMBERLAND</u>							
Keswick UD.	1.08	1.16	32965	53.3	46.7	5.9	28.4
	0.80	0.83	885	51.4	48.6	4.5	31.6
<u>DENBIGHSHIRE</u>							
Abergele UD.	0.87	1.02	26985	49.6	50.4	5.0	27.6
Colwyn Bay MB.	0.48	0.72	3025	37.7	62.3	3.5	21.0
Ruthin MB.	0.63	0.97	6120	46.7	53.3	3.3	30.6
	0.90	1.06	670	51.5	49.3	6.0	29.1
<u>DERBYSHIRE</u>							
Bakewell UD.	1.06	1.07	106565	50.5	49.5	6.1	25.9
	0.58	0.80	640	50.8	49.2	3.1	29.7
<u>DEVON</u>							
Torbay CB.	0.74	0.89	142445	46.1	53.9	4.6	25.0
Ashburton UD.	0.60	0.91	22995	45.0	55.0	4.0	25.9
Buckfastleigh UD.	0.66	0.85	590	44.9	55.1	4.2	22.9
Budleigh Salterton UD.	0.75	1.11	545	38.5	61.5	5.5	22.9
Dartmouth MB.	0.46	0.86	1325	43.8	56.2	2.3	29.1
Dawlish UD.	0.88	0.98	1090	50.0	50.0	6.0	28.0
Exmouth UD.	0.65	0.81	2000	44.0	56.0	3.8	23.8
Ilfracombe UD.	0.48	0.70	5730	43.3	56.7	3.8	25.8
Kingsbridge UD.	0.63	0.96	1810	48.1	51.9	4.7	30.1
Lynnton UD.	0.89	0.93	660	49.2	50.8	5.3	28.0
Newton Abbot UD.	0.61	0.84	280	42.9	57.1	3.6	30.4
Northam UD.	0.59	0.88	3080	45.6	54.4	4.7	25.3
Okehampton MB.	0.58	0.89	1755	44.4	55.6	3.4	24.8
	0.70	1.03	635	53.5	46.5	3.9	31.5

(i) DEATH RATES continued

Crude rate per 1000	Compara- bility Factor	Local Adjusted Rate
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(ii) ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS continued

Total elderly in 1+2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H	% in 2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H of all	Males 65+ Females 60+
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DEVON continued

Ottery St. Mary UD.
Salcombe UD.
Seaton UD.
Sidmouth UD.
Teignmouth UD.
Totnes MB.
Axminster RD.
Kingsbridge RD.
Newton Abbot RD.
Okehampton RD.
Totnes RD.

12.9	0.57	0.63	1170	42.3	57.3	5.1	20.9
13.0	0.71	0.80	505	46.5	53.5	4.0	24.8
22.8	0.39	0.77	1330	39.1	60.9	3.0	24.1
18.3	0.42	0.66	3880	39.2	60.8	3.0	24.2
19.6	0.51	0.86	2935	42.6	57.4	4.0	24.5
17.3	0.54	0.81	950	48.4	51.6	3.7	25.8
12.5	0.78	0.84	3175	41.6	58.4	4.3	21.1
15.3	0.81	1.07	2355	43.7	56.3	4.9	21.2
13.4	0.77	0.89	6015	41.6	58.4	4.4	21.0
13.3	0.80	0.92	1850	45.4	54.6	6.2	21.6
17.2	0.51	0.76	2490	44.2	55.8	4.0	22.1

DORSET

Bridport MB.
Lyne Regis MB.
Swanage UD.
Wimborne Minster UD.
Beaminstor RD.
Bridport RD.
Sturminster RD.
Wimborne & Cranborne RD.

13.1	0.83	0.94	56200	44.2	55.8	4.4	23.0
24.4	0.67	1.41	1345	52.0	48.0	4.8	30.9
18.8	0.73	1.18	865	47.4	52.6	4.6	26.6
18.4	0.61	0.97	1760	43.5	56.5	4.3	27.3
17.8	0.77	1.18	785	50.3	49.7	5.7	27.4
13.3	0.79	0.91	1310	42.7	57.3	4.6	21.4
16.7	0.73	1.05	2130	42.3	57.7	3.8	23.2
13.7	0.68	0.80	1880	45.7	54.3	5.3	25.0
11.0	0.80	0.76	7495	36.2	63.8	3.8	15.9

ESSEX

Southend-on-Sea CB.
Brightlingsea UD.
Clacton UD.
Frinton & Walton UD.
West Mersea UD.

10.5	0.96	0.87	156590	47.9	52.1	4.9	25.8
15.4	0.73	0.97	28725	50.0	50.0	4.6	29.5
14.8	0.70	0.89	1355	46.5	53.5	6.6	25.8
19.2	0.58	0.96	11105	36.8	63.2	3.7	22.2
23.5	0.55	1.11	4065	36.3	63.7	3.4	20.8
18.4	0.55	0.87	900	45.6	54.4	3.9	27.2

FLINTSHIRE

Prestatyn UD.
Rhyl UD.

12.6	0.90	0.98	22670	47.6	52.4	5.2	25.2
17.0	0.52	0.76	3750	39.7	60.3	3.5	24.3
16.9	0.72	1.05	4200	48.7	51.3	5.5	28.8

(i) <u>DEATH RATES</u> continued				(ii) <u>ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS</u> continued			
	Crude rate per 1000	Compara- bility Factor	Local Adjusted Rate	Total elderly in 1+2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H	% in 2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H of all Males 65+ Females 60+
<u>HAMPSHIRE</u>							
Bournemouth CB.	11.1	0.90	0.86	192215	48.1	51.9	4.8 25.9
Christchurch CB.	18.0	0.60	0.93	31700	49.3	50.7	4.1 30.5
Lymington MB.	15.3	0.65	0.86	6830	40.8	59.2	3.3 22.0
Ringwood & Fordingbridge RD.	16.9	0.54	0.79	8950	38.4	61.6	3.6 22.0
	16.7	0.54	0.81	5715	43.6	56.4	4.5 21.7
<u>ISLE OF WIGHT</u>							
Ryde MB.	15.0	0.67	0.87	19495	45.6	54.4	4.5 25.3
Sandown & Shanklin UD.	14.7	0.72	0.91	4485	47.7	52.3	4.7 28.1
Ventnor UD.	15.8	0.60	0.82	3195	42.4	57.6	4.2 24.6
Isle of Wight UD.	21.8	0.53	1.00	1500	43.3	56.7	3.7 25.0
	14.9	0.68	0.87	4460	44.2	55.8	4.1 23.1
<u>KENT</u>							
Broadstairs & St. Peters UD.	12.1	0.86	0.90	185435	48.2	51.8	5.0 26.7
Deal MB.	17.8	0.48	0.74	5145	40.7	59.3	3.1 26.0
Folkestone MB.	14.2	0.87	1.07	4530	46.5	53.5	4.9 28.4
Herne Bay UD.	15.3	0.73	0.96	8830	51.0	49.0	4.6 33.1
Hythe MB.	23.1	0.53	1.06	7405	41.1	58.9	4.3 26.2
Margate MB.	15.7	0.52	0.70	2825	45.1	54.9	3.7 29.7
Ramsgate MB.	18.8	0.60	0.97	11210	44.5	55.5	4.1 26.7
Tenterden MB.	15.5	0.75	1.00	7665	46.7	53.3	5.3 27.2
Whitstable UD.	15.0	0.59	0.76	1200	42.1	57.9	3.8 23.8
Eltham RD.	16.2	0.59	0.82	5625	43.6	56.4	4.1 25.8
	15.4	0.42	0.56	2090	40.4	59.6	3.6 20.8
<u>LANCASHIRE</u>							
Blackpool CB.	12.9	1.07	1.19	623660	54.5	45.5	5.8 29.8
Southport CB.	17.0	0.79	1.16	28200	49.8	50.2	4.9 28.3
Grange UD.	16.8	0.65	0.94	15385	51.8	48.2	4.5 32.1
Lytham St. Anne's MB.	18.8	0.44	0.71	1055	43.6	56.4	3.3 29.4
	19.0	0.65	1.06	8645	47.3	52.7	3.7 28.7

(i) <u>DEATH RATES</u> continued				(ii) <u>ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS</u> continued			
	<u>Crude rate</u> per 1000	<u>Compara-</u> <u>bility</u> <u>Factor</u>	<u>Local</u> <u>Adjusted</u> <u>Rate</u>	<u>Total elderly</u> <u>in 1+2 person</u> <u>H-H</u>	<u>% in</u> <u>1 person</u> <u>H-H</u>	<u>% in</u> <u>2 person</u> <u>H-H</u>	<u>% in 1 person H-H</u> <u>of all</u> <u>Males 65+ Females 60+</u>
<u>LANCASHIRE</u> continued							
Morecambe & Heysham MB.	16.9	0.72	1.05	11220	44.6	55.4	4.0
Presall UD.	20.7	0.54	0.96	1270	31.5	68.5	3.5
Thornton Clevellys UD.	15.3	0.63	0.83	6035	41.2	58.8	4.1
Trawden UD.	14.9	0.92	1.18	365	56.2	43.8	8.2
Lancaster RD.	16.1	0.72	1.00	3325	40.6	59.4	3.8
<u>LINCOLNSHIRE (LINDSEY)</u>							
Alford UD.	11.1	1.02	0.98	54190	49.8	50.2	6.0
Mablethorpe & Sutton UD.	13.0	0.67	0.75	450	51.1	48.9	6.7
Skegness UD.	19.2	0.72	1.19	1575	43.5	56.5	3.8
Woodhall Spa UD.	16.4	0.74	1.05	2700	44.8	55.2	4.6
Spilsby RD.	21.7	0.45	0.84	430	44.2	55.8	4.7
	15.0	0.78	1.01	3760	45.2	54.8	6.5
<u>MERIONETHSHIRE</u>							
Barmouth UD.	16.1	0.86	1.19	5350	54.6	45.4	5.6
Tywyn UD.	19.2	0.65	1.08	375	56.0	44.0	5.3
Dolgellau RD.	14.3	0.79	0.97	730	46.6	53.4	4.8
	15.2	0.88	1.15	1120	50.0	50.0	6.3
<u>MONTGOMERYSHIRE</u>							
Llanfyllin MB.	13.0	0.88	0.99	5405	51.7	48.3	7.4
Llanidloes MB.	15.9	0.51	0.70	165	54.5	45.5	9.1
Machynlleth RD.	26.3	0.69	1.56	415	54.2	45.8	7.2
	18.3	0.76	1.20	260	59.6	40.4	5.8
<u>NORFOLK</u>							
Cromer UD.	12.2	0.87	0.92	88855	47.7	52.3	5.8
Downham Market UD.	22.3	0.50	0.96	1200	45.8	54.2	5.0
Hunstanton UD.	14.2	0.73	0.89	665	42.9	57.1	5.3
Sheringham UD.	18.4	0.71	1.13	945	42.9	57.1	4.8
Wells next the Sea UD.	19.0	0.56	0.92	1170	48.7	51.3	5.1
Docking RD.	16.5	0.87	1.24	515	45.6	53.4	2.9
Erpingham RD.	15.9	0.85	1.17	3090	45.5	54.5	6.1
	14.4	0.70	0.87	3745	43.1	56.9	5.1

(i) DEATH RATES continued				(ii) ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS continued			
Crude rate per 1000	Compara- bility Factor	Local Adjusted Rate	Total elderly 1+2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H	% in 2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H of all	
						Males 65+	Females 60+
<u>NORTHUMBERLAND</u>							
12.7	1.06	1.16	98280	54.6	45.4	6.1	29.5
19.0	0.82	1.34	810	48.1	51.9	4.9	26.5
9.2	0.92	0.73	590	50.8	49.2	5.9	26.3
12.6	0.82	0.89	845	49.7	50.3	5.9	26.6
<u>PEMBROKESHIRE</u>							
13.1	1.06	1.20	10920	53.2	46.8	5.8	27.0
28.7	0.63	1.56	155	48.4	51.6	3.2	32.3
14.7	0.80	1.01	735	53.1	46.9	3.4	29.9
<u>RADNORSHIRE</u>							
14.0	0.83	1.00	2490	49.2	50.8	6.4	23.3
16.1	0.75	1.04	540	50.0	50.0	4.6	29.6
<u>SOMERSET</u>							
12.7	0.82	0.90	94625	47.7	52.3	4.9	25.5
17.2	0.63	0.93	2445	41.9	58.1	3.9	24.3
21.0	0.46	0.83	2015	44.9	55.1	3.5	28.8
15.7	0.61	0.83	9735	46.4	53.6	4.4	27.7
13.5	0.82	0.95	2235	42.5	57.5	5.1	20.4
15.4	0.73	0.97	2490	44.8	55.2	4.8	23.3
<u>SUFFOLK (EAST)</u>							
11.7	0.87	0.88	52730	48.2	51.8	5.6	25.5
22.3	0.56	1.08	645	55.0	45.0	3.9	32.6
32.3	0.25	0.70	260	50.0	50.0	5.8	30.8
14.5	0.70	0.88	3420	47.7	52.3	4.2	28.5
20.1	0.49	0.85	670	47.0	53.0	4.5	31.3
<u>SURREY</u>							
10.7	0.92	0.85	106250	50.6	49.4	4.2	25.4
16.4	0.71	1.00	2055	49.9	50.1	3.6	30.4
<u>SUSSEX (EAST)</u>							
16.1	0.62	0.86	147605	48.2	51.8	4.5	29.0
15.4	0.68	0.90	27250	54.0	46.0	5.5	32.1
18.8	0.54	0.88	16555	47.0	53.0	3.7	30.2
19.9	0.53	0.91	15495	50.0	50.0	4.6	31.9

(i) <u>DEATH RATES</u> continued				(ii) <u>ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS</u> continued			
	<u>Crude rate per 1000</u>	<u>Compara- bility Factor</u>	<u>Local Adjusted Rate</u>	<u>Total elderly in 1+2 person H-H</u>		<u>% in 2 person H-H</u>	
<u>SUSSEX (EAST)</u> continued							<u>Males 65+ Females 60+</u>
Bexhill MB	21.5	0.48	0.69	11470	40.6	59.4	3.2 26.9
Hove MB.	20.8	0.53	0.95	18875	56.4	43.6	5.2 38.1
Rye MB.	12.2	0.85	0.88	875	56.0	44.0	5.7 34.3
Seaford UD.	15.5	0.47	0.63	4250	41.5	58.5	3.6 24.9
Battle RD.	15.6	0.60	0.81	6910	42.3	57.8	4.6 22.1
Chailley RD.	14.5	0.56	0.70	5830	43.7	56.3	4.1 22.9
Hailsham RD.	17.9	0.57	0.88	14020	38.1	61.9	3.6 20.7
<u>SUSSEX (WEST)</u>							
Arundel MB.	14.8	0.63	0.80	91535	44.7	55.3	3.8 26.6
Bognor Regis UD.	16.7	0.70	1.01	540	51.9	48.1	5.6 29.6
Littlehampton UD.	18.7	0.47	0.76	7975	42.6	57.4	3.8 26.0
Southwick UD.	15.4	0.71	0.94	3665	44.7	55.3	4.2 27.7
Worthing MB.	16.4	0.81	1.15	2020	49.3	50.7	4.0 26.5
Chancetonbury RD.	23.5	0.42	0.85	26015	46.1	53.9	3.5 31.4
Chichester RD.	12.4	0.70	0.75	5235	44.9	55.1	3.9 25.3
Worthing RD.	12.7	0.72	0.79	11590	40.9	59.1	3.8 21.3
	17.2	0.47	0.70	13995	40.4	59.6	3.4 24.8
<u>WESTMORLAND</u>							
Lakes UD.	12.5	0.83	0.89	10460	49.5	50.5	5.1 27.7
Windermere UD.	10.5	0.72	0.65	865	55.5	44.5	6.4 32.9
	15.6	0.54	0.73	1355	51.3	48.7	3.7 31.7
<u>WILTSHIRE</u>							
Mere & Tisbury RD.	10.5	1.06	0.96	52085	48.3	51.7	5.4 24.2
	12.6	0.81	0.88	1910	45.3	54.7	5.5 23.0
<u>YORKSHIRE (EAST)</u>							
Bridlington MB.	11.7	1.04	1.05	68780	52.5	47.5	5.7 28.7
Filey UD.	19.1	0.64	1.05	6400	47.1	52.9	4.5 29.1
Hornsea UD.	21.2	0.67	1.22	1395	40.1	59.9	3.2 23.7
Bridlington RD.	14.3	0.71	0.88	1335	44.6	55.4	3.4 27.3
	11.2	0.84	0.81	1480	43.2	56.8	5.4 22.6

	(i) <u>DEATH RATES</u> continued			(ii) <u>ONE AND TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLDS</u> continued			
	Crude rate per 1000	Compara- bility Factor	Local Adjusted Rate	Total elderly in 1+2 person H-H		% in 2 person H-H	% in 1 person H-H of all Males 65+ Females 60+
				H-H	% in 1 person H-H		
<u>YORKSHIRE (NORTH)</u>							
Scalby UD.	10.9	1.11	1.04	77895	52.1	47.9	5.7
Scarborough MB.	10.7	0.66	0.61	1800	43.9	56.1	4.2
Masham RD.	18.4	0.66	1.05	8590	49.2	50.8	4.4
Pickering RD.	14.0	0.92	1.11	285	47.4	52.6	5.3
Reeth RD.	12.8	0.82	0.90	775	45.8	54.2	7.7
Scarborough RD.	14.6	0.75	0.94	315	57.1	42.9	4.8
	10.7	0.65	0.60	2050	41.0	59.0	4.4
<u>ENGLAND AND WALES</u>	11.6	1.00	1.00	5813875	51.8	48.2	5.5
							27.7

APPENDIX II. MIGRATION STATISTICS

A. RETIREMENT AREAS

Retirement areas were located in the subdivisions of Standard Regions as follows:

SOUTH EAST

Outer South East: Essex

Brightlingsea UD.
Clacton UD.
Frinton & Walton UD.
West Mersea UD.

Outer South East: Kent

Broadstairs & St. Peter's UD.
Deal MB.
Folkestone MB.
Herne Bay UD.
Hythe MB.
Margate MB.
Ramsgate MB.
Tenterden MB.
Whitstable UD.
Elham RD.

Outer South East: Solent

Bournemouth CB.
Christchurch MB.
Lymington MB.
Ringwood and Fordingbridge RD.
Ryde MB.
Sandown and Shanklin UD.
Ventnor UD.
Isle of Wight RD.

Hampshire

Isle of Wight

Outer South East: Sussex Coast

Brighton CB.
Eastbourne CB.
Hastings CB.
Bexhill MB.
Hove MB.
Rye MB.
Seaford UD.
Battle RD.
Chailey RD.
Hailsham RD.
Arundel MB.
Bognor Regis UD.
Littlehampton UD.
Southwick UD.
Worthing MB.
Chancetonbury RD.
Chichester RD.
Worthing RD.

East Sussex

West Sussex

SOUTH WESTCentral

Bridport MB.
 Lyme Regis MB.
 Swanage UD.
 Wimborne Minster UD.
 Beaminster RD.
 Bridport RD.
 Sturminster RD.
 Wimborne and Cranborne RD.
 Burnham-on-Sea UD.
 Chard RD.
 Mere and Tisbury RD.

Dorset

Somerset

Wiltshire

Northern: Bristol - Severnside

Weston-super-Mare MB.

Somerset

Southern

Liskeard MB.
 Looe UD.
 Torbay CB.
 Ashburton UD.
 Buckfastleigh UD.
 Budleigh Salterton UD.
 Dartmouth MB.
 Dawlish UD.
 Exmouth UD.
 Kingsbridge UD.
 Newton Abbot UD.
 Ottery St. Mary UD.
 Salcombe UD.
 Seaton UD.
 Sidmouth UD.
 Teignmouth UD.
 Totnes MB.
 Axminster RD.
 Kingsbridge RD.
 Newton Abbot RD.
 Totnes RD.

Cornwall

Devon

Western

Bude-Stratton UD.
 Falmouth MB.
 Launceston MB.
 Newquay UD.
 Penzance MB.
 St. Ives MB.
 Camelford RD.
 Truro RD.
 Ilfracombe UD.
 Lynton UD.
 Northam UD.
 Okehampton MB.
 Okehampton RD.
 Minehead UD.
 Williton RD.

Cornwall

Devon

Somerset

EAST ANGLIANorth East

Cromer UD.
 Sheringham UD.
 Wells-next-the-Sea UD.
 Erpingham RD.
 Southwold MB.

Norfolk

East Suffolk

North West

Downham Market UD.
 Hunstanton UD.
 Docking RD.

Norfolk

South East

Aldeburgh MB.
 Eye MB.
 Felixstowe UD.

East Suffolk

NORTH WESTFurness

Grange UD.

Lancashire

Fylde

Blackpool CB.
 Lytham St. Anne's MB.
 Preesall UD.
 Thornton Cleveleys UD.

Lancashire

Lancaster

Morecambe and Heysham MB
 Lancaster RD.

Lancashire

Merseyside

Southport CB.

Lancashire

North East Lancashire

Trawden UD.

Lancashire

NORTHCumberland and Westmorland

Keswick UD.
 Lakes UD.
 Windermere UD.

Cumberland
 Westmorland

Rural North-East: North

Belford RD.
 Norham and Islandshires RD.
 Rothbury RD.

Northumberland

Rural North East: South

Scalby UD.
 Scarborough MB.
 Masham RD.
 Pickering RD.
 Reeth RD.
 Scarborough RD.

Yorkshire (North)

YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDEMid Yorkshire

Bridlington MB.
 Filey UD.
 Bridlington RD.
 Hornsea UD.

Yorkshire (East)

South Lindsey

Alford UD.
 Mablethorpe and Sutton UD.
 Skegness UD.
 Woodhall Spa UD.
 Spilsby RD.

Lincolnshire

WALESCentral Wales

Builth Wells UD.
 Hay UD.
 Llanwrtyd Wells UD.
 Llanfyllin MB.
 Llanidloes MB.
 Machynlleth RD.
 Llandrindod Wells UD.

Breconshire

Montgomeryshire

Radnorshire

North West Wales: North Coast

Conway MB.
 Llandudno UD.
 Abergelle UD.
 Colwyn Bay MB.
 Prestatyn UD.
 Rhyl UD.

Caernarvonshire

Denbighshire

Flintshire

North West Wales: Remainder

Criccieth UD.	Caernarvonshire
Llanfairfechan UD.	
Penmaenmawr UD.	
Lleyn RD.	
Ruthin MB.	Denbighshire
Barmouth UD.	Merionethshire
Tywyn UD.	
Dolgellau RD.	

South West Wales

Aberaeron UD.	Cardiganshire
Newquay UD.	
Tregaron RD.	
Newcastle Emlyn UD.	Carmarthenshire
Narbeth UD.	Pembrokeshire
Tenby MB.	

The following are not included in the discussion in Chapter 4:

SOUTH EASTOuter Metropolitan Area (East)

Southend-on-Sea CB.	Essex
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Outer Metropolitan Area (South West)

Haslemere UD.	Surrey
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EAST MIDLANDSNottingham-Derbyshire

Bakewell UD.	Derbyshire
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YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDENorth Humberside

Hornsea UD.	Yorkshire (East)
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B. SOURCE OF MIGRATION INTO SUBDIVISIONS OF STANDARD REGIONS 1966 -71 (10%)

SOUTH EAST

Migration from:

Migration to:

	O.S.E. Essex		O.S.E. Kent		O.S.E. Solent		O.S.E. Sussex Coast	
	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream
Greater London								
Central Boroughs	27	16.6	61	24.5	93	19.8	211	36.5
Remainder Inner London	172	19.6	271	21.6	258	16.7	497	36.6
Outer London	422	23.6	697	30.8	795	24.2	1677	42.7
O.M.A.								
West	15	14.1	33	19.5	102	11.5	105	22.7
North	79	15.8	42	19.7	111	19.3	115	25.2
East	166	12.2	57	24.4	41	10.3	65	25.9
South East	8	7.8	196	14.1	28	6.2	82	17.0
South	9	11.3	45	18.7	85	16.6	386	24.0
South West	14	13.9	29	18.2	171	12.2	189	25.6
O.S.E.								
Essex	1001	13.8	16	21.1	20	16.1	31	38.3
Kent	8	13.3	1898	14.6	37	11.9	94	21.2
Sussex Coast	17	22.4	60	21.4	139	16.4	4465	21.5
Solent	13	8.8	33	15.3	4815	12.6	157	16.8
Beds. & Bucks.	4	6.6	2	6.9	15	14.8	15	26.3
Berks. & Oxon.	1	2.3	9	14.5	43	8.4	26	18.8
Tyneside CB.	1	2.6	7	14.9	11	12.6	5	13.5
North Remainder	6	4.4	10	10.1	27	7.5	32	21.3
West Yorkshire CB.	5	11.9	15	16.8	17	6.6	22	24.7
Yorks & Humberside Rem.	7	5.3	16	11.3	53	10.8	31	13.4

SOUTH EAST continued

Migration from;

Migration to:

	O.S.E. Essex		O.S.E. Kent		O.S.E. Solent		O.S.E. Sussex Coast	
	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream
Merseyside CB.	3	18.8	3	5.8	26	9.5	15	19.5
S.E. Lancashire CB.	9	14.3	12	14.3	50	11.6	25	12.6
North West Remainder	8	5.5	13	9.4	66	14.3	37	21.9
East Midlands	12	7.0	19	12.2	88	12.2	60	17.6
West Midlands CB.	11	18.0	21	23.1	93	18.3	50	26.3
West Midlands Remainder	7	7.0	22	11.4	91	13.5	48	14.7
East Anglia	72	12.1	24	14.4	42	9.0	59	23.3
South West	19	7.0	52	15.0	383	10.1	160	22.3
Wales	10	15.4	13	8.7	55	9.2	32	20.1
Scotland	9	8.2	20	10.9	40	5.1	36	18.8
Elsewhere GB.	3	3.9	7	8.0	19	6.4	18	14.3
Commonwealth	16	4.9	33	6.8	56	2.7	80	10.0
Foreign Countries	8	1.9	9	4.7	43	2.7	54	6.7
Total elderly migrants	2162	13.9	3745	16.5	7936	12.5	8879	23.9

SOUTH WESTMigration from:Migration to:

	<u>Central</u>		<u>Northern- Bristol Severnside</u>		<u>Southern</u>		<u>Western</u>	
	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>
South West Region								
Central	2002	13.4	79	10.3	89	16.9	52	17.2
Southern	89	17.1	43	8.3	2948	15.4	117	14.7
Western	47	13.8	33	14.9	159	17.6	1584	15.4
Northern	136	9.7	2602	12.1	131	18.0	56	12.6
Tyneside CB.	9	23.1	9	20.4	8	13.8	3	9.4
North Remainder	19	9.0	10	7.4	17	9.8	10	10.2
West Yorkshire CB.	12	13.3	14	11.2	24	13.4	11	14.5
Yorks & Humberside Remainder	18	8.5	16	6.6	49	18.8	17	9.5
Merseyside CB.	6	9.7	4	4.9	17	16.3	5	9.3
S.E. Lancashire CB.	25	12.2	12	6.0	50	14.9	34	14.7
North West Remainder	28	13.1	18	7.4	51	15.6	31	20.0
East Midlands	50	12.5	24	7.0	83	18.2	55	16.4
West Midlands CB.	45	16.6	124	27.7	128	28.6	49	23.2
West Midlands Remainder	56	12.4	44	10.6	106	24.8	48	16.7
East Anglia	25	13.0	7	3.3	18	8.9	16	12.4
G. London	418	25.8	134	13.2	517	30.7	273	25.9
O.M.A.	279	18.0	67	7.0	316	21.5	169	16.2
Outer South East	338	14.6	88	10.9	220	17.0	139	19.8
Wales	33	10.1	78	11.5	45	14.8	16	9.1
Scotland	26	8.9	17	6.2	21	7.0	13	8.8
Elsewhere G.B.	18	13.4	8	6.2	8	6.1	7	6.1
Commonwealth	28	4.0	13	1.9	39	4.4	29	8.8
Foreign Countries	17	2.0	19	4.7	27	5.4	14	5.1
Total elderly migrants	3723	13.6	3463	11.4	5071	16.4	2748	15.7

EAST ANGLIAMigration from:Migration to:

	<u>North East</u>		<u>North West</u>		<u>South East</u>	
	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>	<u>Total elderly migrants</u>	<u>% elderly in stream</u>
East Anglia						
South East	55	14.1	7	10.4	955	12.8
North East	1777	13.2	29	11.1	56	14.0
North West	39	11.8	755	11.2	5	6.6
South West	14	6.9	15	5.1	18	10.7
Tyneside CB.	8	20.0	4	14.3	4	10.0
North Remainder	7	5.3	5	4.6	8	7.5
West Yorkshire CB.	10	14.1	4	5.6	6	15.8
Yorks & Humberside Remainder	25	8.8	10	4.6	5	4.1
Merseyside CB.	4	10.5	0		0	
S.E.Lancashire CB.	24	24.7	8	13.1	4	7.8
North West Remainder	19	13.7	8	13.3	7	7.9
East Midlands	60	12.5	42	7.1	11	5.1
West Midlands CB.	14	16.7	5	10.0	3	5.8
West Midlands Remainder	18	11.5	7	4.8	11	12.4
Greater London	412	23.1	130	16.0	197	16.4
O.M.A.	214	16.9	44	11.5	108	13.5
Outer South East	109	19.1	12	4.5	86	12.7
South West	39	11.8	8	5.6	11	5.9
Wales	4	3.4	0		13	18.1
Scotland	9	4.9	12	8.2	6	5.0
Elsewhere G.B.	8	11.0	1	3.0	0	
Commonwealth	8	1.8	3	0.9	9	2.8
Foreign Countries	13	2.5	2	0.3	7	0.7
Total elderly migrants	2902	13.7	1111	9.7	1512	11.3

NORTH WESTMigration from:

	<u>Furness</u>		<u>Fylde</u>		<u>Migration to:</u> <u>Lancaster</u>		<u>Merseyside</u>		<u>N.E.Lancashire</u>	
	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream	Total elderly migrants	% elderly in stream
North West										
South Cheshire	2	40.0	13	23.2	5	41.7	29	8.1	4	10.3
South Lancashire	4	13.3	35	22.0	10	43.5	76	7.9	2	3.0
Manchester	9	10.7	364	28.3	74	35.2	90	12.0	49	8.1
Merseyside	5	10.6	32	18.1	11	17.5	4471	9.8	14	9.9
Furness	255	10.3	4	12.5	3	6.7			2	8.0
Fylde	5	25.0	1080	17.3	18	40.9	15	14.0	37	26.2
Lancaster	4	9.1	16	19.8	376	15.1	3	6.7	11	15.3
Mid Lancashire	5	27.8	52	21.1	9	11.0	9	4.7	20	10.9
N.E.Lancashire	8	16.3	94	28.1	34	37.0	17	13.7	1464	11.8
Tyneside CB.	1	3.3	4	8.5	1	7.7	1	1.7	1	4.2
North Remainder	22	12.5	22	15.7	15	13.8	21	7.1	6	6.5
West Yorkshire CB.	4	11.4	33	14.2	66	39.5	38	17.1	4	2.8
Yorks & Humberside Remainder	6	15.0	42	14.6	15	17.9	23	7.3	22	9.4
East Midlands	4	10.5	13	11.9	5	15.6	16	5.9	9	8.5
West Midlands CB.	3	15.8	13	17.3	5	15.6	24	11.6	3	6.3
West Midlands Remainder	2	15.4	29	14.8	5	16.7	23	6.8	8	12.1
East Anglia	2	25.0	2	4.3	0		6	5.9	2	8.7
Greater London	2	6.2	47	23.5	25	32.9	60	8.7	16	10.6
O.M.A.	4	14.8	29	16.0	2	3.1	29	5.3	7	6.7
Outer South East	1	2.0	37	25.0	12	23.5	23	6.4	9	12.7
South West	8	21.1	28	22.0	6	14.6	23	7.1	4	5.6

Migration from:

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NORTH

Migration from:

	<u>Migration to:</u>		<u>Migration to:</u>		<u>Migration to:</u>	
	<u>Rural N.E. North</u>		<u>Rural N.E. North</u>		<u>Rural N.E. South</u>	
	<u>Total</u> <u>elderly</u> <u>migrants</u>	<u>% elderly</u> <u>in stream</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>elderly</u> <u>migrants</u>	<u>% elderly</u> <u>in stream</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>elderly</u> <u>migrants</u>	<u>% elderly</u> <u>in stream</u>
North						
Industrial N.E., N.	23	10.6	107	12.3	36	16.4
Industrial N.E., S.	5	7.9	5	13.9	87	12.7
Rural N.E., North	10	18.5	374	13.4	7	14.0
Rural N.E., South	4	16.0	2	5.6	844	15.6
Cumberland & Westmorland	1007	12.4	3	5.3	12	17.6
West Yorkshire CB.	5	6.0	0		73	18.4
Yorks & Humberside Rem.	16	8.7	3	3.9	197	14.7
Merseyside CB.	7	8.5	1	14.3	3	10.7
S.E.Lancashire CB.	29	20.1	2	10.0	11	16.4
North West Remainder	82	16.8	3	11.1	12	11.1
East Midlands	5	4.8	2	7.4	12	6.2
West Midlands CB.	5	10.4	0		12	18.2
West Midlands Rem.	14	12.8	2	7.7	11	9.6
East Anglia	2	5.7	2	10.0	5	7.5
Greater London	21	16.3	10	23.8	30	16.0
O.M.A.	15	11.9	10	12.3	29	14.3
Outer South East	12	11.5	1	2.2	18	9.4
South West	6	6.5	4	10.5	12	5.9
Wales	1	1.8	1	6.7	7	11.7
Scotland	20	6.9	9	4.4	20	9.9
Elsewhere G.B.	4	10.3	0		1	1.4
Commonwealth	8	5.5	2	4.4	8	2.4
Foreign Countries	1	1.4	3	6.8	1	0.3
Total Elderly Migrants	1302	12.1	564	12.0	1448	13.5

YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDEMigration from:Migration to:

	<u>Mid Yorkshire</u>		<u>South Lindsey</u>	
	<u>Total</u> <u>elderly</u> <u>migrants</u>	<u>% elderly</u> <u>in stream</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>elderly</u> <u>migrants</u>	<u>% elderly</u> <u>in stream</u>
Yorkshire & Humberside				
North Humberside	43	11.3	0	
South Humberside	1	2.0	53	14.1
Mid Yorkshire	1180	14.7	1	2.3
South Lindsey	2	6.9	371	14.3
South Yorkshire	35	27.6	22	21.8
Yorkshire Coalfield	51	10.8	8	9.8
West Yorkshire	211	13.9	11	16.4
Tyneside CB.	7	6.7	0	
North Remainder	101	11.4	2	2.0
Merseyside CB.	5	12.5	5	38.5
S.E.Lancashire CB.	23	12.9	6	25.0
North West Remainder	22	13.2	7	8.5
East Midlands	22	7.4	176	17.9
West Midlands CB.	10	16.7	8	19.5
West Midlands Remainder	12	7.0	15	17.9
East Anglia	9	7.9	9	6.2
Greater London	31	9.8	14	13.3
O.M.A.	27	7.8	11	10.0
Outer South East	21	9.1	17	14.7
South West	12	7.4	12	10.8
Wales	6	6.7	2	5.6
Scotland	14	7.3	2	3.3
Elsewhere G.B.	7	16.3	2	11.1
Commonwealth	7	2.5	10	6.1
Foreign Countries	5	1.5	1	0.5
<hr/>				
Total Elderly Migrants	1864	12.8	765	13.4
<hr/>				

WALES

Migration from;

Migration to:

	Central	Migration to:			South West
		N.W.Wales - N.Coast	N.W.Wales - Remainder		
Wales					
S. Wales: Central &					
E. Valleys	5	18.5	4	15.4	9
West S. Wales	4	13.3	0		42
Coastal Belt	11	20.0	7	21.9	24
North East Wales	0		15	8.3	0
N.W.Wales - North Coast	0		35	16.1	1
N.W.Wales Remainder	6	8.6	588	13.4	2
Central Wales	280	16.7	7	17.5	8
S.W.Wales	4	8.7	9	14.1	600
Tyneside CB.	0		1	12.5	0
North Remainder	0		1	2.9	3
West Yorkshire CB.	0		4	10.0	1
Yorks & Humberside Remainder	0		4	9.3	3
Mersyside CB.	2	10.5	57	32.4	3
S.E.Lancashire CB.	7	41.2	50	24.9	7
North West Remainder	10	31.3	29	13.8	6
East Midlands	6	26.1	7	7.4	9
West Midlands CB.	16	27.6	23	18.3	19
West Midlands Remainder	23	12.6	29	18.1	21
East Anglia	3	20.0	5	11.9	7
Greater London	11	16.4	31	25.0	38
O.M.A.	2	9.5	10	9.7	18
Outer South East	7	26.9	14	20.3	11
South West	7	22.6	8	8.4	15
Scotland	1	7.1	1	2.5	2
Elsewhere G.B.	0		0		1
Commonwealth	1	6.7	3	2.7	3
Foreign Countries	1	4.0	3	2.9	9
Total Elderly Migrants	396	15.8	945	13.9	862
					13.4

APPENDIX III. SUMMARY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC (OCCUPATIONAL) GROUPS

AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES as defined by the

Registrar General and used in the 1971 Census

- S.E.G.1. Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc. - large establishments.
- 1.1 Employers in industry, commerce, etc.
Persons who employ others in non-agricultural enterprises employing 25 or more persons.
- (a) Social Class II Intermediate occupations
 - (b) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual
 - (c) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual
- 1.2 Managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.
Persons who generally plan and supervise in non-agricultural enterprises employing 25 or more persons.
- (d) Social Class II Intermediate occupations
 - (e) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual
 - (f) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual
- S.E.G.2. Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc. - small establishments.
- 2.1 Employers in industry, commerce, etc. - small establishments. As in 1.1 but in establishments employing fewer than 25 persons.
- (g) Social Class II Intermediate occupations
 - (h) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual
 - (j) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual
 - (k) Social Class IV Partly skilled occupations
 - (l) Social Class V Unskilled occupations
- 2.2 Managers in industry, commerce, etc. - small establishments. As in 1.2 but in establishments employing fewer than 25 persons.
- (m) Social Class II Intermediate occupations
 - (n) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual
 - (o) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual
- S.E.G.3. Professional workers - self-employed
Self-employed persons engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard.
- (p) Social Class I Professional, etc., occupations
- S.E.G.4. Professional workers - employees
Employees engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard.
- (q) Social Class I Professional, etc., occupations

S.E.G.5. Intermediate non-manual workers.

5.1 Ancillary workers and artists

Employees engaged in non-manual occupations ancillary to the professions, not normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard; persons engaged in artistic work and not employing others thereat. Self-employed nurses, medical auxiliaries, teachers, work study engineers and technicians are included.

(r) Social Class II Intermediate occupations

5.2 Foremen and supervisors non-manual

Employees (other than managers) engaged in occupations included in group 6, who formally and immediately supervise others engaged in such occupations.

(s) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual

S.E.G.6 Junior non-manual workers.

Employees, not exercising general planning or supervisory powers, engaged in clerical, sales and non-manual communications and security occupations, excluding those who have additional and formal supervisory functions (these are included in group 5.2).

(t) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual

(u) Social Class IV Partly skilled occupations

S.E.G.7. Personal service workers.

Employees engaged in service occupations caring for food, drink, clothing and other personal needs.

(v) Social Class II Intermediate occupations

(w) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual

(x) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual

(y) Social Class IV Partly skilled occupations

S.E.G.8. Foremen and supervisors - manual.

Employees (other than managers) who formally and immediately supervise others engaged in manual occupations, whether or not themselves engaged in such occupations.

(z) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual

S.E.G.9. Skilled manual workers.

Employees engaged in manual occupations which require considerable and specific skills.

(aa) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual

S.E.G.10. Semi-skilled manual workers.

Employees engaged in manual occupations which require slight but specific skills.

(ab) Social Class IV Partly skilled occupations

S.E.G.11. Unskilled manual workers.

Other employees engaged in manual occupations.

(ac) Social Class V Unskilled occupations

S.E.G.12. Own account workers (other than professional).

Self-employed persons engaged in any trade, personal service or manual occupation not normally requiring training of university degree standard and having no employees other than family workers.

- (ad) Social Class II Intermediate occupations
- (ae) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Non-manual
- (af) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual
- (ag) Social Class IV Partly skilled occupations
- (ah) Social Class V Unskilled occupations

S.E.G.13. Farmers - employers and managers.

Persons who own, rent or manage farms, market gardens or forests, employing people other than family workers in the work of the enterprise.

- (aj) Social Class II Intermediate occupations

S.E.G.14. Farmers - own account.

Persons who own or rent farms, market gardens or forests and having no employees other than family workers.

- (ak) Social Class II Intermediate occupations

S.E.G.15. Agricultural workers.

Employees engaged in tending crops, animals, game or forests, or operating agricultural or forestry machinery.

- (al) Social Class III Skilled occupations - Manual
- (am) Social Class IV Partly skilled occupations

S.E.G.16. Members of armed forces.

S.E.G.17. Occupation inadequately described.

APPENDIX IV. THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Details of the sampling frame and times of survey are included in Chapter 6. The questionnaire schedule used in the survey was substantially the same in both study areas, but certain differences between Worthing and Leicester (principally in the area of whether or not actual migration had occurred) demanded a different approach in respect of several questions. In preparing this appendix, therefore, the questionnaire schedule has been subdivided into three sections:

Section A: Questions common to both the Worthing and Leicester surveys

Section B: Questions incorporated only in the Worthing questionnaire

Section C: Questions incorporated only in the Leicester questionnaire

For similar reasons, the letters of introduction could not be identical in both Worthing and Leicester, and minor variations were introduced to suit the approach in each area. These letters are included overleaf.



July 1974

Dear

RETIREMENT SURVEY

I am engaged in research at Leicester University into certain features of 'retirement towns' and the reasons why older people choose to move into and live in such areas. This survey is in connection with a postgraduate thesis that I shall be writing, and I am seeking to interview a number of people over 60 years of age, irrespective of how long and for what reasons they have been living in Worthing.

My purpose in writing to you is to ask for your help in completing a questionnaire which is being given to many people in Worthing. If you would be willing to help in this survey I shall call on you with the questionnaire and leave it with you to complete in your own time. I shall then call again at a later date to collect the completed questionnaire, and to answer any questions that you may have.

I am writing to a number of selected people throughout Worthing and to ensure that a balanced cross-section of people are represented in the survey I am anxious to get a reply from everyone I write to. I should be most grateful, therefore, if you would please complete the enclosed form and return it to me promptly in the prepaid envelope.

I should add that any opinions and information that you may be asked to give in the questionnaire will, of course, be treated in the strictest confidence, as is usual in such surveys.

I hope that you will agree to help in this survey.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

R. D. Allon-Smith, B.A.



July 1975

Dear

RETIREMENT SURVEY

I am engaged in research at the University into certain features of retirement, and the decisions with which people are faced, and make, at that time in their lives and in the years leading up to retirement. This survey is in connection with a postgraduate thesis that I shall be writing, and I am seeking to interview a number of people over 60 years of age.

My purpose in writing to you is to ask for your help in completing a questionnaire which is being given to many people in Leicester. If you would be willing to help in this survey I shall call on you with the questionnaire and leave it with you to complete in your own time. I shall then call again at a later date to collect the completed questionnaire, and to answer any questions that you may have.

I am writing to a number of selected people throughout Leicester and to ensure that a balanced cross-section of people are represented in the survey I am anxious to get a reply from everyone I write to. I should be most grateful, therefore, if you would please complete the enclosed form and return it to me promptly in the prepaid envelope.

I should add that any opinions and information that you may be asked to give in the questionnaire will, of course, be treated in the strictest confidence, as is usual in such surveys.

I hope that you will agree to help in this survey.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

R. D. Allon-Smith, B.A.

Introductory Letter: Leicester

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER: DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

RETIREMENT SURVEY

Questions should be answered by the head of the household.

Please answer all the questions.

SECTION A. QUESTIONS COMMON TO BOTH THE WORTHING AND LEICESTER SURVEYS

It is important that we know certain details about those people who are completing the questionnaire in order to compare the opinions and information given by a wide variety of people.

1. What is your sex?

a. Male _____

b. Female _____

2. What is your age?

a. Under 60 _____

b. 60 - 64 _____

c. 65 - 69 _____

d. 70 - 74 _____

e. 75 - 79 _____

f. 80 or over _____

3. What is your marital status?

a. Married _____

b. Single _____

c. Widowed _____

d. Divorced _____

4. At what age did you stop receiving full-time education?

a. Under 10 _____

b. 11 or 12 _____

c. 13 or 14 _____

d. 15 or 16 _____

e. 17 or 18 _____

f. 19 to 21 _____

g. Over 21 _____

5. Did you obtain any professional or business qualifications later on in life? If so, please state them.
- a. No _____
- b. Yes _____
- _____
- _____
6. Would you please describe your former full-time occupation (if retired), or your present full-time occupation (if still working).
- _____
- _____
7. How would you describe your state of health?
- a. Bad - some severe illness _____
- b. Not very good _____
- c. About average _____
- d. Good, on the whole _____
- e. Excellent _____
8. If you are retired, was health a principal factor in your retirement?
- a. Yes _____
- b. No _____
9. If you are retired, would you please state the year in which you retired from full-time work (or the year of your husband's retirement if he was the 'breadwinner').
- a. Year _____
- b. Not retired _____
10. If you are retired, where were you living at the time of your retirement?
- Town _____ County _____

The next few questions are related to a study of why some people choose to move home at the time of retirement and why some people choose to remain in the same house.

11. How long have you lived in Worthing?¹

- a. Less than 1 year _____
- b. 1 - 3 years _____
- c. 4 - 6 years _____
- d. 7 - 10 years _____
- e. More than 10 but less than 25 years _____
- f. More than 25 years but not all of life _____
- g. All of life _____

12. How long have you lived in your present home?

No. of years _____

13. How did you find your present home in Worthing? Please indicate more than one method if that is the case.

- a. Through estate agents _____
- b. Through advertisements in the press _____
- c. By recommendation of relatives _____
- d. By recommendation of friends _____
- e. Inheritance _____
- f. By chance or a casual visit _____
- g. Relocation by the local council _____
- h. Other - please state _____

14. What type of dwelling is your present one? Please indicate one each in columns A and B.

Column A

Column B

- a. Detached house _____
- b. Semi-detached house _____
- c. Flat _____
- d. Bungalow _____
- e. Terraced house _____
- f. Other (please state) _____

- a. Owned _____
- b. Rented _____
- c. Council _____

15. Do you feel that your present home is adequate for your needs?

- a. Yes _____
- b. No _____

If 'no', would you please give reasons:

1. In this and other questions, the name of Leicester was, of course, substituted for the survey in Leicester.

16. If you have lived at any other addresses in Worthing at any time would you please give these below (street names only).

17. When people move home many times during their working lives they are likely to continue to do so again in later years. Would you please recall how many different homes you have lived in since 1945, including your present home.

No. of homes _____

Most of the questions unique to either Worthing (Section B) or Leicester (Section C) were included at this point in the schedule.

18. What things do you particularly like about Worthing and its area as a place to live in? Please list them below:

19. What don't you like about Worthing and its area? Please list these things below:

Contact with family and friends is an important part of everyday life. We are interested in seeing the extent of this type of social contact among the older population of Worthing and the next few questions are designed to examine this along with other social activities.

20. How important is it to you that you live near to your children and/or other relatives so that you can visit them or they visit you regularly?

- a. Very important _____
- b. Quite important _____
- c. Not important at all _____
- d. Don't know _____
- e. No relatives living _____

21. Over the past 10 years, has contact with members of your family increased or decreased, generally speaking?

- a. Increased _____
- b. About the same _____
- c. Decreased _____

22. Would you please list below, in Table 1, all close relatives you have (i.e. children, parents, brothers, sisters, etc.,) their age and the place where they live.

<u>Table 1</u>		
Member of Family	Age	Place of Residence

Using the code, would you please fill in Table 2 (underneath Table 1) to show the frequency with which you make the various types of contact with each member mentioned. Please check that you fill in each square with some figure.

- CODE: 1. Daily.
2. Weekly.
3. Monthly.
4. About every 3 months.
5. Occasionally.
6. Never.

23. Do you read the 'Worthing Herald' or 'Worthing Gazette'?²

- a. Weekly _____
- b. Occasionally _____
- c. Rarely _____
- d. Never _____

24. If you have a TV set, how many hours a day do you watch it, on average?

- a. Less than 1 hour _____
- b. 1 - 3 hours _____
- c. 3 - 5 hours _____
- d. More than 5 hours _____
- e. Don't have a TV set _____

25. Below is a list of activities. It is possible that you take part in some of these. Would you please fill in the Table, putting an X in the appropriate square for each activity mentioned.

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Occasionally	Never
Shopping in the centre of Worthing					
Cinema visits					
Theatre visits					
Church on Sunday					
Midweek Church Activities					
Walks on the promenade 3					
Drives in the country					
Tea/visits with friends					
Trips to London					
Sports/ card games (please name)					
Clubs (please name)					
Any other activities (please specify)					

2. In Leicester, the 'Leicester Mercury' was substituted, and a 'daily' category included.

3. In Leicester, this was replaced by 'Visits to the local Parks'.

Lastly, below are a number of statements that have been made at various times by older people. Using the code would you please circle the appropriate number by each statement, as to how far you agree or disagree with it.

CODE: 1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Don't know.
4. Disagree.
5. Strongly disagree.

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The prospect of retirement after years of active work is rather frightening. The thought of having to adjust to a new style of life becomes very depressing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. One must move with the times. If you don't want to end up completely isolated it's necessary constantly to change one's outlook and behaviour. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Everyone needs a role in life. But it seems as though there is no place for the older person in today's society. Most people are written off after retirement. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Retirement becomes very attractive as it frees one from the pressures and routine of work and enables one to participate in new activities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Youth and adolescence are the best times of life. As the years go by life becomes far less satisfying. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Loneliness increases with age. It is very difficult to make deep friendships in the later years of life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. I don't like young people around me. They make me feel my age. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Despite increasing age, I still retain great enthusiasm for things and generally keep happy and contented. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Thank you for your help and co-operation in completing this questionnaire.

SECTION B. QUESTIONS INCORPORATED ONLY IN THE WORTHING QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Where did you live immediately before moving to Worthing?

Town _____ County _____

How many years had you lived there?

- a. Less than 1 year _____
b. More than 1 year but less than 5 years _____
c. More than 5 years but less than 10 years _____
d. More than 10 years _____
e. Most of life _____

2. In what year did you move to Worthing?

Year _____

3. Can you please tell me the main reason why you moved to Worthing?

4. How well did you know Worthing before you moved here?

- a. Not at all _____
b. A little _____
c. Quite well _____
d. Very well _____
e. Don't know _____

5. Before you moved to Worthing, had you ever been to the town, or elsewhere along the Sussex coast for holidays or day trips?

- a. Yes _____
b. No _____

If 'yes' could you please give a few details:

6. Before moving to Worthing, did you consider moving to any other 'retirement area'?

- a. Yes _____
b. No _____

If 'yes' would you please state which towns and areas you were specifically interested in:

7. What things do you particularly like about Worthing and its area as a place to live in? Please list them below:

Would you please re-read the list that you have just compiled and put an X in front of those advantages you have realised since moving to Worthing.

8. What don't you like about Worthing and its area? Please list these things below:

Would you please re-read the list that you have just compiled and put an X in front of those things you did not realise until after you had moved to Worthing.

9. If you have moved to Worthing in the last 10 years, are there any people whom you know of living in the town (apart from family) whom you knew when you lived in other towns?

- a. Yes _____
b. No _____

If 'yes', using Table III below, would you please name them, the town in which you formerly knew them, and the year in which you yourself moved from that town.

Table III

Person/s	Place in which you knew them	Year left

Would you please put an X against any of the above persons who are close friends and whom you visit with any frequency.

SECTION C. QUESTIONS INCORPORATED ONLY IN THE LEICESTER QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Where did you live immediately before moving to your present home?

Street _____ Town _____

County _____

2. How long had you lived in your previous home?

- a. Less than 1 year _____
b. More than 1 but less than 5 years _____
c. More than 5 but less than 10 years _____
d. More than 10 years _____
e. Most or all of life _____

3. In what year did you move to Leicester?

Year _____

Born in Leicester _____

4. Are you at present in the process of thinking about moving away from Leicester, or of changing your home within the city?

- a. Yes _____
b. No _____

If 'Yes', please give some details: (i.e. where to and why?)

5. If you could choose to move home tomorrow and had free choice of the type of dwelling to move into, what sort of home would it be, and where would it be situated? Or would you choose to stay in your present home?

6. If you are retired, please answer part A of this question. if you are still working, please answer part B.

PART A

Did you consider moving home at the time of your retirement, or near to the time of your retirement?

- a. Yes _____
b. No _____

If 'yes', were there any places that you were interested in; if so, would you please name them giving the reasons for your interest.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Reason for interest</u>

PART B

Is it likely that you will consider moving from either your present home, or from Leicester, at the time of your retirement, or near to the time of your retirement?

- a. Yes _____
b. No _____
c. Unconsidered _____

If 'yes', are there any places that you would be interested in; if so, would you please name them, giving the reasons for your interest.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Reason for interest</u>

7. Are you aware of any special provisions for the elderly in Leicester, whether private or provided by the council? What do you think of these? Would you like to see any other ideas introduced, or improvements made? Please use this space below for your comments.

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Abbreviations

A.A.A.G.	Annals of the Association of American Geographers
A.Geog.	Acta Geographica
A.J.S.	American Journal of Sociology
Arch.J.	Architectural Journal
Arch.R.	Architectural Review
A.Soc.	Acta Sociologica
A.S.R.	American Sociological Review
B.A.G.F.	Bulletin Assoc. Geographie Francais
B.J.P.S.M.	British Journal of Preventive Social Medicine
B.J.S.	British Journal of Sociology
Env. & B.	Environment and Behaviour
E.G.	Economic Geography
E.J.S.	European Journal of Sociology
E.M.G.	East Midlands Geographer
Env. & P.	Environment and Planning
E.P.M.	Educational and Psychological Measurement
E.S.R.	Economic and Social Review
Geog.Analysis	Geographical Analysis
Geog.Annaler	Geografiska Annaler
G.J.	Geographical Journal
G.P.	Geographica Polonica
G.R.	Geographical Review
H.B.R.	Harvard Business Review
H.O.	Human Organisation
H.R.	Human Relations
I.J.C.S.	International Journal of Comparative Sociology
I.L.R.	International Labour Review
I.M.	International Migration
I.S.S.J.	International Social Science Journal
J.A.I.P.	Journal of the American Institute of Planners
J.A.S.A.	Journal of the American Statistical Association
J.G.	Journal of Gerontology
J.G.P.	Journal of Genetic Psychology
J.H.R.	Journal of Human Resources
J.I.H.	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
J.L.R.	Journal of Leisure Research
J.M.F.	Journal of Marriage and the Family
J.M.R.	Journal of Marketing Research
J.P.E.	Journal of Political Economy
J.P.R.	Journal of Psychosomatic Research
J.R.S.	Journal of Regional Science
J.R.S.S.	Journal of the Royal Statistical Society
J.S.I.	Journal of Social Issues
J.S.P.	Journal of Social Psychology
M.F.L.	Marriage and Family Living
M.M.F.Q.	Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly
N.Z.G.	New Zealand Geographer
Occup.Psych.	Occupational Psychology
P.G.	Professional Geographer
P.I.	Population Index
P.P.R.S.A.	Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association
P.S.	Population Studies

Reg.St.	Regional Studies
R.Soc.	Rural Sociology
R.G.L.	Review Geographie Lyonnais
S.E.J.	Southern Economic Journal
S.F.	Social Forces
S.N.	Sociologica Neerlandica
S.P.	Social Problems
Soc.Rev.	Sociological Review
Soc.Rur.	Sociologica Ruralis
S.S.R.	Sociology and Social Research
T.C.P.	Town and Country Planning
T.E.S.G.	Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie
T.I.B.G.	Transactions, Institute of British Geographers
T.M.S.S.	Transactions, Manchester Statistical Society
T.P.R.	Town Planning Review
U.S.	Urban Studies

C.E.S.	Centre for Environmental Studies
C.S.O.	Central Statistical Office
Int.Soc.Assoc.	International Sociological Association
S.S.R.C.	Social Science Research Council